

*Rediscovered Links in the  
Covenant Chain: Previously  
Unpublished Transcripts of  
New York Indian Treaty Minutes,  
1677-1691*

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‘I AVAIL myself of this occasion of placing a paper, which has long been in my possession, in a deposit where, if it has any value, it may at some time be called into use,’ wrote newly elected member Thomas Jefferson to the secretary of the American Antiquarian Society in 1814.<sup>1</sup> Ever since, the untitled notebook by an unknown author, which Jefferson described as ‘a compilation of historical facts relating, some of them to other states, but the most to Massachusetts, and especially to the Indian affairs of that quarter,’ has resided in the Antiquarian Society library, duly catalogued but nearly unnoticed by scholars.<sup>2</sup> In about 1763, Jefferson had received the

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<sup>1</sup> Jefferson to Samuel M. Burnside, Aug. 8, 1814, AAS Records, Box 1, 1812-19, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. All subsequent citations of Jefferson are from this letter.

<sup>2</sup> Indians of North America, Miscellaneous Papers, 1620-1895, Manuscript Collections, American Antiquarian Society. The notebook is a nine-by-thirteen-inch folio volume of thirty-one pages, bound in straw board with paper covers and a leather spine; it is not paginated. The only external identifying marks are the word ‘Notebook’ and the dates ‘1620-91’ in pencil on the front cover, and, in two places on the back cover, the penciled letter ‘B.’

manuscript from William Burnet Brown, a descendant of William Burnet, governor of several North American colonies in the 1720s. The document's provenance is unknown, but it was apparently composed for Burnet, perhaps—as its occasional focus on New England indicates—in 1727, when he prepared to move from the governorship of New York to that of Massachusetts.<sup>3</sup> The notebook contains a chronicle of events between 1620 and 1691, arranged in three parallel columns entitled 'English Discoveries & Settlements &c<sup>a</sup> in North America,' 'French Discoveries & Settlements . . .,' and 'State of the Indian Tribes in North America.' Its early pages provide almost nothing of scholarly interest; in 1620, states a typical entry, 'A Colony of 101 persons Arrive[d] at Cape Cod the 11<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> and set down at a place called Patuxet Which they Named New Plimouth. This is the first Colony that remained in New England.' Nor, at first glance, do the compiler's carefully cited sources excite much attention; with one notable exception, he seems to have read only the familiar works of William Hubbard, Cotton Mather, Louis Hennepin, Louis-Armand de Lahonton, and Bacquerville de La Potherie.<sup>4</sup>

The one exception, however, gives the notebook an unexpected value. The reader who perseveres through the first ten mundane pages will find, at the top of the eleventh, this entry, dated December 20, 1677:

The Transactions of the Comissioners at Albany which I have by me b[e]ginging at this Date—The Oneydes in their spech to

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England, from the First Planting Thereof in the Year 1607, to This Present Year 1677* (Boston, 1677); Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from Its First Planting in the Year 1620. Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698* (London, 1702); Hennepin, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, Extending above Four Thousand Miles, between New France and New Mexico*, 1st English ed., 2 vols. (London, 1698); Lahonton, *New Voyages to North-America*, 2 vols. (London, 1703); La Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amerique septentrionale*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1722). The compiler of the notebook cites each of these works by the last name of the author, with the exception of the last, whom he identifies only as 'The French Author'; nevertheless he paraphrases La Potherie heavily, in particular vol. 3, chs. 21–27.

the Commissioners say that their young Indians by a misunderstanding had Taken a young Mahikander Prisoner at Claverack where it was not free for them to do so, & they now returne him.

This account of English mediation of a dispute between the Oneida Iroquois and their Algonquian neighbors, the Mahican, is the first of many extracts and paraphrases from the 'Transactions' that dominate the remainder of the manuscript. 'The Comissioners at Albany' were the New York Commissioners for Indian Affairs, the men who, in a variety of institutional guises, oversaw relations between that colony and its northern and western Indian neighbors from the 1670s to the 1750s. Their treaty minutes for 1677 to 1723 disappeared early in the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Many of the passages from them preserved in Jefferson's notebook apparently survive nowhere else.<sup>6</sup>

Treaty minutes are, of course, valuable for the light they shed on murky issues of intercultural diplomacy. They are perhaps more significant, however, for the accounts of Indian speeches which they contain. Such records are fraught with problems: interpreters' linguistic skills are suspect; clerks frequently tired of long Indian 'harangues' and noted only what they considered to be the high points; and deliberate falsification sometimes occurred. Nevertheless, in no other source did

<sup>5</sup> On the Albany records, see Charles Howard McIlwain, 'Introduction,' in Peter Wraxall, *An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751*, ed. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), pp. lxxxvi-xcvii. In 1751 the records that the compiler of the notebook had consulted were bound into four volumes. It was the first two of these books which disappeared in the nineteenth century; the others are preserved in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. A partial nineteenth-century index to the missing volumes cited by McIlwain (p. lxxxix) confirms that the minutes for Dec. 20, 1677, constituted the first entry in the records. The notebook account of the Oneida orator's speech goes on to discuss a skirmish on the frontier of Virginia between an Oneida and Seneca war party and the Susquehannock. This last portion of the speech is reproduced nearly verbatim in Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America* (New York, 1727), p. 31, hereafter cited as Colden, *History* (1727).

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of other sources that reproduce parts of the lost Albany records, see Appendix A. When other copies of passages quoted in this essay are known to exist, cross-references are provided in the notes.

ethnocentric Euro-Americans preserve with less distortion a memoir of Indian thoughts, concerns, and interpretations of events. Most of the orators quoted in the notebook were spokesmen for members of the Iroquois confederacy, which included, from east to west, the Five Nations of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. Because of the Iroquois' military power and their position astride the frontier between New York and Canada, the European view of the Five Nations' relations with the French and English empires and with other Indian peoples is abundantly documented in the writings of imperial officials. Jefferson's notebook illuminates the less accessible Iroquois view.

The oldest peaceful Iroquois relationship with Euro-Americans centered on Albany, where first Dutch and then English traders supplied most of the European goods that so quickly became vital to the Five Nations' economies. The notebook records three orations—only one of which has heretofore been printed—that recount the Iroquois legend of the origin and progress of that connection. On September 23, 1678,

The Sachims of the Onnondages say that they then came to confirm the Ancient Brotherhood which they would remind their Bretheren [of Albany] has subsisted from the first Instance of Navagation being in use here (at the Time of a Govr Called Jacques) & hath continued to the Time of Old Corlaer & from Old Corlaer to his Present Excell<sup>y</sup> [Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New York], for the Continuance of which they much rejoice & now Renew the ancient Covenant & make the Chain Bright.<sup>7</sup>

A second telling of the legend occurred at a conference on June 27, 1689:

The Sinnekes, Cayouges, onnondages & Oneydes Speak to the Magistrates of Albany & Say They are come to Renew the old Covenant made with Jaques many years ago who came with a Ship into their Waters & rec<sup>d</sup> them as Bretheren, & then the maquase

<sup>7</sup> The remainder of this speech appears in Appendix B. Wraxall, *Abridgement*, p. 9, reports this conference, at which the Iroquois 'renew[ed] the Covenant of Peace & Friendship &c,' but quotes no speeches.

[Mohawks], oneydes & onnondages desired him to Establish himself in this Country & the Sinnekes & Cayouges they drew into that General Covenant, & that they had with one accord Planted the Tree of good Understanding & had allways been dutifull to this Government. . . . They say the[y] Confirm the old Covenant made here & with Virginia Maryland & Boston & Wish that the Sun may allways shine on them, and That They *Cast Beams to the Sun of Peace*, saying this is their way of Speaking. They say that the Maquase, oneydes & onnondages did carry the Ankor of the Ship that Jaques came in, to onnondage that beeing the meeting place of the five Nations & this they now renew & Confirm.<sup>8</sup>

The third version, told at a conference between Governor Henry Sloughter and the Five Nations at Albany on June 2, 1691, has been printed before:

The Oneydes, Onnondagues, Cayouges, & Sennekes, answear Col<sup>o</sup> Sloughter & Say That they are glad he is Safe arrived there and That they see a Gov<sup>r</sup> at Albany again [after the upheavals of Leisler's Rebellion], & heartily bid him Welcome. Our Forefathers have Told us in former times that a ship arrived in this Country, which was [a] matter of Great Admiration to us, especially our desire was to know What should be within her Belly & found they were Christians & among the Rest One Jacques, with whom we made a Covenant Chain of Freindship, which has always been kept inviolable, both by the Bretheren & us in which Covenant it was agreed That whosoever should hurt or Prejudice the one would be Guilty of Injuring all of us, being comprehended in one Common League.<sup>9</sup>

As these speeches indicate, the Iroquois believed that there had been a series of three covenants with the people of New

<sup>8</sup> A hopelessly garbled version of this speech, in which the man named Jacques becomes 'Tagues' and almost none of the details of the notebook account appear, is in Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, Which Are Dependiant on the Province of New-York in America, and Are the Barrier between the English and the French in That Part of the World* (London, 1747), p. 99, hereafter cited as Colden, *History* (1747). For the remainder of the notebook account see Appendix B.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the version in E[dmund] B. O'Callaghan and B[erthold] Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, 1853-87), 3:774-77, hereafter cited as *NYCD* (see Appendix A). Paraphrases also appear in Colden, *History* (1747), p. 124; and Wraxall, *Abridgement*, p. 16.

Netherland and New York, symbolized by personal connections to three Europeans: 'Jacques,' 'Old Corlaer,' and Andros, the new Corlaer. Most historians, familiar with only the 1691 version of the story, assume that the tradition of a covenant with 'One Jacques' is merely another of several 'garbled accounts of the white man's first arrival [that] survived for generations in Indian legend.'<sup>10</sup> The legendary Jacques has been variously depicted as a member of Henry Hudson's crew during the *Half Moon's* 1609 exploration of the upper Hudson, or as Jacques Cartier on his early sixteenth-century visits with the Iroquoian peoples then living on the Saint Lawrence River. Neither explanation is convincing. Hudson's crew met only Mahicans, not Iroquois; and, aside from the improbable link with the name of Cartier, the latter interpretation rests upon the discredited anthropological theory that the Laurentian Iroquois—who disappeared sometime during the sixteenth century—were actually Mohawks.<sup>11</sup> Yet the consistent accounts in the notebook of a treaty with Jacques suggest that the Iroquois legend should be taken seriously. And indeed there was a man named Jacques with whom the Mohawk, if not other Iroquois nations, had built a close relationship during the early years of Dutch exploration and settlement.

