LANCASTER IN 1744.

JOURNAL

OF THE

TREATY AT LANCASTER

IN 1744,

WITH THE SIX NATIONS.

BY WITHAM MARSHE,

Secretary of the Maryland Commissioners.

ANNOTATED BY WILLIAM H. EGLE, M. D.

LANCASTER, PA.
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The valuable document which follows is unknown to Pennsylvania historians generally, and as it contains so much of local interest we shall give it in full. It is the journal of William Marshe, who was the Secretary to the Commissioners of Maryland, representing that Province at the Treaty with the Six Nations held at Lancaster, commencing the 25th of June, 1744—a treaty without exception the most interesting, if not the most important, which ever took place within the confines of Pennsylvania, for a fuller account of which, giving the speeches of the representatives of the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, the colony of Virginia, and the leading Chiefs of the Six Nations, we refer our readers to the 4th volume of "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania" (pp. 698-737). With the exception of the remarks referred to the details are dry enough, but Mr. Marshe's journal, although supplementing it, has a freshness which enhances its value. Of course, it is not very flattering to our staid German ancestors, yet there is a candidness in all his statements which show their undoubted truth.

Of Mr. Marshe we have learned but little. He was a gentleman of culture, well-connected and of prominence in the early history of the Province of Maryland. He resided at or near Annapolis, and passed off the stage of action prior to the Revolution. He was of English birth and came to Maryland in 1737, as he states in his journal. We hear nothing further of him, and all our inquiries have been fruitless. However, "the good that men do live after them," and so it is with this precious journal from his facile pen—it has been preserved to us, even though but little is known of the author.

Some facts coming to our knowledge concerning the occasion of the Lancaster treaty of 1744, and for which we are indebted to Prof. A. L. Guss, of Washington city, who has devoted much time and labor to ethnological research, are of special interest and value in this connection.

The Occasion of the Great Treaty.

When the white man came to the Delaware river, it was inhabited by bands of Indians, which are known as Lenni Lenapes or Delawares. When the English first explored the lower Susquehanna, they found it inhabited by a race which they called the Susquehannocks. The Dutch as early as 1615 and the Swedes when they settled in 1638 came in contact with these Susquehannocks and called them Minquas. The line between the Delawares and Minquas seems to have been along the dividing waters between the two rivers, though in wars the Minquas drove the Delawares entirely over into New Jersey. The Minquas were a ruling tribe on the Delaware as the Mohawks were on the Hudson. From 1649 the Five Nations of New York began to be liberally supplied with fire arms, and they soon devastated the tribes similar to the Minquas on the upper branches of the Susquehanna. Having disposed of these and opened the way, in 1662 they commenced upon the lower Minquas or Susquehannocks. Before this, in 1653, the Susquehannocks had sold to Maryland their possession and conquest rights on both sides of the Chesapeake Bay, from the Choptank and Pautuxant rivers up to the head of the bay. In 1663 the Marylanders assisted the Minquas with cannon and men in their fort, and defeated an army of 800 Senecas and Cayugas. The war was, however, kept up, and finally, after various reverses and successes, in 1675, forsaken by the English who had superseded the Dutch on the Delaware, and by the Marylanders, and reduced by disease, the Minquas were conquered, many of them carried off to New York, and the balance fled to the Potomac at Piscataway. From this place they were afterwards allowed to return to their old country and establish themselves as a tributary outpost of the Five Nations, on the "Quawga" creek, and there subsequently they were known as Conestogas. It was in this way that the New York tribes obtained their conquest rights to the lands on
the Susquehanna and southward to the Potomac, which were recognised by the several purchase treaties made with them by William Penn and his heirs. Governor Dougan, of New York, first purchased these Pennsylvania-Susquehanna conquest rights from the Five Nations, with a view of holding those parts, at least above the Conawago falls, as part of New York and preventing Penn from obtaining the full limits of his charter. When this failed, he sold and transferred these deeded rights to Penn in 1696. In 1699 Penn again purchased from the remaining Conestogas all their rights and the rights of their ancestors, and, as he aptly expresses it, the rights that their "ancestors have, could, might or ought to have had, held or enjoyed" in these lands (see Pa. Col. Rec. of August 2, 1735). In 1701 this purchase was again confirmed in the presence of an Onondago Deputy, and a promise made them that they should have a reservation, which was in fact afterwards surveyed to them in 1718. Here the dwindling remnant remained until the massacre in 1735.

"The Conestoga Manor."

Prior to this their young men gravitated to the New York cantons, mostly among the Oneidas, as this course afforded the only opening for martial renown—for an Indian is nothing if not a warrior. Among these descendants of the ancient Susquehannocks who attended the Lancaster treaty to sell the former heritage of his ancestors was Shickelmeny—more properly Shickenany—who hesitated about signing the deed to Maryland, which Marshe blamed on the Pennsylvanians. He was the father of the famous "Logan, the Mingo Chief," and was stationed at Shamokin to watch over the Shawnees and others. The history of the old Dutch Minquas of 1615, as it analagously was applied embracing all the lands eastward as far as the Delaware. This was a most transparent falsehood. Not until white means black can eastward limits on the head of streams running into the Susquehanna be defined as intended to extend to the Delaware. There is not a particle of evidence that the Six Nations, prior to this, claimed the right to sell the lands of the Delawares. It is true, the Delawares were a conquered tributary people, but this in Indian politics did not mean always a right to alienate the soil. Land selling was indeed a European innovation, the full meaning of which the Indians were slow to realize. As long as they sold and still occupied nearly all of it, the sale meant little; when it meant dispossession then trouble ensued. Occupancy was the only soil right that the Indian knew before the treaties gave them the land selling itch. This supplementary, explanatory deed, dated October 25, 1736, fourteen days after the other, was not for sale of land that they claimed, but was given at the request of the white men to cover, or prevent, any claims the Six Na-
tions might set up to the lands already purchased of the Delawares. It was also used, and, perhaps, designed to be used, in 1743, to induce the Six Nations to interfere and force the Delawares to leave some of these lands, as comprised in the "Walking purchase." Canassatego's speech, in ordering the Delawares to leave these lands, is famous in history, and aroused the dormant resentment of the Delawares. He called them women, denied their right to sell land, ordered them to leave, said they ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till they recovered good sense, and forbid them, their children, grandchildren to the latest posterity, forever hereafter to presume to meddle in land affairs. It was during the pending of these troubles that the treaty was held at Lancaster in 1744, about lands in Maryland and Virginia, when not a Delaware was allowed to be present. Among the many errors we have seen stated about this treaty, we select one. The editor of the *American Antiquarian* says: "By the treaty of Lancaster, 1744, the Delawares sold their lands lying in Virginia"—Vol. I, 83. This is true with these exceptions, first, they did not sell their Virginia lands at Lancaster; secondly, they never had any land in Virginia; and thirdly, they were not at the Lancaster treaty in 1744, the Six Nations having forbid the presence of any of them at that treaty.

**A Fact Hitherto Unnoticed.**

It is a remarkable fact, which has hitherto been unnoticed, that in the great wars of the Western cantons of the Five Nations against the Susquehannocks, which were waged chiefly about 1666 and 1675, the Mohawks took no part, nor did there a single Mohawk appear at the treaty in Philadelphia in 1756, when the last sale of these conquest rights was made to the Penns. Nor did there appear a single Mohawk at Lancaster, when the claims of similar rights were to be disposed of to Maryland, and other claims to lands in Virginia. They had nothing to do in conquering the Minquas and they would have nothing to say in selling their lands. The explanation of this is no doubt to be found in the special examination of Governor Andras, who, in 1723, "did endeavor to be rightly informed of things relating to that war, and found that the Susquehannocks were reputed by the Minques (Mohawks) as their offspring. There can be no doubt that the Susquehanna Minquas were an old diverging branch of the Mohawks, and there was an old friendship, which forbid them to war against their kindred, and yet the laws of the Five Nation Confederacy forbid also any assistance. The absent nation, for whom Conrad Weiser was authorized by the allies to sign his name, at the Lancaster treaty, as mentioned by Marshe, was the Mohawks, into which Weiser had been adopted.

As early as 1736, at the treaty, the Governor of Pennsylvania was earnestly pressed that he would write to the Governors of Maryland and Virginia to make them (the Western New York Indians) satisfied for their lands in those States. They say "all the lands on the Susquehanna and at Chunandowa (Shenandoah) were theirs and they must be satisfied for them." It was remarked to them that "the lands on Susquehanna we believe belong to the Six Nations by the conquest of the Indians on that river, but how their pretentions are to be made good to the lands to the southward we know not." At the treaty on July 7, 1742, Canassatego again introduced their claims to lands in Maryland, desiring to know what had been done in the matter, saying "you will inform the person whose people are seated on our lands that that country belongs to us in right of conquest—we have bought it with our blood and taken it from our enemies in fair war; we expect such consideration as the land is worth; press him to send us a positive answer; let him say yes or no; if he says yes, we will treat with him; if no, we are able to do ourselves justice, and we will do it by going to take payment on ourselves."

**Pennsylvania as a Go-Between.**

These alarming words caused a special messenger to be sent to Maryland, and measures were taken for the treaty which came off at Lancaster in 1744. Though nothing was said in 1742 about Virginia, yet the demand in 1736, and the prospects of a war with France, induced the King and his Virginia colony to treat with these Indians at the same time and place. Conrad Weiser was sent to Onondago to make the arrangements. There was a shrewd purpose in the background to use the occasion to prevent them from exposing the cause of France, and the Pennsylvania Colonial Records show how nicely it was managed. Pennsylvania, having in 1837 met the demands of these Indians as to their claim on the lands in that Province below the mountains, was in a position to act as a go-between and secure their friendship to Maryland and Virginia, and all three were alike interested in view of the coming
troubles with France and her Canadian Provinces. At the treaty the Marylanders denied their rights to land in that Province, and pointed to their deed of purchase from the Susquehannocks in 1652 as covering all or nearly all their lands. The reply was very well put.

"We acknowledge the deed to be good and valid, and that the Conoyasgo or Susquehanna Indians had a right to sell those lands unto you, for they were then theirs; but since that time we have conquered them and their country now belongs to us, and the lands they demanded satisfaction for are no part of the lands comprised in those treaties—they are the Cohongontas (Potomac) lands." This is one of the proofs that the territory of the ancient Susquehannocks extended to the Potomac, probably from the falls up to Harper's Ferry. The old Maryland purchase was not defined in its western limits and certainly did not include a part of Maryland north of the head of the bay. Just prior to their subjugation by the New York Indians the Susquehannocks had somehow got into a war with their old friends in Maryland and suffered greatly. Evans, in his Analysis, written soon after this treaty, gives this explanation: Bell, of Maryland, "by the defeat of many hundreds, gave them a blow from which they never recovered, and for that reason the confederates (Six Nations) never claimed but to Conewago Falls; and that as the Susquehannocks had abandoned the western shore of Maryland before their conquest, the confederates confined their claims northward of a line drawn from the Conewago Falls to the North Mountain, where it crosses the Potomac, and thence to the head branches of St. James River." The point doubtless is Harper's Ferry, though the Blue Mountain and the Blue Ridge are not the same range, though often confused. At the treaty the eastern bounds were not defined. They wanted pay, and having got it they cared nothing further about the grounds of their claim, nor how it was divided between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The claim for pay for Virginia was not founded on the conquest of the Susquehannas, but upon other tribes.

The Lands Sold Then Settled by White People

The Virginians claimed that they had long held peaceable possession, and that they found those lands unsubstantial and free to be entered upon by the King. They said, "Tell us what nations you conquered any lands from in Virginia, how long it is since, and what possession you have had." The answer was, "we have the right of conquest—a right too dearly purchased, and which cost us too much blood to be given up without any reason at all, ....... All the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Susquehanna, Cohongoronte and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia. The Conoyn-sucharoonan, the Cooh-an-was-roonan, the Tokeoa-trough-roonan and the Copnaut-skirroonan feel the effects of our conquests, being now a part of our nations and their lands at our disposal." They said it was not true that the King of England had conquered the Indians that lived there. "We will allow that they have conquered the Sachaugh-roonan (Powhatans) and drove back the Tuscaroraws, and that they have on that account a right to some part of Virginia but as to what lies beyond the mountain we conquered the nations residing there, and that land, if ever the Virginians get a good right to it, it must be by us." We cannot properly identify and locate the four tribes said to have been conquered. The first were probably the Conoys or Gnawese. The second probably gave the name to the Kanawha. The lands sold were the Shenandoah Valley and the country westward. The Six Nations did not understand the sale to include the lands on the Ohio; now West Virginia. These were included in the sale of November 5, 1768, made by Sir William Johnson. Some writers erroneously say the lands sold at Lancaster were those on the Ohio. This is not the case, for they were lands just then settled by the white people, and there were then no settlers on the Ohio. The western limits of Virginia were then not defined. Pennsylvania never called in question these conquest rights. Had they done so at the several treaties for Susquehanna lands, the Indians would then doubtless have given us some interesting facts as to those conquests, which are now forever lost.

Saturday, June the 16th, 1744.

This day the Hon. Edmund Jennings and the Hon. Philip Thomas, esqs., of the
council of state in Maryland, having heretofore been appointed (by a special power from his Excellency Thomas Bladen, esq., Governor, under his hand, and the seal of that Province) Commissioners for treating with the Six Nations of Indians, on behalf of the Province, concerning some lands claimed by them, and to renew all former treaties betwixt the Six Nations and this government, agreed to proceed on their embassy.

It was required by them to stay at Annapolis, and receive the bills of exchange (to defray our expenses) from Mr. Ross, clerk of the Council; and after receiving the bills on Sunday, p. m., I went to Mr. Thomas's, where I lodged that night.

Sunday 17th.

Mr. Commissioner Jenings went over Chesapeake Bay, as also did Mr. Benedict Calvert, who accompanied him to the treaty.

Monday, June 18th, 1744.

Breakfasted at Mr. Thomas's about 8 o'clock this morning, and soon after set out with him and the Rev. Mr. Crablock, who accompanied us in quality of chaplain to the Maryland Commissioners for Patapsco. Arrived at James Moore's, at the head of the Severn river about one o'clock, where we dined; but such a dinner was prepared for us, as never was either seen as cooked in the Highlands of Scotland or the Isles of Orkney. It consisted of six eggs fried with six pieces of bacon, with some clammy pone or Indian bread. But as hunger knows little of cleanliness, and with very impatient, we fell to and soon devoured the victuals. Our liquor was sorry rum, mixed with water and sugar, which bears the heathenish name of bumbo. Of this we drank about a pint, to keep down the nauseous eggs and bacon.

r x—Paid for our slovenly dinner and liquor and pursued our journey to Mrs. Hughes's, at Patapsco river, (over which she keeps a ferry) to whose house we came about 3 o'clock. Here we refreshed ourselves with some good coffee, and toast and butter, which was served to us in a neat and handsome manner. We likewise drank a bottle of generous wine, then paid our reckoning and went over the river to Whetstone Point, and from thence proceeded to Wm. Rogers's ordinary in Baltimore town, being three miles distant from Mrs. Hughes's.

Monday Evening in Baltimore County.

I left Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Parson at the ordinary, and went to Mr. Robert North's, where I supped with some blithe company, and from thence returned to Rogers's. Mr. Bourdillon, minister of this parish, visited his brother of the cloth, and stayed with us till near 11 o'clock this night. It was with this gentleman and his wife that I came into Maryland on the 1st of January, 1737. She is niece to Sir Theodore Janssen, Baronet. When Mr. North Swalwell left England in 1742, and became Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore; 29th of July, 1739, and continued as such until the 5th of June, 1745, when he died. Prior to his visit to England in 1738, he preached in Sussex.
Housen had hidden us bon foi, we re-
tired to rent our weared limbs, having rode
forty-four miles this hot day.

Tuesday Morning, June 19th 1744.
Rose about 5 o'clock, and ordered
breakfast to be got presently, which was
done. Drank tea and then mounted our
horses to reach Edward Day's, who keeps
the ferry on this side Joppa. Came to
his house about 11 o'clock, bailed ours-
elves and horses, and then passed over
Gun-Powder river on his ferry boat to
Joppa town.
At Joppa. 1 Rested at Mr. Brown's who
keeps a brick ordinary. Here we dined on
a boiled ham and some chickens fried with
bacon. Drank good wine and small-beer,
and rendered ourselves fit to encounter the
fatigue of riding 23 miles further in this
sultry weather.

Here I waited on the Rev. Hugh Deane,
who is parson of this parish, to deliver him
a packet of letters, &c., I received from Dr.
Lyon at Baltimore town. He read to me
some of the news mentioned in his Euro-
pean letters, concerning the Queen of Hun-
gary, the King of Prussia, and the Lord
knows how many other potenates; but as
I was neither politician nor author I gave
but little attention to it. I understood Mr.
D. had his intelligence from his wife's
brother, who has some place in the govern-
ment at home, or in dependence of favors
from some great man. 2 God help him!

After dinner, about 3 in the afternoon,
we took the route to Mr. Benjamin Chew's, 3

1 Joppa, on Gunpowder River, was at this
period a town of "no small importance." It
was designated as the county town of Balti-
more county by the Provincial Assembly of
1724. Great expectations were built upon it
in becoming the metropolis of Maryland but
with the founding of Baltimore, and its subse-
quent rise into a town of more formidable
dimensions, the hopes which centred a round
Joppa began to wane. "Her trade," says
Scharf, "was drawn off; her population
swindled; her store-houses fell to ruin; her
wharves rotted, and her harbor filled up with
mud. A solitary house, once a stately man-
sest, built of bricks imported from England,
and a tew mouldering arave-stones, overgrown
by weed and grass, still mark the site of the
once flourishing town of Joppa.

2 Benjamin Chew, fourth son of Dr. Samuel
Chew, was born on West River, Maryland, 29th
of November, 1723. In his early years his pa-
rents removed to that part of the Province of
Pennsylvania now Delaware. He was edu-
cated in the schol of or academy at Newark,
Delaware, studied law under Andrew Hamil-
ton, of Philadelphia, and at the Inner Temple,
London. He returned to America in 1743,
and, according to Mr. Marsh, must have held
the position of a Justice of the Peace for Cecil
county, Md., the following year. He was sub-
sequent y Speaker of the Assembly of the
Three Lower Countics, and appointed Attor-
in Cecil county, whose house is distant from
Joppa 26 miles. Betwixt six and seven of
the clock in the evening, we reached Sus-
quehanna lower ferry; 3 we tarried some
time, and sent our horses over in a
boat by themselves. From hence we went
to the eastern side of Susquehanna, and
then rode to Mr. Chew's, almost a mile and
a-half distance from the river. At this
house we supped very heartily, for which
our priest returned thanks. After supper
we had a good deal of chat on various sub-
jects, and then, very willingly, retired to
bed.

Wednesday Morning, June 20th, 1744.
We breakfasted at Mr. Chew's, and then
set out, with him, for Nottingham town-
ship, which place we reached about a
quarter of an hour after ten this morn-
ing. We put up our horses at Thomas
Hughes's, who keeps here an ordinary.

He was an honest, facetious, and sober
Quaker, a man of good plain sense and
character. Here we purposed to dine,
and bespoke a dinner accordingly, which was
prepared for us about two o'clock. Here
we were shayed by our friend and com-
pion Mr. Chew, for no barber could be
got in the whole neighborhood. I thought
it a little odd our friend (who was a justice
of the Common Pleas of Pennsylvania January 14, 1733.
He was a member of the Provincial Council the same year, and in 1736 Recorder of the City of
Philadelphia, which latter position he held
for fifteen years. He was Clerk General of
Wills about 1729, and April 29, 1733, was ap-
pointed Chief Justice of Pennsylvania on the
resignation of William Allen. When the Revo-
lation broke out he sympathized with the
Mother country, although he took no active
part in the contest. In 1777, when the govern-
ment of Pennsylvania, on the recommenda-
tion of Congress, arrested a number of the
leading Friends of Philadelphia, who were
outspoken Tories, and banished them to Vir-
ginia, Chief Justice Chew and John Penn,
the last Proprietary Governor of Pennsylva-
nia, were also placed under surveillance, but al-
lowed to retire to Mr. Chew's property. Union
force near Hallowing, New Jersey, and re-
leased from arrest the next year. In 1779 Mr.
Chew was appointed President of the High
Court of Errors and Appeals of the State of
Pennsylvania, and retained the position until
the Court was abolished in 1810. Mr. Chew died
at his residence, in Philadelphia, January 29,
1818, and was buried in St. Peter's Church
graveyard. He was twice married: first, June 13, 1774, to Mary Galloway, daughter of John
and Mary Galloway, of Maryland, who died
Nov. 9, 1755, aged 26 years, leaving issue; mar-
rried secondly, September 12, 1757, Elizabeth
Osborn, daughter of James and Mary Osborn,
who died May 18, 1810, aged 85 years, having fur-
ther issue.

3 This was the ferry at the mouth of the Sus-
quehanna river, and called lower, in contradistinction to the one established later by Thomas Cresap, near where Port Deposit now
stands.
of the peace in his county) should officiate as our tonsor; but as we could get no other, he purely out of good nature did the office of one.

This township is a large body of land, consisting of between 30,000 and 40,000 acres. It lies in Chester county within the Province of Pennsylvania. It is chiefly settled by Quaker farmers, who strive to imitate those in our mother country in everything. They have been great disputes between the present Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, and Messrs. Penns, proprietors of Pennsylvania, concerning this place; but the first averring it to lie within the bounds of his province, and the others that it is contained within theirs. The inhabitants (being Quakers) are desirous of living under the Penns' government, by reason of the small taxes they are burdened with; and more especially as in that they are not obliged to pay anything to the priests of the steeple-houses; whereas, in Maryland, by a law made anno 1704, every male, white and black, and also black women, above the age of 16, and under the age of 60, are obliged to pay 40 pounds of tobacco per poll to the incumbent of their respective parishes. This is a most iniquitous tax, and is a most grievous burden to those who have many white servants, and a great many slaves, which a great number of people have in Maryland.

The difference between the proprietors of the two provinces is likely to be ended by the Lord Chancellor, before whom a suit is depending, brought by the Penns against Lord Baltimore for not standing to, or fulfilling some agreement relating to the bounds of both provinces, wherein the Quakers had been too sly for his Lordship, whereby their several titles may be drawn in question.

**Wednesday, p. m.**

There was a great disputat betwixt the Hon. Mr. Thomas and one Gatchel, an inhabitant of this place, concerning cornal weapons. The latter being one of the followers of George Fox, strenuously insisted that it was not lawful to use any offensive weapon whatever. As this is the common cant of that set of people, it is in vain to think of arguing them out of it, though founded on no reason.

1 This was probably Elisha Gatchell, of East Nottingham township, Chester county, Pa., a prominent and active citizen in his day, who had settled in that township prior to 1714. He died at an advanced age in the winter of 1753-4, and his widow Rachel, about 1759. They became Friends after their arrival in this country. Their descendants are at the present prominent members of the Society of Friends in Chester county.