Jacques was Jacob Eelckens, a shadowy figure who also appears in the historical record as Jacob Jacobson Elkins, Jacob Eelkes, James Elkins, Jaques Elckens and Jacques Elekens. He was, as can best be determined from conflicting accounts of his

<sup>10</sup> Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> A Captain Jacobs, who sailed to Albany in 1623, has also been suggested as a possible 'Jacques.' For criticisms of the Jacques legend see Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 26–27; William M. Beauchamp, *A History of the New York Iroquois, Now Commonly Called the Six Nations*, New York State Museum Bulletin 78 (Albany, 1905), pp. 149–50; and George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison, Wis., 1940), pp. 25–31. On the Laurentian Iroquois, see James A. Tuck, 'Northern Iroquoian Prehistory,' and Bruce G. Trigger and James F. Pendergast, 'Saint Lawrence Iroquoians,' in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15: *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C., 1978), pp. 322–33, 357–61, hereafter cited as *Handbook*.

activities, a junior protégé of the trader and sea captain Hendrick Christiansen, and together they were the first Dutchmen to exploit systematically the upper Hudson River Indian trade. In early 1613, Christiansen and fellow Dutch trader Adriaen Block sailed to the site of present-day Albany, where they bartered with the local Indians and took home with them 'two sons of the principal sachem there' (the kidnapped youths were probably Mahicans).<sup>12</sup> Among those with whom Christiansen's party traded seems to have been a group of Mohawks who had traveled through the often hostile Mahican country to meet the Europeans at a spot called Tawagonshi. A document discovered in the 1960s, carrying the date April 21, 1613, purports to record an agreement of trade and friendship made on that occasion between the Dutchmen and the Mohawks; it bears the totem marks of four Iroquois and the signatures of Christiansen and the elusive Jacob Eelckens. If the treaty is genuine, it confirms not only a very early date for direct Mohawk-Dutch trade, but also the reality of the arrangement with Jacques enshrined in Iroquois legend.<sup>13</sup>

But there was more to the covenant recalled by Iroquois ora-

<sup>12</sup> J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (New York, 1909), pp. 78-81. Nicolaes van Wassenauer, who reported this voyage, gave no date, but Edward Hagaman Hall argues convincingly that it must have occurred in 1613 ('The New York Commercial Tercentenary, 1614-1914,' American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, *Nineteenth Annual Report* [Albany, 1914], pp. 466-68).

<sup>13</sup> L. G. van Loon, 'Tawagonshi: Beginning of the Treaty Era,' *Indian Historian* 1, no. 1 (Dec. 1967):22-26. The treaty, written in Dutch on two pieces of animal skin, was, according to van Loon, 'procured through an individual who was the agent on the Missisauqua Reservation in Canada many years ago.' Despite its rather suspicious origins, the document has an authentic ring. One provision stipulates that the two parties would 'have the privilege of bringing our goods out of trade channels as long as no purchase agreement concerning them has been made,' which would suit the purposes of Dutch traders who feared that a competitor might be granted a monopoly; it is difficult to imagine a latter-day forger concocting such a cryptic passage. T. J. Brassier accepts the authenticity of the document, but mistakenly portrays the signers as Mahicans, rather than Iroquois ('Mahican,' in *Handbook*, p. 202; for an explanation of this confusion see below and the works cited in note 16). The signatories were clearly Iroquois, however, and presumably Mohawk: the Dutch text of the treaty refers to the headmen as '*den Royaners der Rotinonghsigonni*'; *royander* is an Iroquois term meaning 'chiefly lineage' and *rotinónhsyðnni* is Mohawk for 'people of the longhouse,' i.e., Iroquois. In addition, the names of the four Indians—GarhatJannie, Caghneghsattakegh, Otskwiragongh, and Teyoghswegengh—appear to be Iroquoian rather than Mahican.

tors than an isolated agreement between two transient parties who happened upon each other in April 1613. Over much of the next decade, Jacques cemented firm connections with the Mohawk and the Mahican. When Christiansen and Block returned to the Netherlands in 1613, Eelckens possibly remained behind to learn the local Indian languages.<sup>14</sup> Wherever Jacques spent the winter of 1613–14, in 1614, when Christiansen reappeared on the Hudson to establish Fort Nassau near the present site of Albany, he left Eelckens in charge. Until annual floods forced the abandonment of the post in 1617, Jacques remained there to cultivate a prosperous trade with the Indians—mostly Mahicans but also occasional Mohawks.<sup>15</sup> Tradition, unsupported by documentary evidence, holds that Eelckens moved his trading post to Tawasentha (Norman's Kill) in 1617, where, in 1618, he negotiated a treaty with the Iroquois. This agreement—if it occurred—was probably with the Mahican, not with any of the Five Nations, and apparently it was confused in Indian and Dutch-American lore with the earlier treaty of Tawagonshi.<sup>16</sup> Whether or not any of these events actually took place in 1618, Eelckens was in the Albany area at least intermittently until about 1623, 'being very well acquainted with the said

<sup>14</sup> *JYCD*, 1:4–12; Hall, 'New York Commercial Tercentenary,' pp. 474–78. There is no solid evidence that Eelckens remained in America over the winter of 1613–14, but it is known that at some point he learned either the Mahican or Mohawk language, or both; and in England in 1633 he testified that he had 'heretofore lived foure yeare with' the Indians (*JYCD*, 1:80). Fort Nassau, where Eelckens dwelt beginning in 1614, was abandoned in 1617; hence Eelckens may have counted his permanent residence on the upper Hudson from 1613.

<sup>15</sup> Jameson, ed., *Narratives*, pp. 47–48, 67–68; E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; or, New York under the Dutch* (New York, 1846), pp. 76–77; John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, 2 vols. (New York, 1853–71), 1:54–55, 66–67.

<sup>16</sup> John V. N. Yates and Joseph W. Moulton, *History of the State of New York Including Its Aboriginal and Colonial Annals* (New York, 1824–26), pp. 346–47; Brodhead, *History of New York*, 1:80–81; John Heckewelder, 'An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States,' *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society* 1 (1819):11–12, 38–48; Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois*, pp. 26–27; Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, p. 34.



Indians, having often traded with them and speaking their language.<sup>17</sup>

Few of the specifics of Eelckens's dealings with the Iroquois can be determined satisfactorily, but one thing is certain: he was the leading trader in the Albany area when the Mohawk began to trade with the Dutch. That alone is sufficient to confirm Eelckens's place in Iroquois memory and to fix him unquestionably as the Jacques of their legend. The Five Nations always placed commerce at the heart of their connection to Albany—'Trade & Peace we take to be one thing,' they frequently reminded the English in later years<sup>18</sup>—thus the trader Jacques became the central figure in their recollections. As far as the Indians were concerned, Eelckens was the local Dutch headman (the 'Governor' of the 1678 version of the legend), for it was with him they agreed to trade and hence it was with him they first sealed a covenant of friendship.

In 1633, several years after the Mohawk had driven the Mahican to the east of the Hudson and thereby secured an open route to Dutch traders,<sup>19</sup> they still remembered Jacques fondly. Eelckens had fallen from favor with Dutch authorities in 1623, supposedly because a year earlier, on a trading voyage to the Connecticut Valley, he had kidnapped a Pequot sachem.<sup>20</sup> After a decade's absence, he returned to the Albany area in a new role. In 1633, a group of London merchants dispatched Jacques

<sup>17</sup> NYCD, 1:74.

<sup>18</sup> Wraxall, *Abridgement*, pp. xl, 195. Similarly, in 1659, Mohawk spokesmen told the magistrates of Albany that they had 'been here before and made an alliance. The Dutch, indeed, say we are brothers and are joined together with chains, but that lasts only as long as we have beavers. After that we are no longer thought of, but much will depend upon it when we shall need each other.' A. J. F. van Laer, trans. and ed., *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck*, 2 vols. (Albany, 1920-23), 2:211.

<sup>19</sup> On the Mohawk defeat of the Mahican, see Bruce G. Trigger, 'The Mohawk-Mahican War (1624-28): The Establishment of a Pattern,' *Canadian Historical Review* 52(1971):276-86. Conflict between the two peoples continued sporadically until the mid-1670s.

<sup>20</sup> Jameson ed., *Narratives*, p. 86; Brodhead, *History of New York*, 1:145-46, 152. On the lasting significance of Eelckens's visit to the Connecticut Valley in 1622, see Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York, 1982), pp. 148-50.

aboard the ship *William* to challenge Dutch claims to the Hudson River trade.<sup>21</sup> When the vessel arrived at New Amsterdam, Eelckens and the Dutch governor, Wouter van Twiller, engaged in a comic-opera contest of flag raisings, musket volleys, and toasts in the respective honors of the king of England and the prince of Orange; then the *William* sailed up the Hudson unopposed. Jacques pitched a tent within sight of Fort Orange (which had replaced Fort Nassau) and reestablished contacts with his old Mohawk and Mahican trading partners, making arrangements for 'a nation, called the Maques,' to 'come downe, and bringe with them fower thousand beaver skinnnes. And another nation, called the Mahiggans, . . . with three hundred skinnnes more.'<sup>22</sup> The recently appointed commissary of Fort Orange, Hans Jorissen Hontom, opened for business in a tent next to Eelckens's and did his utmost to disrupt the latter's trade. Before Eelckens's 4,300 pelts arrived, Dutch ships and troops came to confiscate the English goods and to send the interlopers home. The Mohawks, however, clearly would rather have traded with Jacques than with Hontom, who allegedly had once kidnapped a Mohawk headman and, 'although the ransom was paid by the chief's subjects, *Hontom*, in spite of his promise, did . . . emasculate the chief, hang the severed member on the stay and so killed the *Sackima*.'<sup>23</sup> For years after Eelckens had been chased away, angry Mohawks demonstrated their displeasure in attacks on Dutch cattle and other property.<sup>24</sup> Though trade continued between the Iroquois and the residents of Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck, Jacques's covenant fell into decay.

<sup>21</sup> On Eelckens's exploits in 1633, see *NYCD*, 1:71-81, 91-95; Jameson, ed., *Narratives*, pp. 187-89; and O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, pp. 143-46.