In this government subsists a quarrel betwixt the Governor of it and the Quaker members of the House of Assembly, occasioned by the latter's not consenting to a militia law, which they will not grant for the defense of the province. Who has the most reason on their side, I know not; but I really cannot blame the Quakers for not consenting to such a law, unless the power of putting it in execution should be lodged in the House of Assembly, and such officers to be appointed by them.

At six this evening the Hon. Edmund Jennings, esq., Col. Thomas Colvill and Col. Robert King (being the other honorable commissioners for Maryland), with Mr. Calvert, arrived here from Col. Colvill's, in Cecil county. We all lodged at Mr. Hughes's, and agreed to set out for Lancaster early in the morning, and to go thither over the Barrens.

Expenses at Mr. Hughes's paid in silver currency to the value of £2 17s 2d, Pennsylvania currency.

**Thursday Morning, June 21, 1744.**

Breakfasted before five; then prepared ourselves for riding. Set out from hence with the Commissioners, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Gatchel, and our landlord, who undertook to be our guide to Lancaster town. We were joined on the road by some Quakers, who accompanied us to our designed stage.

At eleven o'clock we arrived at one Sheppard's mill, having rode twenty miles from Nottingham. Here we all bated, and refreshed ourselves with some good neat's tongue, cold ham and madeira wine. We eat our repast under a tree, upon a long plank, close to which was a trough. After that we rode over in the morning, and in that our horses were fed. We rested at this place about an hour and a half, and then pursu'd our journey to Lancaster. From hence we had a good road, the land being less hilly and stony than that we had rode over in the morning. Here are several large and fine farms, settled by the Germans. They sow all kinds of grain, and have very plentiful harvests. Their houses are chiefly built with stone, and generally seated near some brook or stream of water. They have very large meadows, which produce a great deal of hay, and feed therewith a variety of cattle, &c.

**Thursday p. m.**

Arrived at Lancaster town about two o'clock, and put up our horses at Peter Worrall's; who here keeps an inn. Here I
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bespoke a dinner for our Commissioners, and the Maryland gentlemen, which was soon got ready, to our great comfort. Procured a room and two beds, in Worral's house for our chaplain and myself.

Neither the Governor of Pennsylvania nor the Virginia Commissioners were arrived at the time when we did; but about six in the evening they came hither, attended by several Virginia gentlemen and some from the city of Philadelphia.

Here we were informed that the Indians would not arrive till to-morrow, they marching very slow, occasioned by their having a great many small children and old men.

The Old Lancaster Court House.

Messrs. Calvert, Graddock and myself went into and viewed the Court House, of this town. It is a pretty large brick building two stories high. The ground room where the justices of this county hold their court is very spacious. There is a handsome bench, and railed in, wherein they sit, and a chair in the midst of it, which is filled by the judge. Below this bench is a large table of half oval form; round this, and under their Wiphorks, sit the county clerk and the several attorneys of the court, who, here, as well as in most other courts of the plantations, plead as counsellors. There are particular seats and places allotted to the sheriff, clerk, &c.

Fronting the justices' bench, and on each side of it, are several long steps or stairs, raised each above the other, like the steps leading into the north door of St. Paul's. On these steps stand the several auditors and spectators when a court is held here. It was on these that the Indian chiefs sat when they treated with the several governments. This Court House is capable to contain above 800 persons without incommoding each other.

When we had surveyed this room we went up stairs into one overhead. This is a good room, and has a large chimney. In this the justices sit in the month of February for the convenience of the fire. Adjoining to this room is a smaller one, where the juries are kept to agree on their verdict.

On the top of the court house is a kind of cupola. We ascended a ladder and got into it. From hence we had a complete view of the whole town, and the country several miles round, and likewise of part of Susquehanna river at twelve miles distance.

A Dirty Sixteen Year Old Town.

This town has not been begun to be built above sixteen years. It is conveniently laid out into sandy streets, and one main street, in the midst of which stands the court house and market. Through this runs the road to the back country on the Susquehanna. There are several cross-streets on each side of the main street, which are indifferently well built, as to quantity of houses.

The inhabitants are chiefly High Dutch, Scotch-Irish, some few English families, and unbelieving Israelites, who deal very considerably in this place.

The spirit of cleanliness has not as yet in the least troubled the major part of the inhabitants; for, in general, they are very great sluts and slovens. When they clean their houses, which, by the bye, is very seldom, they are unwilling to remove the fifth far from themselves, for they place it close to their doors, which, in the summer time, breeds an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas and vermin.

Few Churches and Plenty of Sects.

The religions which prevail here are hardly to be numbered. Here are Dutch Calvinists, who have a church built with square logs, and their interspaces filled up with clay. In this is a small organ, good for little, and worse played on by the organist.

The sect of Luther have a church likewise. This is more spacious than that of the Calvinists, being built of stone, and is much larger than the other. The minister of this church is a gentleman of good character, and by his true pastoral conduct keeps his congregation in good order. The ministers of the Dutch churches are allowed no certain stipend for preaching, but are paid at the will of their hearers. This is a great tie upon them to do their duty, and makes
them more diligent than our clergy are.

A clergyman of the Church of England sometimes officiates in the Court House, there being no church here built by those of that persuasion. There are great numbers of Irish Presbyterians and several Jews, as I hinted before, with divers others that neither themselves nor any one else can tell what sect they follow or imitate.

The houses for the most part are built and covered with wood, except some few which are built of brick and stone. They are generally low, seldom exceeding two stories. All the owners of lots and houses here pay a ground rent, greater or less, according to the grant of them by James Hamilton, esq., who is the proprietor of the town.

There are hills which environ Lancaster, as likewise some thick woods, which in the summer render it very hot, especially in the afternoon. The soil is then dry and very sandy, which, when a fresh wind blows, almost chokes the inhabitants.

Bad Water, a Good Market, Fleas and Bugs.

The water here is very bad, occasioned by their springs, and even wells, being stored with limestone. This gave me a looseness and palled my appetite, but soon left me after I refrained from drinking the water by itself. They have a very good market in this town, well filled with provisions of all kinds and prodigiously cheap.

Our Commissioners and company supped at Worrall's, and passed away an hour or two very agreeably, after which I retired to bed, but had not long reposed myself when I was most fiercely attacked by the neighboring Dutch fleas and bugs which were ready to devour both me and the minister; however, after killing great quantities of my nimble enemies, I got about two hours sleep. Mr. Calvert was more taken with them than myself, as was likewise Mr. Craddock. On the next night Mr. Calvert left our lodgings and laid in the Court House chamber, among the young gentlemen from Virginia, who there had beds made on the floor for that purpose.

Friday, June 24, 1744.

Rose between 4 and 5. Breakfasted with Mr. Commissioners Thomas, Colonels Colville and King, at Worrall's.

The Indian chiefs not being yet come, we had no business to do.

The honorable, the Commissioners of Virginia, gave our Commissioners and the several Maryland gentlemen an invitation to dine with them in the Court House, which we did betwixt one and two. During our dinner the deputies of the Six Nations1 with their followers and attendants, to the number of 253, arrived in town. Several of their squaws, or wives, with some small children, rode on horseback, which is very unusual with them. They brought their fire arms and bows and arrows, as well as tomahawks. A great concourse of people followed them. They marched in very good order, with Cannasatego, one of the Onondago chiefs, at their head, who, when he came near to the Court House wherein we were dining, sung, in the Indian language, a song inviting us to a renewal of all treaties heretofore made and that now to be made.

Mr. Weiser,2 the interpreter, who is highly esteemed by the Indians, and is one of their council of state (though a German by birth) conducted them to some vacant lots in the back part of the town, where sundry poles and boards were placed. Of these, and some boughs of trees from the woods, the Indians made wigwams or

1 Originally, the league formed by the Iroquois tribes comprised five nations—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. The early French writers styled the first two the lower or inferior Iroquois, while the others were denominated the upper or superior or Iroquois, because they were located nearer the sources of the St. Lawrence. The Mohawks, who are commonly supposed to be the first nation in the confederacy, and were considered the most “warlike people in the land,” were also styled elder brothers of the other nations, and so esteemed by them. In 1714 the Five Nations became the Six Nations by adopting the Tuscarora tribe, which had been expelled from North Carolina and Virginia.

2 Conrad Weiser was one of the most noted personages of the Provincial era, and a man who deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance. He was the son of John Conrad Weiser and his wife Anna Magdalena Gebel, of Attenstet, Wurttemburg, who was born on the 26th of November, 1696. In the year 1702 he accompanied his parents to America with a company of Palatines, who immigrated to New York, under the auspices of good Queen Anne of England, and who were settled in a body on Livingston Manor, in Columbia county, for the production of naval stores. In 1713 the Wiscas and 150 other families removed to Lebanon and the Mohawk country, where young Conrad was schooled in the language which enabled him later in life to render valuable services to the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania. In 1725 he with many other German families came down the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Susquehanna, upon which stream they settled in what was afterwards known as the Tulpehocken settlement. Here he took up a tract of land in Heidelberg township, Lancaster county, now Northumberland county, and began farming. His fluency in Mohawk recommended him to the notice of the Proprietary Governors, and at the special request of the deputies of the Six Nations, who met in conference Governor Gordon in 1722, he was appointed by the latter interpreter for that conference. From this time he was identified with the history of the Province of Pennsylvania in all matters rela-
cabin, wherein they resided during the treaty; they will not, on any occasion whatever, dwell, or even stay, in houses built by white people.

They placed their cabins according to the rank each nation of them holds in their grand council. The Onondaga nation was placed on the right hand, and at the upper end were the others, according to their several dignities.

After dining, and drinking the loyal healths, all the younger gentlemen of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania went with Mr. Conrad Weiser to the Indian camp, where they had erected their several cabins. We viewed them all, and heartily welcomed Caursateego and Tachanuntie, (alias the Black Prince,) two chiefs of the Onondagoes, to town. They shaked us by the hands and seemed very well pleased with us. I gave them some snuff, for which they returned me thanks in their language.

The first of these sachems (or chiefs) was a tall, well-made man, had a very full chest and brawny limbs. He had a manly countenance, mixed with a good-natured smile. He was about sixty years of age; very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech, which I observed in the discourse between us. Mr. Weiser and some of the sachems.

Tachanuntie, another sachem or chief of the same nation, was a tall, thin man; old, and not so well featured as Caursateego; I believe he may be near the same age with him. He is one of the greatest warriors that ever the Five Nations produced, and has been a great war-captain for many years past. He is also called the Black Prince, because, as I was informed, he was either begotten on an Indian woman by a negro, or by an Indian chief on some negro woman; but by which of the two I could not be well assured. The Governor of Canada, (whom these Indians call Oaantio) will not treat with any of the Six Nations of Indians unless Tachanuntie is personally present, he having a great sway in all the Indian councils.

Our interpreter, Mr. Weiser, desired us, whilst we were here, not to talk much of the Indians, nor dress at their dress, nor make any remarks on their behavior; if we did it would be very much resented by them, and might cause some differences to arise between the white people and them. Besides, most of them understood English, though they will not speak it when they are in treaty.

The Indians in general were poorly dressed, having old match-coats and those ragged, few or no shirts and those they had as black as the Scotchman made the Jamaicans when he wrote in his letter they were as black as that a blot.

When they had rested some little space of time several of them began to paint themselves with divers sorts of colors, which rendered them frightful. Some of the others rubbed bear’s grease on their faces and then laid upon that a white paint. When we had made a sufficient survey of them and their cabins, we went to the Court House, where the Indians were expected to meet the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Hon. George Thomas, esq., and to be by him congratulated on their arrival at this town.