<sup>22</sup> *NYCD*, 1:78.

<sup>23</sup> A. J. F. van Laer, trans. and ed., *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts: Being the Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and Other Documents Relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck* (Albany, 1908), p. 302.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 243-50, 266-88, 302-4, 330; *NYCD*, 1:93-95; Brodhead, *History of New York*, 1:229-31.

The arrangement between Eelckens and the Mohawk was reinvigorated and expanded in the second stage recalled in the Iroquois legend, represented by 'Old Corlaer.' 'Corlaer' is an alternate spelling of the name of Arent van Curler, a figure more familiar than Eelckens to students of New York-Indian relations, though much of his career is no less shrouded in mystery.<sup>25</sup> In 1637 van Curler was employed to assist the commissary of Rensselaerswyck. Soon after his arrival from the Netherlands he assumed much of the administration of the patroonship and, in 1641, he became *commies*, or chief representative and trading agent for the patroon. As *commies*, van Curler held much the same position in Iroquois eyes as had Jacques: he was a Dutch 'headman' and a principal source of coveted European goods. In 1642 van Curler traveled to the Mohawk country in an unsuccessful effort to ransom the captured Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues and two other French prisoners of the Iroquois. Each Mohawk village he visited received him with great pomp and introduced him to the protocol of Iroquois diplomacy. Both sides later remembered the visit as a major turning point in Dutch-Iroquois relations.<sup>26</sup> Van Curler's negotiations in 1642 laid the basis for later formal treaties with governors of New Netherland that expanded the covenant of Jacques from a local and personalized trading arrangement to include the Dutch colonial government and all five Iroquois nations. As the 1689 version of the legend states, this second stage 'drew into that General Covenant' the western Iroquois tribes.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> On van Curler's career see A. J. F. van Laer, 'Arent van Curler and His Historic Letter to the Patroon,' *Dutch Settlers Society of Albany Yearbook* 3(1927-28):11-17.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland, 1896-1901), 24:283. In 1659, when van Curler again visited the Mohawk country, he proclaimed (with some lack of arithmetical accuracy): 'Brothers, it is now sixteen years ago that we made our first treaty of friendship and brotherhood between you and all the Dutch.' The Mohawk expressed similar sentiments (van Laer, ed., *Minutes of Fort Orange*, 2:211-18, quote from p. 215). Note the distinction between van Curler's and Jacques's covenants implied in the former's reference to 'all the Dutch.'

<sup>27</sup> *NYCD*, 13:18, 35, 72-73, 88-89, 92-93, 108-14, 122, 184-86, 191-92.

Until 1667, when van Curler drowned in Lake George ('Corlaer's Lake'), he remained the pivotal figure in the Five Nations' view of the covenant. 'Corlaer' became the traditional Iroquois name for the headman of the people of Albany; thus, after the English seized control of New Netherland for the second and final time in 1674, Iroquois spokesmen applied the same title to the governors of New York. Under the first English Corlaer, Edmund Andros, the trade agreements of the 'Jacques' and 'Old Corlaer' eras expanded to become the elaborate diplomatic structure described in several recent studies as the 'Covenant Chain'—a bicultural arrangement of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that, while focused on Albany, the governor of New York, and the Five Nations, also included most other English colonies and numerous other Indian peoples.<sup>28</sup> Jefferson's notebook sheds additional light on various aspects of those relationships during the late 1670s and 1680s.

Several passages in the manuscript underscore the roles of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Virginia in the Covenant Chain. At Albany in July 1679 Mohawk spokesmen stressed the importance of the New England link:

Sr Ed: Andros Present the Sachims of the 3 Maquase Tribes [clans], say that they belong to his Government & desire the Covenant Chain may be strong & binding, then they Take hold of his Arm saying here is two of us, but we dont see the third looking towards the East meaning thereby the Governments of New England. Nevertheless desire their Armes may remain fast together & that there may be no Misunderstanding.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Francis Paul Jennings, 'Miquon's Passing: Indian-European Relations in Colonial Pennsylvania' (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), pp. 10-50; Jennings, 'The Constitutional Evolution of the Covenant Chain,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115(1971):88-96; Richard L. Haan, 'The Covenant Chain: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Niagara Frontier, 1697-1730' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1976); Richard Aquila, 'The Iroquois Restoration: A Study of Iroquois Power, Politics, and Relations with Indians and Whites, 1700-1744' (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1977).

<sup>29</sup> The manuscript dates this conference July 1, 1679; Wraxall says that it occurred on July 21 and does not mention the Mohawk comments about New England in his brief summary (*Abridgement*, pp. 9-10).

The Iroquois insisted that their treaty with New England periodically be renewed in person, with a ritual 'brightening' of the Covenant Chain and an exchange of gifts. The notebook recounts one such renewal at Albany on July 30, 1684:

The Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England by Mr Stephen Van Coartland [Stephanus van Cortlandt] their agent Speaks to the Maquase Sachims & says that the Government of the Massachusetts Colony have & ever had a Brotherly Correspondance with the severall Races of the Maquase.<sup>30</sup> That as it has been firmly & Inviolably kept on their parts, as well as on the part of the Massachusetts, the Longer it continues the more Valuable it will be; That two persons were sent from the Massachusetts last year to ratify their freindship with you, but the Govr of New York [Thomas Dongan] not being then ready to meet you, they authorized me to appear in their behalf to make you their Presents & to Ratify their former freindship with you.

Van Cortlandt's speech indicates that Dongan, like his predecessor Andros, insisted that all contacts between the Five Nations and other colonies—in particular the refractory Puritans of Massachusetts—must remain under his control.<sup>31</sup> The agents of the Bay Colony therefore were not permitted to speak with the Mohawk sachems alone. The Mohawks' answer to van Cortlandt on July 31 reiterates the importance of New England in the Covenant and stresses that Albany was the only proper place for meetings between English colonies and the Five Nations:

The Maquase Sachims answer Mr Coartland as Agent for the Massachusetts Province & say—That they Thank the Bretheren of Boston for their proposalls made three years ago, which they answered last year. That they were glad the Covenant Chain

<sup>30</sup> It is unclear whether van Cortlandt refers to the three Mohawk clans or to the five Iroquois nations. Dutch and English sometimes labeled the Five Nations collectively as 'Mohawks' or 'Maquas,' and all seventeenth-century Euro-Americans struggled to find words to describe such unfamiliar units of Indian social organization as matrilineal clans and stateless tribal groupings; thus 'Races' could mean almost anything. Van Cortlandt was a member of the New York provincial council.

<sup>31</sup> See McIlwain, 'Introduction,' p. xciv.

had been kept so fast on both sides & that they should allways maintain it on their side. That they and the Govrs of Newyork Virginia & Massachusetts Colony were in One Covenant & ye Chain must allways be kept Clean & Bright. That as Albany was the prefixed place for renew[ing] their Covenants at so they now planted a Great Tree of Peace that its branches may spread as far as the Massachusetts, Virginia, Maryland & all who live under the shade of this Tree.<sup>32</sup>

Lord Howard of Effingham, governor of Virginia, attended the same conference in the summer of 1684, to renew the southern link in the Covenant Chain and to attempt to make peace between the Five Nations and various Indians of Virginia. (Iroquois war parties had allegedly killed several settlers on the Virginia frontier.) Most of the notebook material on Effingham's negotiations appears in greater detail in Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations*, but, because no other copies of the original minutes were known to exist, at least one historian accused Colden of confusing the 1684 conference with another that occurred in 1685.<sup>33</sup> The notebook, which records both meetings, affirms Colden's accuracy and verifies his account of a scathing address by the Mohawk orator Odianne to three of the other Iroquois nations regarding their raids in Virginia. 'You Oneydes Onnondages & Cayouges,' begins Odianne in the manuscript version,

you have heard all that has been sayed, as for us [Mohawks] we are free of the Evill done in Virginia & Maryland. You are Stupid Brutish & have no understanding, that have thus broken the Covenant Chain; as for us we have allways been Obedient & Kept the Covenant with *Virginia, Maryland, New york & Boston*. We therefore must Stamp Understanding in you, & we cry almost for shame for y<sup>t</sup> disobedience. Pray let us be no more

<sup>32</sup> This transaction is briefly mentioned in Colden, *History* (1727), p. 62. On Albany as the meeting place for members of the Covenant Chain see Jennings, 'Constitutional Evolution,' pp. 89-90.

<sup>33</sup> Colden, *History* (1727), pp. 49-69; Lawrence Leder, ed., *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1728* (Gettysburg, Pa., 1956), p. 71n. For comments in defense of Colden see Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, p. 258n, which, however, inaccurately accuses Colden of placing the 1684 conference on the wrong day of the month.

ashamed on y<sup>r</sup> behalf, but be ye Obedient for the future. Hear now, Now is the time to hearken & observe, since the Covenant Chain was so near Slipping. you never kept your Covenant yet, keep it now, since all the Evill is buried in the Pit of Oblivion, We Charge you strictly to keep y<sup>r</sup> Covenants.

You Onnondages our Brethren you are like deaf People that cannot hear. It is as if your sences were covered with Dust or Filth, or a Cloud on your Understandings—

You Cayouges do not go back in this Business. There are 3 things you must Observe, 1<sup>st</sup> The Covenant with Corlaer, 2<sup>dy</sup> the Covenant with Virginia & Maryland, 3<sup>d</sup> the Covenant with Boston. We do Stamp understanding into you & do Recommend you heartily to be Obedient.

Just as the Covenant Chain included several English colonies under the leadership of the governor of New York, so it encompassed other Indian nations through the mediation of the Iroquois. As several recent works have stressed, there was no 'Iroquois Empire.'<sup>34</sup> The Five Nations were never internally organized as states and therefore they were unable—and usually unwilling—to dominate other Indians in any way that might be called imperial. Yet the Iroquois did claim to speak for other Indian peoples and they did wield considerable influence over them. The precise early role in the Covenant of these other Indians—known in the eighteenth century as 'props' to the Chain—deserves further study, and several passages in the notebook bear on the subject. A conference at Albany in 1685 shows that the word of the governor of Virginia was insufficient to vouch for the peaceful intentions of the Indians he had spoken for in the previous year. On September 15,

Popettesammin King of the Pomunky Indians, Manahock Sachim of Chichahomone & Winteschotan Sachim of the Nawgiatico In-

<sup>34</sup> Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois*, passim; Jennings, 'Miquon's Passing,' pp. 10–21; Jennings, 'Constitutional Evolution,' pp. 88–96; Leroy V. Eid, 'The Ojibwa-Iroquois War: The War the Five Nations Did Not Win,' *Ethnohistory* 26(1979):297–324. On the Iroquois as imperialists see Colden, *History* (1747), pp. 3–4; and Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America*, 9 vols. (Boston, 1865–92), passim.

dians;<sup>35</sup> Speak to the Five Nations & say that in obedience to Lord Howard their Gov<sup>r</sup> they were come so far to see & speak with them haveing never seen them before. that they put them in mind of the Chain of Peace & freindship between them, & join hands & Embrace them. They expect they [the Five Nations] will observe the Articles concluded with L<sup>d</sup> Howard & not disturb their Hunting at their Mountains, which is Our Country & not yours. They pray the Sun may Separate all Evill Inclinations & that the Covenant Chain may be kept Clear from Rust.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> the Onnondages answer by their Sachim & Say that they are much rejoiced & thankfull in seeing them come there to ratify & confirm the Peace with them, & that the Tree of Peace & freindship being now planted they Embrace the Covenant & will keep it Inviolable—

The Sinnekes say that they accept of their Propositions & will never disturb them in their Hunting nor Injure them in their Path, but will prese[r]ve the Tree of Peace & freindship—

The Cayouges & Oneydes say they thank them for coming to see & speak with them & are glad their Arm is now lockt fast in the Covenant Chain; which they will keep & Maintain—

Then The Maquase say, that they are Innocent of the Evill done in Virginia therefore Admonish the Cayouges & Oneydes who had done the Mischeif there. That they were Glad to see the face of those who they had looked for & were rejoiced to see one another face to face in this Covenant house where they allways speak of Peace.<sup>36</sup>

The manuscript also clarifies the subordinate role in the Covenant Chain played by the Indians of Schaghticoke, a village composed of Mahicans and refugee New England Indians whom Andros settled at the mouth of the Hoosick River after Philip's War. Since 1677 the Schaghticoke had been addressed as 'children' of their 'father' Corlaer in the terminology of the

<sup>35</sup> The Pamunkey and the Chickahominy were closely related Algonquian peoples of the Virginia tidewater. 'Nawgiatico' corresponds to no recognized ethnological term, but the people in question may have been the Nansatico, who were neighbors and frequently allies of the Pamunkey and Chickahominy; see Christian F. Feast, 'Virginia Algonquians,' in *Handbook*, pp. 253-70, esp. the map, p. 256, and the synonymy, p. 268.

<sup>36</sup> There is no record of this conference in other published sources. Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, p. 83, however, mentions a delegation of three spokesmen of the Piscataway subtribe of the Conoy who arrived at Albany on Aug. 7, 1685, to await an opportunity to speak to the Iroquois.



Covenant Chain.<sup>37</sup> An entry in the manuscript dated July 10, 1679 indicates that, at least during Andros's tenure, the Schaghticoke's status as children required their choice of headmen to be approved by the governor:

The River Indians or Mahikanders by Joris or George their Sachim so Chosen 2 years before says, that heretofore they were Bretheren to the English but now they are their Children. that all that were there [at Schaghticoke] were Mahikanders, but no North Indians,<sup>38</sup> & they desire that the Gov<sup>r</sup> would Appoint Wamsachkoo sachim for those of their Tribe that Live above the River, as Joris was below.

Only a small portion of the Indians who fled New England after Philip's War had settled under Andros's protection and, as Joris's speech hints, many who did come to Schaghticoke drifted in and out of the village.<sup>39</sup> Many of the refugees, particularly Western Abenakis, had relocated in Canadian mission villages where, in 1689, they took up arms in behalf of New France against their old English enemies. The outbreak of the War of the League of Augsburg thus placed the Schaghticoke in a difficult bind. Their village purposely had been located on the northernmost frontier of New York, an easy target for raids by Canadian Indians—many of whom were relatives of the refugees who continued to live at Schaghticoke and of the Mahicans there with whom they had intermarried. As the English saw it, however, the Covenant Chain obligated the Schaghticoke to war on the French. The notebook suggests that, in their dilemma, the Schaghticoke turned to their 'fathers' the Iroquois for advice: on February 21, 1689, Mohawk spokes-

<sup>37</sup> NYCD, 13:496-97; Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, pp. 39-40. The Five Nations insisted that the governor address them by the more equal title of 'brethren' (Jennings, 'Constitutional Evolution,' p. 90).

<sup>38</sup> This is a general term for the Algonquians of Canada and New England; see, for example, Andros's order to Gerrit Teunise in March 1676 to pursue the Wampanoag leader 'Phillip or other north Indians' (NYCD, 13:494).

<sup>39</sup> Gordon M. Day, 'Western Abenaki,' and Laura E. Conkey, Ethel Boissevain, and Ives Goddard, 'Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Late Period,' in *Handbook*, pp. 150-51, 177.

men informed the magistrates at Albany 'That as the Skachkooks may be in fear of what may befall them from Canada & the Eastward they are going to See them.'<sup>40</sup> On June 8 a Schaghticoke delegation appeared in Albany to announce their disavowal of allegiances to their Canadian kin, proclaiming, according to the notebook, 'That they were formerly North Indians But now are Mahikanders & are under the Protection of the Tree of Peace planted there [at Schaghticoke by Andros]. [T]hey desire to look out sharp for fear of an Invasion from Canada, for Whatever may befall them will befall them together.' Still, the Schaghticoke preferred to remain neutral unless attacked, and when pressed by the English to take up arms, they claimed that their subordinate status in the Covenant Chain forbade them to make decisions about war or peace independently of the Iroquois. In September 1689 a delegation from the New England colonies solicited the Schaghticoke 'to kill and destroy all those of their Majts Enemies and . . . not hould any Corispondance w<sup>h</sup> those of the Easterne Indians [Abenaki].'<sup>41</sup> In their response, notes the manuscript, the Schaghticoke agreed that 'Looking on the Eastern Indians as their Enemies is very Acceptable but as they are Dependant on the 5 Nations they must attend their motion & What they shall Order they will do, even to takeing, Binding & Killing them as Enemys.'

The Schaghticoke clearly used their subordination to the Iroquois as an excuse to avoid a military commitment, for there was no question where the Five Nations stood. The manuscript tells us that on the previous June 17, at Albany, the Mohawk announced that they would 'take Up the Ax with pleasure against the French Viz, they, the Sinnekes, onnon-dages, Cayouges, & Oneydes, & this they make known to the

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>41</sup> The compiler of the manuscript left a space blank for the insertion of the New Englanders' propositions, which may be found in Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, pp. 148-50, quote from p. 149. The Schaghticoke's answer appears only in the notebook.

English, the Skachkooks & River Indians [Mahicans].<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the Iroquois and the French had been in open war since 1687 and the conflict had been brewing for over a decade.<sup>42</sup> The extent to which the war with New France influenced the Iroquois in their dealings with the English during the 1680s is clarified by several passages in the notebook.

At the conference of July and August 1684 mentioned above, Dongan convinced the Iroquois to yield themselves and their lands to the protection of the government of New York, while at the same time confirming for New York a title to lands on the Susquehanna River which the Iroquois probably had no right to give away. As a symbol of this transaction, Dongan distributed the Duke of York's coat of arms to be hung in the villages of the Five Nations. Most historians—quite correctly—interpret these acts as an effort by Dongan to strengthen New York's, as opposed to New France's, claim to suzerainty over the Iroquois, and they argue that the Five Nations never intended to become subjects of the English crown in any sense that Europeans understood.<sup>43</sup> 'We are,' explained an Iroquois orator at the 1684 meeting, 'a free People United to the English we give our Land to What Sachim we please.'<sup>44</sup> Still, a set of Iroquois speeches from July 31, 1684, which the notebook records in more detail than other sources, show that Iroquois headmen were eager to place their peoples under some form of English protection, and that the move was not solely Dongan's idea:

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix B. A truce between the French and the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga had been arranged in 1688, but it was sabotaged when Iroquois ambassadors were ambushed by warriors led by the Wyandot Kondiaronk, known to the French as 'Le Rat.' The best discussions of the origins of this conflict, which led into the American phase of the War of the League of Augsburg, are, from the New York perspective, Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 204-94; and, from the Canadian perspective, W. J. Eccles, *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor* (Toronto, 1959), pp. 99-229.

<sup>43</sup> E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, octavo ed., 4 vols. (Albany, 1849-51), 1:391-420; Henry Allain St. Paul, 'Governor Thomas Dongan's Expansion Policy,' *Mid-America* 17(1935):176-82, 257-70; Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 254-65; Jennings, 'Miquon's Passing,' pp. 69-80.

<sup>44</sup> See note 50 below.

The Maquase Sachims in behalf of themselves & the other Nations Westward Say to Govr Dungan that they were glad to see him safe arrived, not only the men, but those who part their Hair meaning their Women.<sup>45</sup> they desire the Duke of yorks armes to put on their Castles which was Immediatly given them & w<sup>ch</sup> they caught at very greedily. They say concerning *the delivery of their Lands* [to the Duke of York] it is most pleasing & agreable to them that the Govr will be pleased to accept of the same. they Thank the Govr for mediating between them & the Govr of Virginia & thank the Govr of Virginia for throwing the Ax into the pit of oblivion for now they should live in Tranquility & unity under the Great Tree of Peace & freindship planted here. They desire the Indians liveing in Virginia may come soon according to promise & put their hands into the Covenant Chain here. As to drawing home their Indians from Canada as they were Exhorted to do by the Govr yesterday they say, that as the Govr hath a Corraspondence with those of Canaday he can prevail more withem then they can do & desire he would do his Endeavour with those of Canada to draw their Indians home to their own Country—<sup>46</sup>

The Oneydes by Odianne the Maquase speaker says to Govr Dungan That they likewise desire the Dukes Armes may be put up on their Castle which is granted them. they thank him for his Mediation for them with the Govr of Virginia & desire the Covenant Chain may be allways kept fast & Inviolable.—The Maquase say they have complied with their promise of paying beaver to L<sup>d</sup> Baltimore for the Mischeif done in his country [Mary-

<sup>45</sup> The consent of the women, noted only in the manuscript version, was crucial to a transaction involving the transfer of land, which belonged to them rather than to the men. On the political and economic power of Iroquois women see J. N. B. Hewitt, 'Status of Woman in Iroquois Polity before 1784,' in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . . for . . . 1932* (Washington, D.C., 1933), pp. 475-88; Martha Champion Randle, 'Iroquois Women, Then and Now,' in William N. Fenton, ed., *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 149 (Washington, D.C., 1951), pp. 167-80; and Judith K. Brown, 'Economic Organization and the Position of Women among the Iroquois,' *Ethnohistory* 17(1970):151-67.