**Friday, p. m.**

Between 5 and 6 o’clock Mr. Weiser accompanied the several Indian chiefs from their camp up to the Court House, which they entered and seated themselves, after their own manner. Soon after, his Honor the Governor, the honorable the Commissioners of Virginia, the honorable Commissioners of Maryland, and the young gentlemen from the three governments, went into the Court House to the Indians. There the Governor and all the

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1 Tachanuntie, the Black Prince of Onondaga, is described by Count Zinzendorf, who met him in 1742, as “a terrible savage.” “On one occasion,” he writes, “he broke into the stockaded castle of the enemy, scalped the inhabitants and escaped unhurt.” Locstedt states that Tachanuntie, an Iroquois Sachem was called the Black Prince because his chest was literally black with a network of evilces and designs tattooed into the skin with gunpowder.” Spangenberg, in 1742, aludes to him as one of the chief men of Onondaga, while Conrad Weiser in his journal gives the “Black Prince” as the speaker on behalf of the Six Nations. His first appearance was at a council held at Sandusky, in September, 1736 where he signed the deed for land on the Susquehanna. (See Pa. Archiv. Ist ser., vol I, p. 94.) It is stated that he died in the fall at Montreal.

2 Sir George Thomas, the son of a wealthy planter, was born at Antigua, about 1700. He was a member of the Council of that island at the time of his appointment of Proprietary Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, a position he held from 1738 to 1741. From 1752 to 1767, he was governor of the Island of Jamaica. In 1766 he was created a Baronet. He died in London 11th of January, 1773—(See Dr. Egle’s History of Pennsylvania.)
The Governor desired the interpreter to tell the Indians "He was very glad to see them here, and should not trouble them with business this day, but desired they would rest themselves after their great journey." This Mr. Weiser interpreted to them, wherein they seemed well enough pleased, and made the Governor a suitable answer. When this was done a good quantity of punch, wine, and pipes and tobacco, were given to the scribes, and the Governor and all the Commissioners drank to them, whom they pledged. When they had looked some time at their pipe, and each drank a glass or two of wine and punch, they retired to their cabins.

Our landlord showed me the book, wherein he keeps the account of the expenses of ours and the Virginia Commissioners, and which was ordered to be produced every morning to me, to know exactly the amount of each day's expense.

Saturday, June 23, 1744, at Lancaster.

This day I was seized with a lax and small fever, occasioned by drinking the water of this town.

After breakfast, the Governor, the honorable the commissioners, and several other gentlemen went to the Dunkers' nunnery, about twelve miles from hence. They returned hither about six o'clock in the evening.

All this day the Indians stood in their wigwams, and it is usual for them to rest two days after their journey before they treat or do business with the English.


After supper, this evening, I went with Mr. President Logan's son and divers other young gentlemen to the Indian's camp, where they were invited to dance one of their lighter war dances. They performed it after this manner: Thirty or forty of the younger men formed themselves into a ring, a fire being lighted (notwithstanding the excessive heat) and burning clear in the midst of them. Near this sat three elderly Indians, who beat a drum to the time of the others' dancing, when the dancers hopped round the ring after a frantic fashion, not unlike the practice of females in old times, and repeated, sundry times, these sounds: "Yohoh!" "Bugh!" Soon after this the major part of the dancers (or rather hoppers) set up a horrid shriek or hallow.

They continued dancing and hopping, after this manner for several hours and rested very seldom. Once whilst I stood with them they did seat themselves; immediately thereupon the three old men began to sing an Indian song, the tune of which was not disagreeable to the white by-standers. Upon this, the young warriors renewed their terrible shriek and hallow, and formed themselves into a ring, enviroining the three old ones, and danced as before. Mr. Calvert, myself, and some others slipped through the dancers and stood near the fire; and when the drum-beaters ceased their noise, we shocked them by the band. Here we presented some clean pipes to them, which were very acceptable, most of the Indians being great smokers of tobacco. A Conestogoe, or down over the shoulders a gridle controlled this flowing attire. The females were similarly habited. Both cultivated music, in which art Beissel was a proficient. Many of the sisters were engaged in illuminating manuscripts, or in embroidery. At an early day they had a printing press, from which issued a number of remarkable works. Beissel died July 6, 1768, aged sixty-seven years. His followers are extinct, Sister Barbara being the last, but the claimsants to the lands are numerous.

William Logan, son of James Logan, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, was born 14th 5 mo. 1718. He was educated in Korkland, at his return, assisted his father in his business affairs, and was engaged in mercantile life up to the decease of his father on the 31st of December, 1751. He was a member of the Philadelphia City Council from 1748 to 1756, and in 1749 was made a member of the Provincial Council in place of his father. He was a prominent Quaker, and as a matter of course, was influential in the political affairs of the Province. He died at Philadelphia, on the 28th of October, 1778 and was buried in a Friends' bury-ground. Mr. Logan married Hannah Weten, daughter of George Elder, of Philadelphia, who died January 30, 1727, aged nearly 53 years. They had six children.
Treaty at Lancaster, 1744.

Susquehannock Indian, 1 stood without the circle and importuned the white bystanders to give money to the young children, which was done. Whilst this diversion happened some high Dutch, belonging to the town, brought their guns with them to the camp, which, being perceived by the Conestoga, he informed us it would be very displeasing to the Indians, who would resent it, though brought thither with ever so innocent an intent; therefore desired us to tell the Germans to withdraw, and leave their musquets out of their sight, otherwise some bad consequences might ensue. We complied with his request, and made the Germans retire.

The camp I went to Worrall’s, and set up until eleven o’clock, to whose house I heard the Indian drum, and the warriors repeating their terrible noise and dancing, and at this sport of theirs they continued till near one in the morning.

These young men are surprisingly agile, strong and straight-limbed. They shoot, both with the gun and bow and arrow, most dextrously. They likewise throw their tomahawk (a little hatchet) with great certainty; at an indifferent large object for twenty or thirty yards distance. This weapon they use against their enemies, when they have spent their powder and ball, and destroy many of them with it.

The chiefs who were deputed to treat with the English by their different nations were very sober men, which is rare for an Indian to be so, if he can get liquor. They behaved very well during our stay amongst them, and sundry times refused drinking in a moderate way. Whenever they renew old treaties of friendship or make any bargain about lands they sell to the English, they take great care to abstain from intoxicating drink for fear of being over-reached; but when they have finished this business then some of them will drink without measure.

Sunday, June 24, 1744.

Mr. Commissioner Jennings ordered me to copy the speech to be read by him, in the name of the Governor of Maryland, to the Indians in the Court House, to-morrow evening. This, and transcribing some copies of it, busied me so much that I could not go to the Court House, where divine service, according to the Church of England, was performed by my fellow-traveller, the Rev. Mr. Craddock, to a numerous audience this day. He also preached a very good sermon, which met the approbation of the several gentlemen present.

His Honour, the Governor, invited Mr. Craddock to dine with him, which he did, and received a hearty welcome.

Betwixt 1 and 2, our honourable commissioners and those of Virginia dined in the Court House, and the gentlemen of both their governments; after which the office of the day was again performed by another minister of the established church. He gave us an excellent sermon, and expatiated very elegantly on the too prevalent vices of the day. He used plain language, and thereby fitted his discourse for all capacities, by which all might truly edify, if they had any grace or good disposition thereto.

In the evening, walked to the Indian camp, where they were dancing in the manner described last night, only the number of dancers was augmented, they having taken in several small boys, to make a larger ring.

Betwixt 8 and 9 this night supped with my brother Secretary, Mr. Black, in his lodgings at Mr. George Sanderson’s. We had pleasant company, good wine, and lime-punch. From hence I went to Worrall’s, where, in my room, three very impudent Indian traders had taken possession of my bed, and caused another to be there made; but after some disputes, our landlord made these soundrels quit their beds and leave the parson and myself in quiet possession.

These traders, for the most part, are as wild as some of the most savage Indians, amongst whom the trade for skins, furs, &c., for sundry kinds of European goods and strong liquors. They go back in the
country, above 300 miles from the white inhabitants; here they live with the Indian hunters until they have disposed of their cargoes, and those ass-horses carry their skins, &c., to Philadelphia, where they are bought by the merchants there, and from there exported to London. It is a very beneficial trade, though hazardous to their persons and lives, for the weather is so excessively cold where they trade, which is near the lakes of Canada, and their cabins so poorly made to defend themselves from the bitter winters, that they often perish, and, on the other hand, they are liable to the insults and savage fury of the drunken Indians by selling to them rum and other spirituous liquors. The government, as yet, has not provided a law prohibiting the selling of such liquors, although it has been pressed by his Honour, who is but too sensible of the ill effects produced by the Indian traders carrying so much to barter with the hunters of the Six Nations.

I rested well, after discoursing these intruding guests, but this happened by my giving orders to my landlord’s servants, this morning, to wash our room with cold water, and take my bed from its bedstead, and lay it on the floor; and by this means the bugs and fleas were defeated of their prey.

**Monday Morning, 25th June, 1744.**

At 10 o’clock the Indian sachems met the Governor, the honourable Commissioners of Virginia, and those of this province (Maryland), when his Honour made them a speech, to which Cannaseego returned an answer in behalf of all the others present.

The Indians staid in the Court House about two hours, and were regaled with some bumbo and sangree.

The honourable Commissioners from Virginia and Maryland dined in the Court House, as did the gentlemen of both governments; we had two tables, and a great variety of victuals; our company being about thirty in number.

**In the Court House, Monday, p. m.**

The Governor and all the honourable Commissioners resumed their several seats here, and then the chiefs came in and took their places.

Edward Jennings, esq., as first Commissioner for Maryland, made a speech to the Six Nations which was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiser. Whilst Mr. Jennings delivered his speech, he gave the interpreter a string and two belts of wampum, which were by him presented to the sachem Cannaseego; and the Indians thereupon gave the cry of approbation; by this we were sure the speech was well approved by the Indians. This cry is usually made on presenting wampum to the Indians in a treaty, and is performed thus: The grand chief and speaker amongst them pronounces the word jo-hah! with a loud voice singly; then all the others join in this sound: jo-hah! dwelling some little while upon it, and keeping exact time with each other, and immediately, with a sharp noise and force, utter this sound,ough! This is performed in great order, and with the utmost ceremony and decorum, and with the Indians is like our English huzza.}

**Monday Evening, in the Court House Chamber.**

I supped with the Governor, the honourable Commissioners, and the gentlemen of Philadelphia, who attended his Honour to this town. We had an elegant entertainment, and after supper the Governor was extremely merry, and thereby set an example of agreeable mirth, which ran through the whole company. During this merriment two Germans happened to pass by the Court House with a harp and fiddle, and

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1 Wampum is an Iroquois word, and means mussel. The wampum of the Aborigines was composed of beads made from the mussel which was found on the coast of Virginia and Maryland, and in some of the rivers, especially the Susquehanna. Wood was also employed. A number of beads strong together was called a string, which, when a fathom long was termed a fathom of wampum. Several strings united were designated as a belt of wampum. The belts were of different dimensions as to the length and breadth, and of different colors: white and black wampum being the kinds used. White wampum denoted peace, goodwill, &c., while the black was the rev-rse. Upon the delivery of a string, a long speech was generally made, but when a belt was given few words were spoken. Upon the advent of the Europeans, beads were neatly and elegantly made and used in barter with the Indians, when the latter gave up the use of those made of mussel and wood. For further reference see Loskiel, pp. 27; Heckewelder (Ed. 1876), p. 106; and for engraving of a belt of wampum, Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1, p. 205.

2 Cannaseego—This name is wrongly written, as most Indian proper names are, by two of our early writers giving us the same orthography. Cannasseego was a renowned, sagacious and influential chief of the Six Nations. He was an Onondaga, a man of note in his own nation, whose name figures largely in all the principal transactions of the Iroquois from 1724 to 1729. He died at Onondaga in the month of September, 1729, and his death was greatly deplored by the Governments of New York and Pennsylvania, his influence with the Six Nations being very great and always on the side of the English.
come up stairs, where the Governor re¬
played some tunes under the window of
our room : upon that they were ordered to
jollity by dancing in the Indian dress, and
in England,) but by playing a tune, of
to us who had heard some of the best bands
quired them to divert us, which they did,
and then the younger persons raised their
jollity by dancing in the Indian dress, and
after their manner.

Tuesday, 26th of June.

Copied fair the proceedings of yesterday
with the Indians, as also Gov. Thomas's
speech to them, which were transmitted to
his Excellency, Thomas Bladen, esq.,
Governor of Maryland, by Mr. Commis¬

We dined in the court house, and soon
after I received orders from the above
Commissioner to acquaint all the Mary¬
land gentlemen, "That they should desist
going into the court house this afternoon,
during our treaty with the Six Nations."
Pursuant to which order, I informed the
gentlemen of our Commissioner's pleasure,
at which they first were much disgusted,
and then the Virginia gentlemen, who had
the same commands laid on them by the
Secretary of their Commissioners.

Five O'clock P. M.

His Honour, the Governor of Pennsyl¬
vanina, and the honourable Commissioners
of Virginia and Maryland, met the Indian
chiefs in the court house, when Cannas¬
ateego answered our speech of yesterday,
and presented a string and two belts of
wampum, which being done, the further
execution of the treaty was adjourned until
the next day.

By order of our Commissioners and at
the request of Mr. Weiser, the interpreter.
I bought half a gross of tobacco pipes, to
be presented to the Indians at their camp;
which was accordingly done, and they
seemed well pleased at the gift, such pipes
being scarce with them.

1 This Andrew Hamilton was son of Andrew
Hamilton, the celebrated lawyer and eminent
Commissioner of Pennsylvania, who died in 1741.
The son was a native of the Province, was
town Clerk of Philadelphia and held several
other offices. He was engaged during the
greater portion of his life in the shipping
business. He died at Philadelphia in September,
1747, comparatively a young man. Mr. Hamil¬
ton married, in 1730, Mary, daughter of
William Hill of the City, and left two so s.

Wednesday, 27th June.

After breakfast, viewed Mr. Worrall's
book of our expenses, which we settled ;
and the whole amount thereof, from the
20th instant to this day, was £46-9-3, Penn¬
sylvania currency.

N. B.—Mr. Worrall's account for the ne¬
gros' expenses was not included in the
above sum.

This day our Commissioners wrote a
letter to our Governor, giving him an ac¬
count of their transactions with the Indians,
which I fairly copied by their order.

3 O'clock p. m.

The Governor and all the Honourable
Commissioners again met and treated with
the Six Nations, in the Court House, when
Tachanuntie, the famous Black Prince,
(mentioned before) answered the speech
made yesterday by the Hon. Col. Lee, one
of the Virginia Commissioners; and in
token that it was well received and ap¬
proved by the chiefs, Tachanuntie presented
one string and two belts of wampum to his
Majesty's Commissioners of Virginia.

Then Mr. Commissioner Jennings desired
the interpreter to ask the Indians if they
would be ready for a conference to-morrow
morning, in the Court House chamber,
with the Commissioners of Maryland,
which he did, and the Indians answered
that they would meet for that purpose, as
desired.

At eight o'clock, this evening, I went
with three of our honourable Commis¬
sioners to a ball in the Court House
chamber, to which his Honour, the Gover¬
nor of Pennsylvania, the Commissioners of
Virginia and Maryland, and the gentlemen
of the several colonies, with sundry in¬
habitants of this town, were invited.

James Hamilton, esq., the proprietor of
Lancaster, made the ball, and opened it
by dancing two minuets with two of the
ladies here, which last danced wilder time
than any Indians.

Our music and musicians were the same
as described last Monday evening.

The females (I dare not call them ladies,
for that would be a profanation of the
name,) were, in general, very disagreeable.
The dancers consisted of Germans and
(Scothe-)Irish; but there were some Jew¬
esses who had not long since come from

1 Of James Hamilton, the proprietor of Lan¬
caster, we have little information. He was
considered as a natural son of Andrew Hamil¬
ton, of Philadelphia and died during the Revo¬
olutionary era, leaving no direct descend¬
s. His late went to the Hamiltons of Philadel¬
phia, the heirs of whom are recipients of the
ancients. It is a great pity that these were
not abrogated long ago.
New York,¹ that made a tolerable appearance, being well dressed, and of an agreeable behaviour.

There was a large and elegant supper prepared in the Court House chamber, of which the Governor, some of the honourable Commissioners, and the female dancers first eat, then the other gentlemen in order, and afterwards the younger gentlemen. The dances were concluded about 12 o'clock; but myself, with several others of the younger sort, staid until after one in the morning.

Thursday, 28th of June, 1744, a.m.

At 9 this morning the Commissioners of Maryland and the Six Nations met in the Court House chamber according to agreement of yesterday.

Here we opened the several bales and boxes of goods to be presented the Indians, they having been brought to Philadelphia and sent hither for that end.

Before the chiefs viewed and handled the several goods, Mr. Commissioner Jenings made them a speech in the name of the Governor of Maryland, with which, after it was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiser, they seemed well pleased.

The chiefs turned over, and narrowly inspected the goods, and asked the prices of them, which being told them, they seemed somewhat dissatisfied, and desired to go down into the Court House to consult among themselves, (which is their usual method, if it concerns any matter of importance, as this was, for they must give a particular account of their whole negotiation to their several tribes, when they return,) with their interpreter. They did so; and after some time came up again, and agreed with our Commissioners to release their claim and right to any lands now held by the inhabitants of Maryland, and for which the said Indians were not heretofore satisfied, in consideration of the following goods:

4 pieces of stronds,² at £7. ... £25.0.0
2 half barrels gun-powder. 13 0 0
2 doz. boxes. 0 10
2 qrs. shot. 1 0 0
4 doz. Jews-harps. 0 14 0
2 doz. boxes. 0 1 0
1 cwt. 2 qrs. 0 lb. bar lead. 3 0 0
2 qrs. shot. 1 0 0
2 pieces ditto, £5. 10 0 0
3 ditto dussle blankets, at £7. ... 21 0 0
47 guns, at £1 6 0. 61 2 0
1 lb. vermillion. 0 18 0
1000 flints. 0 18 0
1 ditto ditto. 6 10 0
2 half barrels gun-powder. 13 0 0
Pennsylvania money. £220 15 0
The above quantity of goods were accordingly given the Indians, as agreed on by both parties; after which, our Commissioners ordered me to go to Mr. Worrall, and desire him to send some punch for the Sachems, which was accordingly done; and after they had severally drank health to the Commissioners, and the compliment returned by the latter, the Indians retired to their wigwams, and the honourable Commissioners went to their lodgings about 12 o'clock.

Post Meridian.

The Commissioners of Virginia had a private treaty with the chiefs, in the Court house, when Col. Lee made them a speech, which see in the printed treaty, fol. 20, 21, 22.

In the evening about 7 o'clock I accompanied my friend, Col. Nathan Rightie, to the Indian cabins, when, having collected several of their papooses (or little children) together, he flung a handful of English half-pennies amongst them, for which they scrambled heartily, and with the utmost earnestness. This pleased the elder sort very much, and they esteem it a great mark of friendship if the white people make presents to their children, or treat them with any particular notice. I gave the papooses some small beads, which were kindly received.

The young men, this night, again danced a war dance, as described on Saturday last, at which were present a great number of white people.

When the Colonel and myself had taken a view of the Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senecas' cabins, we went from me to the ring of dancers, and then I went to a cabin, where I heard the celebrated Mrs. Montour,¹ a French lady (but now, by having lived so long among the Six Nations, is become almost an Indian) had her residence. When I approached the wigwam, I saluted—

¹See Appendix for sketch of the Montours.
Treaty at Lancaster, 1744.

her in French, and asked her whether she was not born in Canada? of what parents? and whether she had not lived a long time with the Indians? She answered me in the same language very civilly, and after some compliments were passed betwixt us told me in a polite manner "that she was born in Canada, whereof her father (who was a French gentleman) had been Governor; under whose administration the Five Nations of Indians had made war against the French, and the Hurons and that government (whom we term the French Indians, from espousing their part against the English, and living in Canada) and that, in the war, she was taken by some of the Five Nations' warriors, being then about ten years of age, and by them was carried away into their country, where she was habited and brought up in the same manner as their children. That when she grew up to years of maturity, she was married to a famous war captain of those nations, who was in great esteem for the glory he procured in the wars he carried on against the Catawbas, a great nation of Indians to the southwest of Virginia, by whom she had several children; but about fifteen years ago he was killed in a battle with them, since which she has not been married. That she had little or no remembrance of the place of her birth, nor, indeed, of her parents, it being near fifty years since she was ravished from them by the Indians."

She has been a handsome woman, genteel and of polite address, notwithstanding her residence has been so long among the Indians, though formerly she was wont to accompany the several chiefs, who used to renew treaties of friendship with the proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, the metropolis of that province; and being a white woman, was there very much caressed by the gentle women of that city, with whom she used to stay for some time. She retains her native language by conversing with the Frenchmen who trade for fur skins, &c., among the Six Nations; and our language she learned at Philadelphia, as likewise of our traders, who go back into the Indians' country. In her cabin were two of her daughters, who were both married to persons of the same station, and were then gone to war with the Catawbas before mentioned. One of these young women had a son, about five years old, who, I think was one of the finest-faced and limbed children mine eyes ever saw, and was not so tawny or greased as the other Indian children were, but on the contrary, his cheeks were ruddy, mixed with a delicate white, had eyes and hair of an hazel colour, and was neatly dressed in a green ban-jan, and his other garments were suitable.

Madame Montour has but one son, who for his prowess and martial exploits was lately made a captain, and a member of the Indian council, and is now gone to war against the Catawbas, with her sons-in-law. She is in great esteem with the best sort of white people, and by them always treated with abundance of civility; and whenever she went to Philadelphia (where formerly she did pretty often), the ladies of that city always invited her to their houses, entertained her well, and made her several presents.

From this cabin, when I had taken leave of Mrs. Montour and her daughters, I returned to the dancers, who were continuing their mirth; and afterwards returned to my lodgings.

Friday, June 29th, 1744, A.M.

Our Commissioners and the Six Nations had a private conference in the Court House chamber, when they jointly proceeded to settle the bounds and quantity of land the latter were to release to Lord Baltimore, in Maryland. But the Indians, not very well apprehending our Commissioners, in their demand respecting the bounds of the lands to be released, occasioned a great delay in the finishing of that business; however, it was wholly settled in the afternoon, upon Mr. Weiser's conference with the Governor of Pennsylvania, his majesty's commissioners of Virginia, and those of Maryland, and also with the Indians in council, where he debated the matter more fully, and explained our commissioners' demands in so clear a manner, that they came to such an amicable determination, as proved agreeable to each party. We again presented the sachems, here, with bumbo punch with which they drank prosperity and success to their Father, the great King over the waters, and to the healths of our Commissioners.

This day we dined at our landlord Worrall's, and it was agreed by the Commissioners of Maryland to invite all the Six Nations' chiefs to dine with them in company with the Governor and Virginia Commissioners to-morrow in the court house;
against which time and orders were given to prepare a large and elegant entertain¬

ment.