<sup>46</sup> Beginning in the late 1660s Catholic Iroquois—particularly Mohawks and Oneidas—had settled in mission villages near Montreal. By 1684 several hundred lived more or less permanently at the Jesuit mission of St. François Xavier du Sault, which the Mohawk called Caughnawaga (the traditional name of one of their villages in the Mohawk Valley), and at the Sulpician reduction on Montreal Island known as 'the Mountain.' See John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854* (New York, 1855), pp. 295-311.

land], & have p<sup>a</sup> their part. The four Nations do acquaint the Gov<sup>r</sup> that they have nothing now to give him for his Mediation with the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Virginia, but a Belt of Wampum, but the next year will come and make him presents.<sup>47</sup>

The Iroquois found the arrangement with Dongan 'pleasing & agreeable,' 'caught at' the Duke's arms 'very greedily,' and were happy to see peace secured on their southern flank because they knew that, as they spoke, Canadian governor Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre was mobilizing an army to invade their country. In the late 1670s and early 1680s, the Five Nations, the English, and the French had each commenced aggressive new initiatives in the west. The Iroquois staged major raids on the Illinois, Miami, and other western peoples in a new phase of the seventeenth-century 'beaver wars,' and simultaneously began peace negotiations with the Wyandot and elements of the Ottawa. Dongan encouraged those discussions in hopes that western Indians would travel through the Iroquois country to trade at Albany, and, beginning in 1684, he sent emissaries to cultivate direct commercial links in the west. By 1684, then, the French, who had begun their own policy of western expansion with the construction of a series of forts in the mid-1670s, stood to lose their western trading partners either to Iroquois attacks or to low Albany prices. La Barre therefore determined that the Iroquois must be crushed.<sup>48</sup> On August 2, a few days after the distribution of the Duke's arms, Iroquois spokesmen summarized the dilemma their peoples faced:

<sup>47</sup> Colden, *History* (1727), pp. 61–62, briefly mentions these speeches; and Wraxall, *Abridgement*, pp. 10–11, gives a short summary. Neither version is as detailed as the notebook account and neither portrays the Iroquois as such eager participants in these transactions. In a speech of Aug. 5, 1684, a Seneca spokesman also expressed his 'great thanks for the Dukes Armes w<sup>ch</sup> we will put up in our Castle' (quote from notebook; see also Colden, *History* [1727], pp. 73–77; and Wraxall, *Abridgement*, pp. 12–13).

<sup>48</sup> *NYCD*, 9:228–36; Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, 56:43–45, 59:251, 60:211, 62:151–65, 185; Hennepin, *New Discovery*, 1:103–288; Helen Broshar, 'The First Push Westward of the Albany Traders,' *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 7(1920): 228–41; Eccles, *Frontenac*, pp. 99–126.

The Ounondages & Cayouges Sachims speak to Lord Howard of Effingham & Colo Dungan, and say, your Sachim (meaning the K. of England) is a great Sachim, & we are a small people. When the English came to the Manhatans, i.e. New York; Aragiske, i.e. Virginia & to Jaquokranagare, i.e. Maryland; they were but a small people and we a great people, and finding they were a good people, we gave them Lands, & Treated them civilly. And now since you are a Great People & we but small, *you will protect us from the French*, which if you do not, we shall loose all our Hunting & Beavers, & the French will have all our Beavers, who are angry with us for bringing them to the Breatheren. We have put *all our Lands & ourselves*, under the Protection of the Great Duke of York, & Give him the *Susquehanna River* which we *Won with the Sword*,<sup>49</sup> and desire it may be a Branch of the Great Tree that grows here, under which we shall shelter ourselves from the French or any other people. We send to the Great Sachim Charles two White drest dear Skins, that he may write on them & put a great Red Seal to them, That we do put the Susquehanna River above the Wasughta or falls, and all the rest of our Land Under the great Duke of York, and to no body Else, Our Breatheren his People being as fathers to our Wives & Children and did give us bread when we were in need of it, and We Will neither join our selves nor our Land to any other Government than to this, and this Proposition we desire may be sent over to the Great Sachim Charles, with this Belt of Wampum Peeg & another to the Duke of York. We desire you Great Sachim of Virginia meaning Lord Howard, would bear Witness of what we now do, and as we are a free People United to the English we give our Land to What Sachim we please.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Here the Iroquois stretched the truth; they had never defeated militarily the Susquehannock, the original owners of the Susquehanna Valley. See Francis Jennings, 'Glory, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112(1968):15-53.

<sup>50</sup> Compare the versions of this speech in *NYCD*, 3:417-18; and Colden, *History* (1727), pp. 63-66. The deerskin and the witness of Effingham perhaps constituted an unsuccessful attempt by the Iroquois to ensure that their lands were indeed given to the Duke of York rather than to Dongan personally. Dongan had, rather suspiciously, made out the deed to himself, and, in fact, in 1697, after his return to England, he sold the lands on the Susquehanna to William Penn for £100. On Dongan's questionable ethics in this affair see Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, p. 257; Jennings, 'Miquon's Passing,' pp. 72-73; and Gary B. Nash, 'The Quest for the Susquehanna Valley: New York, Pennsylvania, and the Seventeenth-Century Fur Trade,' *New York History* 48(1967): 3-27.

In September La Barre's army arrived at a spot in the Onondaga country appropriately known as La Famine; supplies were low and many of the French troops were seriously ill. The governor was forced to negotiate with an Iroquois delegation that, Dongan's orders notwithstanding, had gone to meet him. In an address vividly recounted by Lahonton and Colden and paraphrased in the notebook, the Onondaga orator Otreouti (known to the French as *La Grande Gueule*, or 'Big Mouth') mocked La Barre, as the compiler of the manuscript puts it, 'in the most ridiculous light' and imposed an agreement that the French considered to be humiliating.<sup>51</sup> La Barre was recalled in disgrace. His successor, Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, came better prepared to remove the Iroquois menace. Faced with a renewed threat, on July 31, 1686, Iroquois spokesmen again called for English aid:

The Cayouge Sa[c]hims being at Albany before the Commissioners, desire to Renew the Covenant Chain & make the same Clean & Clear & that it may remain so for Ever between them & Corlaer. They desire good care may be Taken of the Tree of Wellbeing, that so may Shelter themselves Under Corlars Government, for that their Lands are his Lands, & that if any Dangerous People should come to molest them they Expect that the Govr will send a Post to acquaint them with it.<sup>52</sup>

In June 1687, as Denonville embarked for the Seneca country with an army of over 2,000 French and Indians,<sup>53</sup> emissaries from each of the four eastern Iroquois nations hurried to Albany to plead for English aid. They need not have asked, however, for the crowns of England and France were at peace. The Albany commissioners chided the Indians for being 'so small of heart and so upset by such running rumors for which we can find no basis. If the Governor of Canada attacks you, you are after all men and not children, you certainly should de-

<sup>51</sup> Lahonton, *New Voyages*, 1:29-45; Colden, *History* (1727), pp. 77-90; *NYCD*, 9:236-48.

<sup>52</sup> For the Commissioners' answer see Appendix B.

<sup>53</sup> *NYCD*, 9:296-303, 358-69.

fend yourselves and keep on the alert.' The English then gave the Iroquois a token supply of ammunition and smugly sent them on their way with the assurance that 'as Corlaer up to this day has never failed to work for your benefit and to take care of you like a father, thus he will always assist you with his fatherly mercy as long as you will behave well and follow his orders which will always turn out to be best for you.'<sup>54</sup> The notebook preserves a previously unprinted response that hints at the sense of betrayal the Iroquois must have begun to feel.<sup>55</sup> As they saw it, the Covenant Chain and the treaties of 1684 obligated the English to fight alongside the Five Nations:

June 28. The souldiers or young People of onnondage say they thank the Gov<sup>r</sup> for his present of Powder & Ball, *That When the English came there first with a Ship Then did they make a Covenant with them & then resigned their Country to them, & we souldiers are now come to confirm these things—We are afraid The French man will fall on us, but we will not begin first, but as soon as he Begins War with us, our Ax is ready, but we shall not give Oca-sion, as God & Heaven Knows, but if we should have a Battle & be put to flight, we desire the gov<sup>r</sup> to Protect our Wifes & Children. They say the Preist [Jean de Lamberville] is removed from onnondage to Cadaraqui [Fort Frontenac] & they desire a smith may be sent them.*<sup>56</sup>

With Lamberville were some Onondagas whom the priest, with apparent lack of guile, had convinced to go to Fort Fron-

<sup>54</sup> Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, pp. 118–24, quotes from p. 119.

<sup>55</sup> Worse was yet to come for the Iroquois. Repeatedly during the War of the League of Augsburg they called upon the English for aid, but, despite English promises, they received little more than occasional presents of arms and ammunition. New York's own military effort consisted of ill-starred attempts to invade Canada in 1690 and 1691. Yet, if the English could not adequately perform militarily, they could nevertheless successfully sabotage efforts by the Five Nations to negotiate a separate peace with the French that might have averted the devastation the war leveled on the Iroquois. See Daniel K. Richter, "'War is a Necessary Exercise for the Iroquois': The Cultural Role of Warfare in the First Century of European Contact," *William and Mary Quarterly* (forthcoming).