In the evening I went with Col. Rigbie, and other gentlemen, to visit one Mr. Adams, a German doctor, who, we understood, had got an organ; but it was with the greatest importunity he would favour us in playing a tune, telling us, that unless he himself was pos¬
sessed with a strong desire to play, he could oblige nobody; yet, seeing we were so very importunate, he at last complied, and strummed over three or four High-Dutch psalm tunes, to which he sang the words, in the most enthusiastic raptures.

For my part, what with the horrid noise he made on the organ, and his horse-voice, I never suffered so great an anticipation of pleasure in hearing music, or, at least, a musical instrument, in my whole life. When he had finished his rapturous fit of noise he acquainted us that he had been a consummate rake in his more youthful days, but soon after he married turned himself to a sober and religious life, and praised his Maker several hours a day, by playing on and singing to his organ. He seemed to us to be a perfect enthusiast, and upon inquiry among his neighbors he has borne that character ever since he took to himself a wife. Being very much tired with his cant and noise, we last took our leaves of him, though not before inviting him to drink a glass of wine with us at our lodgings; but he desired to be excused accepting our invitation, at which we were not displeased, since we might have expected his visit would have proved very troublesome.

Saturday, 30th June, 1744, A. M.

Mr. Commissioner Jopings having this morning drawn a deed of value from the chiefs of the Six Nations for the land they claim in Maryland, to the use of Lord Bal¬

timore, sent for me to engross it, which I so did, about nine o’clock.

At ten, his majesty’s commissioners had a conference with the Indians in the court¬

house chamber, to which no other persons than themselves were admitted.

One O’clock P. M.

The twenty-four chiefs of the Six Na¬

tions, by invitation of yesterday from the honorable Commissioners of Maryland, dined with them in the court house; when we were present, at other table, his Honour, the Governor of Pennsylvania, the honoura¬

ble commissioners of Virginia, and a great many gentlemen of two or three colonies.

There were a large number of inhabitants of Lancaster likewise present to see the In¬
dians dine.

We had five tables, great variety of di3hes, and served up in very good order. The sachems sat at two separate tables; at the head of one, the famous orator, Can¬
asateego, sat, and the others were placed according to their rank. As the Indians are not accustomed to eat in the same man¬

ner as the English, or other polite nations do, we who were secretaries on this affair, with Mr. Thomas Cookson, prothonotary of Lancaster county, William Logan, esq., son of Mr. President Logan, and Mr. Na¬

thanial Rigbie, of Baltimore county, in Maryland, carved the meat for them, served them with cider and wine, mixed with water, and regulated the economy of the two tables. The chiefs seemed pro¬
digiously pleased with their feast, for they fed lustily, drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished their dinner, for, by-the-bye, they make no use of their forks.

The interpreter, Mr. Weiser, stood be¬
twixt the tables, where the Governor sat, and that, at which the sachems were placed, who, by order of his Honour, was desired to inform the Indians he drank their healths, which he did; whereupon they gave the usual cry of approbation, and returned the compliment by drinking health to his Honour and the several Com¬

missioners.

After dinner, the interpreter informed the Governor and Commissioners, “That as the Lord Proprietary and Governor of Maryland was not known to the Indians by any particular name, they had agreed, in council, to take the first oppor-tunity of a large company to present him with one. And, as this with them was a matter of great consequence, and attended with abundance of form, the several nations had drawn lots for the per¬
formance of the ceremony, and the lot falling on the Cahuga nation, they had chosen Gachradodon, one of their chiefs, to be their speaker, and he desired leave to begin,” which being given, he, on an ele¬
vated part of the Court House, with all the dignity of a warrior, the gesture of an orator, and in a very graceful posture, spoke as follows:

“As the Governor of Maryland has in¬
vited us here, to treat about our lands, and brighten the chain of friendship, the united Six Nations think themselves so much obliged to him that we have come to a resolution in council, to give the great man, who is proprietor of Maryland, a particu-
lar name, by which we may hereafter cor-
respond with him. And as it hath fallen
to the Cahugas' lot in council to consider
have agreed to give him the name of
lar name, by which we may hereafter cor-

able place, betwixt Asserigoa and our

Tocary-ho-gon, denoting Precedency, Ex-
cellency, or living in the middle or honour-

of a proper name for that chief man, we

brother Onas, by whom our treaties may

be the better carried on."

When the speech was ended all the other
chiefs expressed their assent, and great satis-
faction at what was said to our Com-
missioners, insomuch that they sent forth
five several cries of approbation.

Gachradodon having finished his com-
plimentary oration, Mr. Commissioner Jen-
ing, in the name of the other Commission-
ers, and on behalf of Lord Baltimore, spoke
in reply to the sachem: "That his Lord-
ship was much obliged to the Six Nations
for distinguishing him by the name of
Tocary-ho-gon, esteeming it a mark of kind-
ness and honour. That this Lordship
would ever be ready and desirous to
render them its best offices, conducive to
their tranquility and undisturbed safety;" which Mr. Weiser, by command, inter-
preted to the Indians, and at the
some time was ordered to acquaint them,
that the Governor and the Commissioners
were then preparing to drink his Majesty's
health; all which was done, and the chiefs
expressed a sincere joy by their cry of ap-
probation, and drank the same in bumm-
er. Madeira wine. The Governor,
Commissioners, and indeed all the persons
present, except the Indians, gave three se-
veral huzzas, after the English manner, on
drinking the King's health; which a good
deal surprised them, they having never be-
fore heard the like noise.

Upon ending the ceremony of drinking
healths, the Governor and Commissioners
retired some little time; but within an hour

the Commissioners of Virginia and Mary-
land entered the court house, and afterwards
went up into the chamber, as likewise the
several chiefs, Mr. Weiser, and a great
many of the young gentlemen. Here, by
order of our Commissioners, I produced the
grossed release for the lands, with the
seals fixed. We were obliged to put about
the glass pretty briskly, and then Mr. Weiser
interpreted the contents of it to the
sachems, who, according amongst them-

selves about the execution of it, the major
part of them seemed very inclined to sign
and deliver it, but upon Sha'telemy, an

1 Shikellomy, or Swatun, Chief of the Onenda
tribe, in 1728, was the acting representative of
the Six Nations in business affairs with the
Proprietary Government, his fixed residence
being in the old Munsey Town in Buffalo Val-
ley. Notwithstanding the statement in the in-
troduction to this Journal that he was of Sun-
quahonnock origin, such was not the case, but as
here given. He was placed over the Shawanoes
as Viceroy or Vice-Regent. In course of his
great influence he thus willed, he was in re-
markable favor with the English. There was
scarcely a treaty between 1728 and 1748 at which
he was not present. At the Lancaster Trely
on account of the superiority of rank of Can-
scatoego and others, he was not heard from,
save in his refusal at first to sign the treaty
with the Maryland Commissioners. It was
probably due to the influence of the Penn gov-
ernment, who objected to the bounds as com-
ing in conflict with the claims of Pennsylva-
nia—and which, although Mr. Marsh makes
no mention of it, was subsequently changed to
suit the notions of Shikellomy. Shikellomy
afterwards removed to Shamokin, now Sun-
bury, as it was a more convenient point for in-
terrance, with the Proprietary Governor.

Conrad Weiser, in his report to the authorities
states: "On the 6th of October, 1748, I set o
for Shamokin by the way of Paxtang, because
the weather was bad. I arrived at Shamokin
on the 9th about noon. I was surprised to see
Shikellomy in such a miserable condition as
ever my eyes beheld; he was hardly able to
stretch out his hand to bid me welcome: in the
same condition was his wife, his three sons
not quite so bad, also, one of his daughters
and two or three of his grand children; all had
the fever; there were three buried out of the
family in a few days before, viz: Cjadies, Shikel-
limy's son-in-law, that had been married to
his daughter above fifteen years, and reckoned
the best hunter among all the Indians; also,
his oldest wife's son, and his grand-child. Next
morning, I administered the medicines to
Shikellomy and one of his sons, under the di-
rection of Doctor Graeme, which had a very
good effect upon them. Shikellomy was able
to walk about with me with a stick in his
hand before I left Shamokin, which was on
the 12th in the afternoon." But poor Shik
limy did not survive many days longer. He
died at Shamoki, December 17, 1748, in the
presence of a daughter and of the mission-
dary, David Zolberg, who had a tendered him
in his illness. Several days after his deceas
his second son, Loga, returned home from a far
journey to receive the news of the capture of
the parent he so much revered. The Mor-

yan brethren made him a coffin, and the
Indians, having painted the corpse in gay colors
and decked it with the choicest ornaments.
M.ersh's Journal.

not signed the deed of release, and renunici-
ation of their claim to lands in Maryland, did
now cheerfully and without any
hesitation execute the same, in the pre-
ence of the commissioners and Mr.
Weiser; which latter they caused to sign
and deliver it on behalf of a nation not
present, both with his Indian name of
Fcanasateego, and that of Weiser. Thus
we happily effected the purchase of the
lands in Maryland, by the dexterous
management of the interpreter, not-
withstanding the storm of Satur-
day, that threatened to blast our
measure, and thereby gained not only
some hundred thousand acres of land to
Lord Baltimore, who had no good
right to them before this release,
but an undisturbed and quiet enjoyment
of them to the several possessors, who,
in fact, had bought of that Lord's agent.

The names of the chiefs who signed and
delivered the deed were—

Cannasateego, alias Shukelemy,
Oniuchquaxa,
Oniuchquaxa, alias Watratur
Torsahwanbarbrows,
Amohomochow,
Thohasseet,
Sidowax,
Attichus,
Tuanachowgula,
Tunsihwiss,
Tunsuluxes,

Sachems
of the
Queydoes
Sachems
of
Onondago
Nation.

Swadamy, alias Shukelemy, Oniuchquaxa,
Oniuchquaxa, alias Watratur,
Torsahwanbarbrows, Amohomochow,
Thohasseet,

Sachems
of the
Queydoes
Sachems
of
Onondago
Nation.

The deed was delivered by Mr. Commis-
sioner Jenings on his return to Annapolis,
to his clerk, Mr. Richard Burdus, who re-
corded it among the land records in the
provincial court office of Maryland, in
libro E. 1. fo. 8, 9, 10, 11.

This morning the Governor met the
Indians on business, and Canwasateego
answered his Honor's speech made
the Indians on Thursday last, relating
to the murder of John Armstrong
and his
Treaty at Lancaster, 1744.

The chief said, "That the Indians were, from the bottom of their hearts, very sorry such a misfortune had happened; but hoped their brother Onas would dry up his tears and wipe his eyes. That they would send the two Delawares down to Philadelphia, who were suspected to be and charged as accessories to the murder, though they really believed them guiltless, for they assured the Governor that on the trial of the Indians in Philadelphia gaol, committed for perpetrating Armstrong's and his men's murder, it would appear that he was the sole person who did the horrid deed.

However, to comply with the Governor's request, they would send the Delawares (but not as prisoners) to be examined and tried; and if they were found guilty, to suffer as the English law prescribes; but if innocent, then to return them safe to the Six Nations."

His Honor, in return, said "that great care should be taken to do the Delawares all the justice in the world, and if, upon a fair trial they should be acquitted, he would send them in safety to their own homes."

The Indians gave the Governor four strings of wampum, and he, in return, presented them with three strings. But for a more particular account of Armstrong and his men's murder, see the treaty at large.