<sup>56</sup> Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, p. 123, mentions that, on June 29, an 'answer was given to y<sup>e</sup> Souldiers or young men of onnondage,' but the Livingston papers preserve neither the propositions of the Onondagas nor the answer of the English; neither does the English response appear in the notebook.



tenac to negotiate with Denonville. The Onondagas, along with two villages of Cayugas and other Iroquois who had settled near the fort to trade with the French, were captured by Denonville's army, and thirty-six of the prisoners were sent to slave in the French royal galleys. Then, a few days after the Onondaga warriors had spoken at Albany, the army proceeded to the Seneca country, where, following a brief but costly skirmish with defenders who lay in ambush, the troops destroyed the remains of the Seneca villages, which the inhabitants had burned before fleeing to safety.<sup>57</sup> In response to Denonville's campaign, Iroquois war parties began a series of devastating raids on French settlements. In late 1689, as Canada reeled under repeated attacks, Louis de Buade de Frontenac arrived to begin a second tenure as governor. He brought with him the few Iroquois who had survived the galleys, whom he treated royally, hoping they might persuade their people to agree to a truce.<sup>58</sup> On January 6, 1690, reports the notebook, 'Tachaiadoris the Greatest of the Maquas Sachims acquaint[ed] the Magistrates of Albany That 3 of their Indians come from France were sent to onondaga as Envoys' bearing Frontenac's proposals. At Tachaiadoris's request 'that some Gentlemen might go with him,' the magistrates sent interpreter Arnout Cornelissen Viele and fur trader Robert Sanders to the council at Onondaga.<sup>59</sup> The manuscript provides a partial summary of the subsequent deliberations that, together with other details supplied in complementary accounts,<sup>60</sup> illustrates the workings of late-seventeenth-century councils of the Iroquois confederacy and delineates the policies that the Five Nations

<sup>57</sup> Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, 63:269-81, 64:239-49; Lahonton, *New Voyages*, 1:68-80.

<sup>58</sup> Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, pp. 139-40; *NYCD*, 9:434-38; Lahonton, *New Voyages*, 1:98-102, 147-51; Eccles, *Frontenac*, pp. 207-8.

<sup>59</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>60</sup> A version in Wraxall, *Abridgement*, pp. 14-16, almost perfectly complements the manuscript account—each fills gaps left by the other. Colden gives an extensive—and perhaps embroidered—account in *History* (1747), pp. 105-113.

agreed to pursue toward the French, the English, and the western Indians in 1690:

Cornelius Veile & Robert Sanders being returned report that they arrived at Oneyde the 18<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> & found there Cohank<sup>61</sup> & 2 Other Indians who came with him from France & a Roman Catholick Onnondage who lives at Cannada. Cohank Told them he had been Extreamply Ill treated in France in Suffering Hunger Hardship & hard Work & that he by no means relished the French Nation. That they arrived at onnondage the 19: Jan<sup>y</sup> & found there the 2 Cayouge Indians that came from France & the onnondage Roman Catholick Indian; Likewise the Maquase Sachim [Tachaiadoris] & the three Indian Messengers sent from the Corporation [of Albany]. The 22<sup>a</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> The Assembly was Compleat containing about 80 Sachims & Sadeganachtie an onnondage got up & acquainted the Messengers of the Corporation, That the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada had spoke to them by the afores<sup>d</sup> 4 Messengers & acquainted them of his arrival from France, That he had brought back with him Toweeraet A Cayouge Sachim<sup>62</sup> & 12 more Indians, that he Intended in the Spring to Kindle his fire again at Cataraqi & Called his Children & Dekanisore a Sachim to meet him there to Treat about the old Covenant Chain.<sup>63</sup> then Sadeganachtie tells them That Adarjachta cheif of the Praying Indians<sup>64</sup> had Invited the 5 Nations to accept of the Gov<sup>r</sup>s Invitation if they designed to Live. That Taweeraet acquainted them that He had suffered great hardships in France, Therefore he desires them to give Ear to Onondio, (meaning the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada) if they design to Live. That Father Lomberville, Och-

<sup>61</sup> Cohank is identified elsewhere in the manuscript as an Oneida; see Appendix B.

<sup>62</sup> This is apparently Ourehouare, a Cayuga war chief captured at Fort Frontenac and sent to the galleys in 1687. When Frontenac brought Ourehouare back from France, he pampered the Cayuga with presents and sumptuous dinners and eventually made him a firm ally of the French (see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, s.v. 'Ourehouare').

<sup>63</sup> Fort Frontenac had been abandoned under Iroquois military pressure in 1689. Decanisora, or Teganissorens, an Onondaga headman, was perhaps the most influential of late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Iroquois leaders, and was a principal architect of the Five Nations' policy of neutrality in the eighteenth-century Anglo-French imperial struggle.

<sup>64</sup> Athasata, also known as Togouiroui, Kryn, and 'The Great Mohawk,' was a headman of the Canadian Iroquois. In Colden's account Athasata appears in person at the Onondaga council.

quesa, La Maena, & Mons<sup>r</sup> Ertell<sup>65</sup> sent them a Belt of Wampum to desire them to keep the Covenant with onondio.

After this Speach The whole Assembly had a Consultation & return This answer to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada. Onondio how often have we been Cheated by the French, at Catarqui, also our Brothers that went to ottawawa<sup>66</sup> & Likewise the Sennekes whom you deceived in Destroying their Castles. Onondio you shall send Toweeraet & all his People to their Country this very Winter before it is Spring. you say that your fire Burns at Catarqui, but your fire is Extinguished there with Blood, Therefore first Send home our Indians, and We Let you know we have made peace with the Waganhaes<sup>67</sup> & consider on that head, and do not think we lay down the Ax because we send you an Answer by your Messengers, no that Is not our Intent, for our Captains are still out afighting till you return our Breatheren. When our Brother Toweraet comes home then shall we speak to you. Upon the Conclusion of this answer the Assembly breaks up, after delivering to Cornelius Veile & Rob<sup>t</sup> Sanders The Propositions made to them by 7 Nations of the Waganhaes which is as follows, viz. That they were come to join two Bodys into one & to learn understanding from them & the Christians [of New York]. That they cast the Ax aside that the Gov<sup>rs</sup> of Canada have allways given them, Who is Drunk in this Case, but we wash our hands clean from him & will have Nothing to do with him, and now we are Washed with Heavens Water that comes from the Sun, we

<sup>65</sup> In early 1690, Jean de Lamberville, former Jesuit missionary to the Onondagas, lay in a Montreal sickbed suffering from scurvy; he would soon return permanently to France. 'Ochquesa, La Maena,' refers to a single person; Colden's version lists only the name 'Ohguesse,' with a footnote explaining that the title refers to 'Monsr. le Morne,' i.e., Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, who had long been active in Canadian Indian affairs. 'Mons<sup>r</sup> Ertell' was the military commander Joseph-François Hertel de La Fresnière.

<sup>66</sup> This is apparently a reference to an event of 1689 in the Ottawa country, recorded in one of the notebook's paraphrases of French sources: 'Mons<sup>r</sup> Frontena[c] recalls Mons<sup>r</sup> Durentays [Olivier Morel de La Durantaye] from Missilimakinac & Sends Mons<sup>r</sup> Lovigni [Louis de La Porte de Louvigny] to Cammand in his room, who Meeting with a party of Iroquois 50 Leagues above monreal destroy[s] 60 of them, & send[s] their Scalps to the Outawawas who had sent an Embassy to the Iroquois [to negotiate a peace]. On his Landing at Missilimakinac he Burnt an Iroquois in presense of the Indians there & Tells them the French are a great River that cannot be dried up. that If any of the Indians would take part with the Iroquois they might, but in that case they shold Live no Longer on their Old Lands, which now belonged to the French.'

<sup>67</sup> 'Waganhaes' is an Anglicization of an Iroquois general term for Algonquians who lived to their west; in this case it refers to one of the Ottawa bands.

must neither of us give Ear to him. Brothers when the strawberries are ripe we will return with Our [Iroquois] prisoners & will go quite to Albany to see Corlaer the Govr & see where the Wampum pipes are made. on our return we will acquaint the Ienondadees [Wyandot] & outawawas [Ottawa] what we have done & perswade them to return with us in the Spring & deliver up their prisoners. When this speach was Ended the Sennekes sent 3 of their People home with the Waganhes to return with them in the spring & delivered the Messengers of the Corporation a Long [wampum] Belt sent by the Waganhes to the Christians at Albany who they were resolved to vissit & divided their own Belts among the five Nations in Token of their acceptance of the offers of Peace from the Waganhaes. The Messengers on their return to Albany bring with them the Intercepted Letters to the Jesuit [Pierre] Millet & the Powder in a paper suposed to be poison, for which s<sup>d</sup> Jesuit is confined a prisoner among the oneyde.

Millet survived his captivity and briefly became an adopted sachem of the Oneida.<sup>68</sup> His writings and those of his fellow Jesuits provide a remarkable source of ethnographic information about the Indian peoples with whom they worked. But for seventeenth-century Indians' own words, historians have little more on which to rely than treaty minutes such as those preserved in the notebook. 'Indian affairs . . . being the department of our history in which materials are most defective,' wrote Jefferson when he donated the manuscript, 'it may perhaps offer something not elsewhere preserved.' Historians now owe another debt to the Sage of Monticello.

<sup>68</sup> Millet, who had been a missionary to the Oneida from 1672 to 1685, was captured by the Iroquois at Fort Frontenac in 1689 and given to the Oneida. Christian Oneidas adopted him and conferred upon him the name Odatshadeh, the hereditary title of one of the fifty sachems of the Iroquois confederacy. That title, and the esteem in which the Christian faction of the Oneidas held him, gave him considerable influence in Iroquois affairs; yet he remained, in some respects, a prisoner until, in 1694, he was surrendered to Frontenac with other French captives. See Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, 64:67-107, 243-45, 275; and Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, pp. 170-72.

## APPENDIX A

*The Notebook and Other Substitutes  
for the Lost Albany Records*

Jefferson's notebook is by no means the only surviving work based on the lost Albany records; several published substitutes have allowed historians to reconstruct much of what the originals must have contained. In 1754 New York Indian Affairs Secretary Peter Wraxall summarized the minutes for 1678–1751 in his *Abridgement*, and earlier Cadwallader Colden had used the records as the basis for much of his *History of the Five Indian Nations*.<sup>1</sup> Through most of the period covered by the missing records, royal governors of New York sent to Whitehall selected—and sometimes expurgated—copies of minutes of their negotiations with Indians at Albany; most of these are printed in *NYCD*, and similar copies are scattered through other collections of local and colony records.<sup>2</sup> The most recent, and most valuable, published substitute for the lost minutes is Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, which contains the rough drafts of much of the material that comprised the original records, culled from the papers of Robert Livingston. As secretary of Rensselaerswyck, town clerk of Albany, and New York Indian affairs secretary, Livingston kept the commissioners' minutes from the 1670s to the 1720s. The notebook, of course, repeats much of the material found in other sources, though occasionally the compiler's paraphrases have the peculiar virtue of supplying Indians' names and other minutiae omitted in more extensive versions recorded elsewhere, while glossing over long passages that other transcribers found important. In many cases, however, the notebook presents minutes of conferences apparently preserved nowhere else.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the 1727 and 1747 volumes cited above, which cover the period from 1665 to 1697, a third installment, unpublished in Colden's lifetime, appeared as 'Continuation of Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations, for the Years 1707 through 1720,' *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* 68(1935):357–434.