In the afternoon the Honourable Commissioners of Virginia had a conference with the Indians in the Court House chamber, where a deed, in the nature of ours, releasing their claim to a large quantity of land, lying in that colony, was produced by Mr. Weiser to the sachems for execution, which was signed and delivered by them in the presence of divers gentlemen of the three colonies, who were witnesses to the same. Wine and sangree was presented to the chiefs, who drank to the continuation of the friendship between them and his Majesty's subjects in Virginia.

After the deed was executed, Cannassa-teego commanded the young Indian men then present to entertain the Governor and Commissioners in the evening with a particular dance, according to the custom of their nations, which was complied with about 8 o'clock. Before they performed the dance, I went to their camp, where I saw the young warriors paint themselves in a frightful manner, and on their heads place a great quantity of feathers. They took arrows and tomahawks in their hands, and then unanimously ran out of their camp, hallooing and shrieking (which was terrible to us, being strangers,) up the street to Mr. Cookson's, where the Governor was; and there they made a ring, a person being placed in it, and danced round him to a horrid noise, made by the inclosed person and the others. In this manner they continued sometime, flourishing their weapons and striving to destroy him in the ring. When they had acted thus about seven or eight minutes, then their captain ran before them, very swift, to another place, about twenty or thirty yards distance from Mr. Cookson's, and there acted over again. This was a representation of the Indians besieging a fort of the English enemies (who have no cannon), the person in the midst of the circle representing the fort besieged, and the Indians encircling him, the besiegers; and as it happens sometimes that they are beaten from a fort when besieging it, so their running away, as described above, was the manner of their retreat. As soon as the Indians recovered their fatigue, they renewed the attack of the supposed fort. When they had finished the siege, and the Governor and commissioners had treated them with sangree, they immediately retired to their wigwams.

Tuesday, 3d July, 1744.

At 11 o'clock this morning the Governor and all the honorable Commissioners had a meeting with the Six Nations in the Court House, when his Honour made a speech to them as did the Commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, and each party presented strings and belts of wampum, on receipt of which the Indians gave the usual cry of approbation, and in a stronger and more cheerful tone than heretofore. They were served with plenty of rum at the conclusion of the speeches and drank it with a good gout.

Thomas Cookson was a native of County Sunderland, England, born about 1710. He came to America at his majority, and probably located to Lancaster shortly after the removal of the county seat from Postichwinck, for we find that he was commissioned a justice of the peace November 22, 1728. He was chief burgess of the town in 1742 and 1743, again in 1751, '52, and '53. In 1741 he was Prothonotary and Register of the county, and for a long period one of the Proprietors and surveyors. He died at Lancaster in 1759, leaving a wife and two children—Hannah and Margaret, the latter d at her minority. Mr. Cookson was one of the first wardens of St. James' Episcopal church in Lancaster, was a gentleman of means, owning a large landed estate on both sides of the Susquehanna. His residence was on Range-street, Lancaster, and the hospitality there was proverbial. He and Gov Thomas had been intimate friends and, as a matter of course, the latter was handsomely entertained during the treaty.
Wednesday, 4th July, 1744.

The Indian chiefs assembled in the Court House, and the Governor and Commissioners met them there, when the speeches made yesterday, by the latter gentlemen, were answered by the Indian orators. After this the chiefs made a present of a large bundle of deer skins to his Honour, to the Commissioners of Virginia, and to those of Maryland, which were kindly accepted. The Governor, Commissioners of Virginia, and the white bystanders, gave three loud huzzas, and thereby put an end to the treaty in regard to them.

In the Afternoon—Court House.

The Shawanese nation of Indians, who compose the sixth body amongst the Indians, in the year 1742, came down to Maryland, on the eastern shore of that province, to a nation of our friendly Indians, and tributary to the Six Nations, called Nanticookes, from inhabiting near a river.

1 Mr. Marsh's Journal.

The Shawanese nation of Indians, belonging to the Iroquois league, and being the sixth in number of the confederacy. The Shawanese had a southern origin. They came to Pennsylvania in 1696, by permission of the Proprietary Government, and possibly by persuasion of the Iroquois. They were subject to the latter, and not their equals. They conducted themselves as savages, and were not restrained by any compact or alliance with the English. Governor and Commissioners of Virginia, and the white bystanders, gave three loud huzzas, and thereby put an end to the treaty in regard to them.

The Nanticookes, (Tide-water people,) a small number of the Algonquin family, had their seats when the Europeans first met them, on the eastern shore of Maryland. They migrated northward about 1740, following the course of the Susquehanna, and planting in part at Wyoming and in part higher up the river, at Cheannanong and Chemung. It is probable a portion followed the course of the Shawanese, especially after their treacherous conduct of 1742. The remainder, shortly after the treaty with the Six Nations at Lancaster, in 1741, asked permission to depart the Province of Maryland, and leave was granted by the Council on the 13th of September following. The Nanticookes, so-called, were a portion of that name; and by their artifice persuaded them to rise upon the English, to recover all the lands that had been formerly theirs, but now possessed by the English under Lord Baltimore; at the same time promising the Nanticookes all the assistance in the power of them, the Shawanese, though they were in perfect friendship with us, by the treaty made during the administration of the Hon. Charles Calvert, Esq., who giving ear but too unwarily to the Shawanese, did intend to have put in practice the wicked scheme of destroying the Nanticooke tribe of Indians. Upon this the militia of the counties were raised, who, after a great and close search, took 68 Nanticookes prisoners, with old Panquash, their emperor, and they were brought to Annapolis in irons, and there examined and confined, but afterwards set at liberty. As these actions of the Shawanese (who, indeed, are the most dishonest and treacherous of all the other Six Nations, and for that reason hated by them,) were contrary to the treaties then subsisting between us and them as part of the Six Nations, the Commissioners took an opportunity, in a private conference with them this afternoon, "to ask them the reason of the Shawanese's procedure, and whether they had any countenance from other Nations, and also desired the chiefs then present to search this business fully, and reprimand the criminal Shawanese, who were more blameable than the deluded Nanticookes." The Shawanese, by their orator, said, "that they were heartily sorry for what the Shawanese had done; but on their return to Onondago, they would make a strict inquiry of the whole affair, and if they found them so culpable as we alleged they were, then they would severely reprimand them for their treacherous behaviour contrary to the faith of treaties."

When this answer was finished our Commissioners shook the several chiefs by the hand, and took their leaves of them, presenting Gachradodon with a fine laced hat. This Gachradodon is a very celebrated warrior, and one of the Cahuga chiefs, about forty years of age, tall, straight-limbed, and a graceful person, but not so fat as Canassateeqoo. His action, when he spoke, was certainly the most graceful, as well as bold, that any person
ever saw; without the buffoonery of the French, or over-solemn deportment of the haughty Spaniards. When he made the complimentary speech on the occasion of giving Lord Baltimore the name of Tocary-ho-gon, he was complimented by the Governor, who said "that he would have made a good figure in the forum of old Rome." And Mr. Commissioner Jenings declared, "that he had never seen so just an action in any of the most celebrated orators he had heard speak."

Thursday, 5th July, 1744.

This morning, Mr. Peters, Secretary to the Governor, Mr. Black, Secretary to the honourable Commissioners of Virginia, and myself, examined the whole treaty, and finished all matters any way relating to it. At 12 Colonels Colvill and King, with the Virginia Commissioners, settled our accounts with Mr. Worrall. Here we dined, and immediately afterwards mounted our horses, and went from this filthy town to our kind, facetious landlord’s, Mr. Hughes, at Nottingham township, by the Gap-Road, so called from a space or gap being open in the ridge of Blue Mountains, which extend a great way to the south-westward of Virginia, and northeastward of Pennsylvania.

I was so fatigued with my journey, which was forty-four miles, and the weather was so very sultry withal, having no good accommodations on the road, that several of us were seized with a fever. Lay at Mr. Hughes’s, where good care was taken of me by my kind host.

Friday, 6th July, 1744.

Breakfasted at Mr. Hughes’s, and about eight in the morning set out for Mr. Benjamin Chew’s in Cecil county, after having taking leave of the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and the several young gentlemen of that colony, with the latter of whom I had contracted a friendship and received many civilities from them. My horse tired in my journey to Mr. Chew’s, though it was but ten miles. Here I rested this day and night, my fever continuing, and my horse still remaining lame.

Saturday, 7th of July, 1744.

Went from Mr. Chew’s about six this morning; crossed the lower ferry of Susquehannock; baited at Mr. Treadway’s ordinary, and arrived at Joppa about 11 o’clock. Ferried from thence over Gunpowder river to Mr. Day’s, where I dined. From hence proceeded to Baltimore town, where I rested at the Reverend Mr. Benedict Bourdillon’s; staid and drank tea with him and his lady, and then went over Potapsoc river to Mrs. Hughes’s ordinary, where I lodged this night.

Sunday, 8th July, 1744.

After breakfast, about six in the morning, went from hence to Annapolis with William Dallam, and arrived there at ten o’clock.

The end of my journal.

WITHAM MARSHE,
Sec’y to the Hon. Commis. of Maryland.
APPENDIX.

The following sketch of Madame Montour and her family will not be out of place in this connection:

**Madame Montour** was a noted character in our early Provincial history, and it is proper that some account be given of her and her descendants, all of whom were more or less conspicuous. Much, however, of what she related to Mr. Marsh was imaginative. She was not the daughter of a Governor of Canada. Her father, M. Montour, emigrated to Canada about 1665. By an Indian wife he had one son and two daughters (Col. Hist. of N. Y., vol. v., p. 65). In 1684 he was severely wounded by the Mohawks, near Fort Lamoite, on Lake Champlain. It is supposed that at this time Madame Montour, then ten years of age, was captured by the Five Nations and adopted into their family. Her first appearance was at a conference held at Albany on the 24th of August, 1711, where she acted as interpreter. She seems to have had a fair education. She married Carondowana, or the “Big Tree,” who had adopted the name of Robert Hunter, Governor of New York. Carondowana was of the Oneida tribe, “a great Capt. of ye 5 Nations,” says Secretary Logan, and fell in an encounter with the Catawbas in the spring of 1729. On the 16th of 5 mo., 1729, presents of “strowds” were “sent to ye chiefs of the 5 Nations upon ye death of their Capt. Carondawana (alias Robt. Hunter) and also above 50 of their men killed and taken by ye Southern Indians, assisted by ye English traders of Carolina;” while on the 29th of 5th mo., 1730, there was forwarded “a whole suit of mourning clothes to Carondawana’s widow, Montour, and a coat to her little son and a handkerchief.” At the treaty in Philadelphia, in September, 1734, the Proprietaries condoled with her publicly at the loss of her husband, who had ever been considered a warm friend of the English. Prior to the death of Carondawana they resided among the Miamis at the west end of Lake Erie, but about 1727 removed to Pennsylvania, locating at Oskewenawken, on the Chonasky (Loyal Sock), now Montoursville, Lycoming county. In some old maps it is marked French Town. In 1742 Count Zinzendorf visited Madame Montour, and it is stated that she was deeply affected when she learned the object of his visit. It is told in this connection by Zinzendorf that the Jesuit missionaries taught the Indians the Saviour’s birth-place was in France and his crucifiers Englishmen; but this is undoubtedly apocryphal. The fact is Madame Montour was full of duplicity, as will be learned by casual reference to the minutes of the Provincial Council for October 15, 1734, wherein it is stated “that her old age only protects her from being punished for such falsehoods.” Speaking French, and probably handsome as the half-breed Indians were, much was made of her in Philadelphia by the old Quaker ladies of that metropolis.

Zeisberger visited her in 1745, when she was living on an island in the West Branch, with her daughter. In her later years she was blind and decrepit. She died prior to 1753, but the precise date and place are undetermined. John Harris, in a letter of January, 1753, says “Madame Montour is dead.”