<sup>2</sup> See, in particular, O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*; A. J. F. van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady*, 3 vols. (Albany, 1926–32); W. H. Brown et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. to date (Baltimore, 1888–); Samuel Hazard, ed., *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 10 vols. (Harrisburg, 1838–53); and New York Colonial Manuscripts, New York State Archives, Albany.

The notebook was almost certainly composed for William Burnet, governor-general of New York and New Jersey from 1720 to 1727 and governor of Massachusetts from 1727 until his death in 1729. Burnet's descendant William Burnet Brown had, according to Jefferson, found the manuscript 'among the archives of his family'; and at one point the compiler refers to 'Gov<sup>r</sup> Burnets Manuscript Extracted from a french Author.' The sources cited by the compiler indicate that the notebook was composed during Burnet's tenure in New York: the summaries must have been compiled after 1722, when La Potherie's *Histoire*, which the compiler used heavily, appeared; and before 1727, when the first volume of Colden's *History*, which certainly would have been available to the author, was published at New York. There is little internal evidence to suggest a more precise date, yet much of the notebook deals with Massachusetts and passages that bear on the Bay Colony are occasionally underlined. Possibly, then, it was prepared to educate Burnet as he moved to the governorship of Massachusetts in 1727.

The authorship of the notebook will probably forever remain a mystery. We know that the compiler had access to the Albany records, to manuscripts in the governor's possession, and to printed works imported from London and Paris; and that he presumably read Dutch (the language in which many of the early Albany minutes were recorded) and French; but further we can only speculate. The notebook's similarity in subject matter and coincidence in time with Colden's *History* immediately suggests one possibility, but, while there are similarities between Colden's handwriting in the late 1720s and the script in the notebook, the differences are sufficient to render his authorship unlikely.

Whoever the compiler was, he was meticulous to a fault. The quality of one of his typical paraphrases may be seen through a comparison of the manuscript version of the June 2, 1691, relation of the Iroquois Covenant Chain legend presented above with the version printed in *NYCD*, 3:774-75:

Brother Corlaer [i.e., Governor Sloughter], You acquainted us yesterday that you were sent hither by their Majesties of England to governe this Province, and we Four Nations, Oneyde, Onnondages, Cayouges and Sinnekes, are glad you are safe arrived here, and that we see a Gov<sup>r</sup> againe and bid you heartily welcome. Doe Give four Otters.

We have been informed by our Forefathers that in former

times a Ship arrived here in this Country which was matter of great admiration to us, especially our desire was to know what was within her Belly. In that Ship were Christians, amongst the rest one Jaques with whom we made a Covenant of friendship, which covenant hath since been tied together with a chaine and always ever since kept inviolable by the Brethren and us, in which Covenant it was agreed that whoever should hurt or prejudice, the one should be guilty of injuring all, all of us being comprehended in one common league. Doe give four pieces of Beaver.

The same mind that produced page after page of accurate précis of treaty minutes refused to yield on matters of organization. Thus the compiler forced his summaries of treaty dialogues into his rigid three-column scheme of parallel English, French, and Indian chronologies, frequently with confusing results. The eye is likely to fall first on an English speech recorded in the left-hand column which answers an Indian speech residing across the page in the right-hand column; between are chronicled irrelevant, though contemporaneous, French developments. This cumbersome format and the vast amount of mundane and derivative material from published eighteenth-century sources contained in the notebook make its publication in full both impractical and undesirable. Similarly, the availability elsewhere of verbatim copies of many of the Albany records renders complete publication of the treaty minutes summarized in the notebook unnecessary. This article, therefore, seeks to present, and to suggest some significances for, the parts of the Albany minutes for which the précis in the notebook are apparently the only surviving copies or for which the manuscript account varies considerably from versions published elsewhere. With a few minor exceptions, all notebook passages from the Albany records that have not been published in the standard sources<sup>3</sup> and that are not quoted in the text of this article appear in chronological order in Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup> NYCD; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*; Leder ed., *Livingston Indian Records*; Colden, *History* (1727, 1747); Wraxall, *Abridgement*.

## APPENDIX B

*Additional Summaries of Treaty Minutes  
Found in the Notebook*

1677/8.

Mar. 20.

The Maquase desire to be excused for a fire that happened accidentally at Schaenhectady whereby 4 house[s] were burnt, & they complain that the North Indians<sup>1</sup> given them by the Gov<sup>r</sup> Run away.

1678. Sept<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>a</sup>

The Sachims of the Onnondages say that they then came to confirm the Ancient Brotherhood which they would remind their Bretheren has subsisted from the first Instance of Navagation being in use here (at the Time of a Gov<sup>r</sup> Called Jacques) & hath continued to the Time of Old Corlaer & from Old Corlaer to his Present Excell<sup>y</sup>, for the Continuance of which they much rejoice & now Renew the ancient Covenant & make the Chain Bright. They desire their present may be accepted though small, as coming from one Body to the other, & [say] that they got it from the Indians having Holes thro' their noses & from the Dienoendaddehaeges whom they Endeavour to bring to Trade here & that there is nothing wanting on their parts, But whether the passage near the Sinnondowanes be too wide or too narrow, for that is the passage to come to Albany. Mem<sup>o</sup> Dionnondahaes is the Iroquois name for for [sic] the Indians on the North of Lake Huron &c<sup>a</sup> & Sinnondowannes is the Sennekes.

1686.

July 31.

The Commissioners at Albany Answer the Sachims of the Cayouges<sup>2</sup> & say they are Glad all things are well under the Gov<sup>r</sup>s Jurisdiction on this side the Great Lake. That they Gladly renew the Covenant Chain with the Bretheren, & That they shall not be Wanting to send a Post on Horss back with the utmost speed to

<sup>1</sup> fled from N: Eng: [compiler's note].

<sup>2</sup> For the propositions of the Cayuga spokesmen on this date, see above.



their Castles, as soon as they shall hear of the least Ill designs against [them], for the Gov<sup>r</sup> will not hide from them the Least Thing to their disadvantage & The Gov<sup>r</sup> desires all the 5 Nations to send their Sachims to N. york that he may consult them on Matters of consequence relating to them both.

1686.

Aug: 7:

The Sachims of Skacktekook Speak to the Mayor & Aldermen of Albany & say they are Sorry, that they were no [sooner] settled at Skackkook a few years ago by the Gov<sup>rs</sup> appointment then Their Sachims died, but now come to acquaint them they [have] chosen 3 in their Room; That they were going to the Maquase Country to kindle the fire of Freindship there & to Smoak With the Maquase.<sup>3</sup>

1686.

Aug: 7.

The Mayor & Aldermen of Albany answer the Skactekooks & complain of some outrages they had committed at Narraganset by Killing an Indian & Takeing a Girl Prisoner which was complained of by the Gov<sup>r</sup> of N. Eng: That if they go on in this way that they should be no longer sheltered & protected by that Government. That they Expected the Girl Immediately restored & Satisfaction made for the Blood they had Spilt. The Indians answer that the Girl was already restored & that they would make satisfaction for the Blood Shed.

Aug: 22 [1686].

The Sinnekes speak to The Mayor & Aldermen of Albany & say that Their Fire Burns not at Cadarachqui but here at Albany. That they have Obeyed The [French] Gov<sup>rs</sup> Orders in comeing there; That they had Spoke to the onnondages, who were minded to go to Cadarachqui to Treat about the Prisoners they had taken last year; But the will of the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada we will not obey, but will go & hear what our Gov<sup>r</sup> saith—as for the Prisoners of Jenondadages [the Wyandot] who are 10, we & the Cayouges have wholly referred it to the onnondages & oneydes—who were gone to Cadarachqui, viz 7 onnondages & 2 oneydes with their Father or Preist [Jean de Lamberville] as their adjutant.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed version of this speech, see Leder, ed., *Livingston Indian Records*, p. 104. The answer which follows appears only in the notebook.

<sup>4</sup> On the negotiations at Fort Frontenac see *NYCD*, 9:293-94.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 24 [1686].

A Sinneke Sachim Brings to Albany a Girle of the Twichtwighs Ronenes [Miamiis], which he gives to Arnout Cornelius's Wife,<sup>5</sup> being one of the Prisoners they had Taken.

1687.

Mar.

31.

Twelve Captains of the Sennekes speak to the Commissioners at Albany, & acquaint them that after a War of 6 years they had subdued the Tichtageraenes [Illinois], That being Interupted by the Twichwiches [Miamiis] in their Bever Hunting they made War with them & designed as soon as the Trees Bud to go out & Subdue them.<sup>6</sup>

1687.

Mar. 31.

The Commissioners at Albany answer the Sennekes Captains that they would acquaint the Gov<sup>r</sup> with their design, But advise them to follow their Hunting rather then to go out to War. they acquaint them [that] they understand the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada had sent for them & the other Nations to Lake Cataraqui but admonish them not to go without the [English] Gov<sup>rs</sup> Leave & mind them of their promise to deliver the Jenondades Prisoners to Maj<sup>o</sup> Magregory.<sup>7</sup>

1687.

Apr. 5.

The Maquase by their Sachim speak to the Commissioners at Albana, and acquaint them that the 3 Castles of the Maquase are come to Complain of the Diligence of the French Preists in carrying their People to Canada under the Shadow of Turning us to their

<sup>5</sup> The wife of interpreter Arnout Cornelissen Viele.

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion of these western campaigns in Colden, *History* (1727), pp. 91-92.

<sup>7</sup> Patrick Magregory, commander of one of two parties sent by Dongan to trade at Michilimackinac in 1687. (The other was led by Johannes Rooseboom.) Both groups were captured by French troops marching from western posts to participate in the 1687 invasion of the Seneca country. See Broshar, 'First Push Westward,' pp. 233-35; and Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 270-71.