**Monsieur Montour,** as previously narrated, had one son and two daughters. The son, it is stated by some writers, was killed in 1709, at the instigation of Vaudreul the Governor of Canada, on account of his friendship to the English. But we find (Col. Doc. of N. Y., vol. v., p. 65, and vol. ix, pp. 601, 602, 830, 902,) that this M. Montour was “a Frenchman by birth,” therefore it could not have been the son who was a half-breed, but the father. From a document in our possession we learn that a brother of Madame Montour was living in 1729. The year previous the present of a blanket had been made him by the Proprietaries’ Secretary, James Logan, while in 1729, he had been sent an “express” to the Five Nations Chiefs. M. Montour’s children were as follows:

1. **John** [John]; mentioned heretofore. His wife was Anameakhickam, who in 1729 desired selling some land at “Lechay” to the
Proprietaries, which she "pretended to own," says Secretary Logan.

2. ii. Madame Montour, of whom we have given a sketch.

iii. [a daughter]. She married into the Miami, and all we know of her is the mention of a visit to her by Madame Montour in her old age, accompanied by her son Andrew.

II. Madame Montour's children were:

3. i. Margaret, or French Margaret, of whom presently.

iv. A daughter; married in 1744, as stated by Mr. Marsh. We know nothing further that is definite about her.

5. in. Lewis.

III. Margaret Montour, or French Margaret, as she is known, was probably the eldest child of Madame Montour. The Rev. John Martin Mack, Moravian missionary, visited her in 1755, and was well received by her. She then resided on the West branch of the Susquehanna. French Margaret's husband was a Six Nation Indian, named Katarionencha, alias Peter Quebec. He was considered "a man of good character." They had at least five children:

6. i. Esther; known as Queen Esther.

7. ii. Catharine; (Col. Rec. vol. viii, p. 449)

8. iii. Nicholas; (we are in doubt about this).

9. iv. Lewis.

IV. Andrew Montour was the eldest son of Madame Montour. He is sometimes called Henry, and although some writers do not consider them identical, we have made diligent search for information which has warranted us to come to the conclusion we have. We find that Captain Henry Montour was an interpreter at the grand council held at Easton, in 1758; and yet, at the same conference, although not on the same day, Captain Andrew Montour is mentioned as the interpreter. In the Land Department of the Commonwealth are the following documents:

[Letter from Richard Peters to John Armstrong.]

"PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1761."

"Mr. Armstrong:

"Sir—The Indians at Easton having recommended it to the Proprietaries to let their good friend Henry Montour have some commodious and good place to contain not less than fifteen hundred acres, within the land purchased from them over Sasquehanah, when he was last here, he applied for the same, intending to go and locate it; and I consented to give him an order to you to survey so much for him upon the common terms, after he should return from Sir William Johnson's, to whom he was obliged to go. But it seems by what Mr. Croghan says that he is detained by Sir William, and is now attending him to Fort Detroit. It is probable, however, that Mr. Croghan, to whom he has committed the care of this matter, may survey for him at such places as may be shewed to you, if not before appropriated or settled, the quantity of fifteen hundred acres, and I shall forthwith acquaint the Proprietaries that I have given you this order.

"I am, sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"RICHARD PETERS."

Appended to this letter is the following memorandum:

"Henry Montour locates the above grant in Sackson's Cove, situate betwixt Kishacoquillas creek and Juniata river, and about five or six miles from where a family of the name of Brown is settled on Juniata.

"Located this 3d August, 1761."

In the foregoing letter, where the word Henry appears, the name originally written was Andrew, but subsequently erased and the other written. The endorsement on this paper is as follows:

"Paper given to Andrew Montour for 1,500 acres of land over Sasquehanah, July 11, 1761."

[WARRANT TO HENRY MONTOUR.]

"BY THE PROPRIETARIES,

"Pennsylvania ss.:

[SEAL.] Whereas, Henry Montour, of the county of Cumberland, hath requested that we would grant him to take up fifteen hundred acres of land, more or less situate in Sackson's Cove, betwixt Kishacoquill and Juniata river, and about five or six miles from where a family of the name of Brown is settled, on Juniata river, (being the same land which the Six Nations and other Indian nations when they were at the late treaty at Easton recommended to the Proprietaries to give unto him, the said Andrew Montour, as appears by a certificate of our late Secretary, Richard Peters, dated the 11th July, 1761, directed to
John Armstrong, Deputy Surveyor of the county of Cumberland, for which the said Henry Montour agrees to pay over such a sum of money as shall be hereafter agreed upon by us, together with the yearly quit-rent of one penny sterling for every acre thereof: These are therefore to authorize and require you to survey, or cause to be surveyed, unto the said Henry Montour, at the place aforesaid, according to the method of townships appointed the said quantity of fifteen hundred acres, if not already surveyed or appropriated, and make return thereof unto the Secretaries' office, in order for further confirmation, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given under my hand, and the seal of the Land Office, by virtue of certain powers from the Proprietaries at Philadelphia, this twenty-second day of December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

"To John Lukens, Esquire, Surveyor General."

With the foregoing, in the handwriting of William Maclay, Deputy Surveyor, is "the draught of a tract of land situate on the head of Penn's creek, above the Great Spring, between it and a mountain lying N. W. from said spring, in the county of Cumberland," called "Succoth," containing 830 acres, and returned 19th May, 1767. Another tract of land containing 1,710 acres, called "Sharron," was returned the same day. Both tracts were surveyed to Henry Montour, and contained instead of 1,500 acres over 2,500 acres.

We have given the foregoing in full, as possible proof that Andrew and Henry were one and the same. It has been stated that Andrew Montour in 1755 resided on the Proprietary grant to him ten miles northwest of Carlisle, between the Conodoguinet and the Juniata, on a little stream afterward named for him "Montour's run," but this land was never surveyed to him, and was soon over-run by settlers. Of the land subsequently surveyed, into whose hands it fell we have no information. In 1775, Captain John Montour asked compensation for the lands of his father, Captain Andrew Montour, but it is doubtful if he ever received any remuneration therefor.

The Indian name of Andrew Montour was Sattelihu. Of all the Montours he was the most prominent. He acted as interpreter at some of the more important treaties with the Six Nations, not only in Pennsylvania, but in New York. In 1753 the French set a price of £100 upon his head. He accompanied Conrad Weiser on his mission to the country of the Six Nations, and was always considered loyal to the British interest. During the French and Indian war he was captain of a company of Indians on the English side, and hence his military title was properly acquired. He was, however, hard to please, and like his mother, untruthful and unreliable. He died prior to 1775. Captain Andrew Montour was twice married: first to a grand-daughter of Allummapees, king of the Delawares, and they had

i. John; born in 1744, as it is stated that in 1756 he was twelve years of age. He was educated at the Philadelphia Academy, as also the other children of Andrew Montour, at the expense of the Province of Pennsylvania, and under the care of Gen. Robert Hunter Morris. He commanded a company of Delaware Indians in 1782, serving under Col. Brodhead, in the Western Department, and was distinguished for his valor, as also his steadfast friendship to the cause of the colonies. He was living in 1789, but there is nothing further.

Andrew Montour, by a second wife, (Sarah,) had three children. We have the names of:

ii. Nicholas; baptized at Albany, October 31, 1756. At this period it seems that Andrew Montour was interpreter to His Majesty for the Six Nations and in the service of Sir William Johnson. (Gen. John S. Clark.)

iii. Mary Magdalene, alias Peggy. Although baptized in her early youth by a Roman Catholic priest in Philadelphia, she subsequently joined the Moravian Indian congregation at Salem, on the Pequottiing. Her last husband, (she had been previously married,) was a white trader named Hands, and on marrying him she was called Sally Hands. After Hands' death she resided among the whites at the mouth of the Thames, in Canada, maintained by her son, a merchant in Montreal. She died about 1818. Sally Hands' Indian name was Koyodaghscroony; her baptismal name Mary Magdalene, and Peggy her Moravian name. She has been confounded with Peggy who interpreted at the Lancaster treaty in February, 1750, and who resided in the vicinity of Fort Stanwix in 1764. She was evidently a different person.

V. Lewis Montour, a younger brother of Andrew Montour, was occasionally employed by the Provincial authorities in the capacity of messenger. In 1754 he resided
near Aughwick Old Town, where Conrad Weiser complained of his disturbing the Indians by bringing liquor to them. "They cannot help buying and drinking it," repeats the interpreter, "when they see it, and Lewis sells it very dear to them, and pretends that his wife, which is a very ugly squaw, does it." He was killed during the French and Indian war, but how or where, we have no knowledge.

VI. Esther, the daughter of French Margaret, and who has been confounded with her sister, Queen Catharine, by Los singly and other writers, was undoubtedly the most infamous of all the Montours. She was the wife of Echogohund, king of the Monsey Delawares, and at his death became the queen. She resided at Sheshquen, on the site of the present Ulster, Bradford county, Pennsylvania. In the Wyoming expedition of July, 1778, she commanded a company of warriors, and at the massacre on the 3d of the month she was the most infuriated demon in that carnival of blood. On the preceding day one of the Indians slain at Exeter was her son, and this may have increased her hellish ferocity. In the autumn of the same year, Col. Thomas Hartley destroyed the village at Sheshquin, and burned her residence, which writers have fancifully denominated "a palace." She died about the commencement of the present century, very aged and decrepid, it is stated, at her residence at the head of Cayuga Lake.

VII. Catharine Montour was not the less conspicuous than the other female Montours. She married into the Turkey tribe of the Delawares. Her husband’s English name was Thomas Huston, or Hudson, (see Penna. Archiv., 1st ser., vol. iii, p. 355,) whose brother John, alias Eyendeegen, is mentioned in the Pennsylvania Colonial Records (vol. vii, p. 101). In 1758 they had five or six children, so stated by Conrad Weiser. Queen Catharine resided in later years at the head of Seneca Lake, four miles from the village of Culvers, called Sheaquaga, or as generally known, French Catharine’s Town. This village was destroyed by Gen. Sullivan, in 1779. Queen Catharine fled to Niagara, where she died a year or two after. It has been stated that she was eighty years of age in 1779. If that was the case, Queen Catharine could not have been the grand daughter of Madame Montour. In the Provincial records she is named Cate and Catrina. The reported children of Catharine Montour, of which we have knowledge, were:

1. Roland.
2. John; sometimes called "Stuttering John."

It is stated by Canadian, and also by United States writers, on the authority of the correspondence of Edward Pollard, now in the possession of the Historical Society of St. Catharine’s, C. W., that Edward Pollard was the father of the foregoing children. If that is correct, they were not those of Catharine, the daughter of French Margaret. Her husband was, as previously given, and on the authority of our Pennsylvania Provincial Records, Thomas Hudson, alias Telenemut, a noted chief of the Senecas. The question now resolves itself into, "Who was the mother of Roland, John and Belle Montour," here noted?

Roland Montour and his brother John were active participants in the border war during the struggle for independence, and always on the side of the British, holding commissions therefrom. These two were the leaders of the band who captured the Gilbert family in 1780; Roland as captain, John as second in command. Roland was wounded in a skirmish with the frontier settlers of Pennsylvania and New York, in 1781, and died therefrom. He was buried at or near Painted Post. His wife was the daughter of Siangorochti, king of the Senecas, but her mother, being a Cayuga, she was ranked as of that nation. (See Gilbert Narrative.)

"John Montour, the brother of Roland," says Gen. Clark, of Auburn, New York, "died at Big Tree, now Geneseo, in 1830. His grave is about a mile from the great oak formerly known as the Big Tree. Both Montours were educated at Elizabeth, New Jersey."