Religion, & they desire a stop may be put to it. They say as our People [of New York] are going to Outawawa they wish them prosperity & a speedy Journey. They say that they & the 5 Nations Westward renew the Covenant with them & Include in the Covenant Boston Maryland & Virginia. That all the Nations Westward, as well as the River Indians depend on the Protection of this Government, & They thank them & Those of N. Eng: for assisting in Burying the Ax between us & the Northern Indians & *desire* to Renew our Covenant with those of N. E. in particular.

1687.

Apr: 5.

The Commissioners answear the Maquase that they would inform the Gov<sup>r</sup> General of their complaint; and advise them to Stop their people from forsakeing their Country & to tell them not to mind the Preists for If they do they will greatly Provoke the Gov<sup>r</sup>. They say they shall acquaint the Gov<sup>r</sup> of their Renewing their Covenant with those of N. E.

1687.

May. 30.

The Oñondages speak to the Commissioners & say that they, The Cayouges, & Sennekes, are all of one mind to War with the Twichtwicks, Country, for Country. that they will go hand in hand & destroy them. & When the Maquase & Oneydes have joined them they will make it known to the Gov<sup>r</sup>.

1687.

May 30

The Commissioners say, seeing they are resolved to War with the Twichtwicks they Wish them prosperity against those who hinder them in their Beaver hunting & that they shall have all War-like ammunication Cheap.

1688/9.

Feb: 21.

The Maquase speak to the Comander & Magistrates of Albany, & acquaint them [that] they are come to Renew the Covenant Chain and that their minds are quieted in respect to the French who they do not fear; That as the Skachkooks may be in fear of what may befall them from Canada & the Eastward they are going to See them.

1689.

June 17.

The Maquase speak to the Magistrates of Albany & say That they hear there is War betwixt France & England, and as they are one hand & Soul with the English, they will take Up the Ax with pleasure against the French Viz, they, the Sinnekes, onnondages, Cayouges, & Oneydes, & this they make known to the English, the Skachkooks & River Indians, and they advise the Skachkooks to be watchfull towards the Canada Streams. They say that the Place where the French Stole their Indians two years ago should soon be cut off (meaning Fort Frontenac) for to steal people in a time of Peace is an Inconsiderate work. They complain the French had once & again taken their Principal men beyond [the] Sea, for which they Take up the Ax. they desire if any Canada Preistrid[d]en Indians should come there they would bind them fast. they desire Men should be sent to onnondage to strengthen that Castle. They desire if any of the Praying Indians *who are their Tributarys* should come that way in order to return to them they may have Liberty.<sup>8</sup>

1689.

June 18.

The Magistrates of Albany, in Answer to the Maquas say they would Informe them That the King of England, *who had ordered Col<sup>o</sup> Dungan to binder them from making any further Victorys over the french*, was removed from being King & that his son in Law was King in his Room. That as yet they had no certainty of War, but expected it every day, & as soon as they had an account of it would Inform the Breatheren of it, & be ready to Revenge the Blood of the Bretheren spilt by the Deceitfull French & also root them out of Canada.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Canadian Catholic Iroquois were in no sense 'Tributarys' of the Five Nations. Either the Mohawk orator or the interpreter deliberately overstated the case, or the interpreter mistranslated a reference to the Canadian Iroquois as kin of the Mohawk.

<sup>9</sup> William III ascended the throne in Feb. 1689 and enlisted England in the War of the League of Augsburg in May. New York's version of the Glorious Revolution had taken a decisive turn a few days before the Albany magistrates' speech, when Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson fled New York and Jacob Leisler seized full control of the city. See David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (New York, 1972), pp. 251-57.

1689.

June 27.

The Sinnekes, Cayouges, onnondages & Oneydes Speak to the Magistrates of Albany & Say They are come to Renew the old Covenant made with Jaques many years ago who came with a Ship into their Waters & rec<sup>d</sup> them as Bretheren, & then the maquase, oneydes & onnondages desired him to Establish himself in this Country & the Sinnekes & Cayouges they drew into that General Covenant, & that they had with one accord Planted the Tree of good Understanding & had allways been dutifull to this Government, as was now Evident by their not going to Cadaraqui this Spring, being so ordered [by the French governor]. They Laid down a present in returne for that made them last fall by S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Andros,<sup>10</sup> & to wash off the Tears, for the Blood Spilt in New England, by the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada[']s] Indians last fall, which was done by his Instigation.<sup>11</sup> They say the[y] Confirm the old Covenant made here & with Virginia Maryland & Boston & Wish that the Sun may allways shine on them, and That They *Cast Beams to the Sun of Peace*, saying this is their way of Speaking. They say that the Maquase, oneydes & onnondages did carry the Ankor of the Ship that Jaques came in, to onnondage that beeing the meeting place of the five Nations & this they now renew & Confirm. they desire to be Informed of any Plots the Bretheren may know the French have against them & if they hear of any against the Bretheren they will Informe them of it, & if they are attac't [they] expect the bretheren to Assist them. they say that as the French made Prisoners of their People at Cataracqui by stratagem, so they will in Like manner take Cataracqui by Stratagem & that they had 800 men who had been out 12 days. This we tell the Bretheren that there may be nothing hid among us.

1689. Aug: 2<sup>d</sup>. 4 Messengers from the Onagongue or Eastern [Abenaki] Indians, speak to the Maquais Army Encampd 50 miles above albany Round against the French, and say That they are Boys in understanding, and are Dead People, as well as all the 5 Nations,

<sup>10</sup> For the minutes of this conference at Albany on Sept. 18–21, 1688, see *NYCD*, 3:557–61.

<sup>11</sup> Under the date of Sept. 1688 the manuscript notes that 'The Eastern Indians begin a War with the English & shed the first Blood at North yarmouth in Casco Bay this month, being Animated so to do by the French as they themselves Reported, though the Crowns of England & France were at this Time in the Strictest Amyte & allyance with each other.'

for that the Christians had Combined unanimously to destroy them. That they have begun a war with the English, who they lyingly say had Treacherously Killed all their Sachims. That all their Nation would come to them in the fall. That they would Kill with the sword without End & would hack on every side of the Christians. That the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada encouraged them to Undertake the War against the English & had furnished them with Ammunition & that they Intended to carry their wives & Children to Canada, and that all the praying Ourages or Kennebec were gone from Canada to Ourage.<sup>12</sup>

The Maquase Answer the Onagongue Indians & say That it is true they are Boys, & speak without Understanding, and they would therefore give them some witty Drink that their Eyes may be Open to Consult their Bussiness Better. you say you are Dead, & we say so likewise for begining a war with our Brother Corlaers People & we tell you we shall fall on the french on every side. We never heard before but you were onagongues alone, but now you are onagongues & ourages. We have our Eye allways upon you & see your fals heart & doings, for you carry your greatest present to Canada & bring us beavers as bare as the Bark of Trees. Mem<sup>o</sup> These 4 onagongues would have been delivered up to the English, but were prevented by some of the principal Warriors of the 1 & 2<sup>d</sup> [Mohawk] Castle who were their Relations being the offspring of the Onagongues.<sup>13</sup>

1689. Aug: 20<sup>th</sup>. The Skachkooks acquaint the Magistrates of Albany that they are in one Covenant Chain with the Bretheren the Christians, & the 5 Nations & that Eastern Indians being not in the Covenant, if they do mischief It is not their fault, for they have nothing to do with them. That they have been at Skachkook many years & have lived happily there for which they are thankfull, and if any of their Bretheren should be in want they pray they may be admitted to come & Live with them.

The magistrates Answer the Skachkooks, that they are ready to maintain the Covenant Chain, but that the Skachkooks must not break it by keeping correspondence with the Enemys of their Bretheren at the East as they have done this spring at Sarachtoga & now

<sup>12</sup> The Kennebec were one of four principal subdivisions of the Eastern Abenaki, or 'Onagongue.'

<sup>13</sup> The source of this account is unclear; presumably a Mohawk informant who was present at the encampment above Albany reconstructed the proceedings for English authorities at a later date.

have freely admitted their messengers to their Castles. The gov<sup>r</sup> expressly Charges you to look on them as your Enemies, who are murtherers & Enemies to our Bretheren, & that you do not hide them among you, for if you do it will not come to a good Effect. Therefore take warning & behave as good Subjects, & keep a watchfull Eye on the People of Canada & be no more refractory as happened lately when our people were gone to the Lake as spyes. we hear the Eastern Indians have joined the French & taken a fort in N. E. & that some of your people are among them, therefore give us their names. we advise you to send men to the two passages at Otter Creek & Crown point, to keep a good Watch against the false French, who will do all the damage they can.

1689.

Aug: 28.

The Magistrates of Albany Answer the Onnondage Messengers sent with News from Canada<sup>14</sup> & say that they had the same News by the way of the West Indies, meaning an acc<sup>o</sup> of the declaration of War [against France] &c<sup>a</sup>. That they bewail the death of their Soldiers at monreal but rejoice at the great Victory obtained by them,<sup>15</sup> which they desire them to pursue & not to hearken to any proposalls of Peace from the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada, who had so often deceived them, & of whose falsness they had severely Tasted, when he stole away so many valiant Heroes from them. they desire them to have a Watchfull Eye on the Stirings of the French & give them Warning of their motion.

1689.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 27.

Two Messengers Sent from the three Sachims of Onnondage & Oneyde acquaint the Magistrates of Albany, that they bring with them 7 hands of Wampum from Each nation to that government & New England, & desire some Gentlemen to live with them at onnondage. that three of their old Freinds who were carried Prisoners to France were returned to them to propose some things to them, perhaps Peace or a Cessation of Armes, Therefore they desire some gentlemen may go with them to give Council in their Assembly. That the Sinnekes had not been Idle in putting a stop to the War

<sup>14</sup> The report of the Onondaga messengers apparently does not survive.

<sup>15</sup> On July 26, 1689, 1,500 Iroquois warriors attacked Lachine on Montreal Island, where they killed 24 French and took 70 to 90 prisoners (Eccles, *Frontenac*, pp. 192-94).

with the foreign [western] Nations & encourageing them to a peace. That some Letters are come from Canada to the Preist at Oneyde [Millet], which they will not Burn or break open till the Gentlemen arrive at onnondage.

1689/90.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>

Lawrance the Maquase being Returned Informs the Magistrates of Albany That being arrived at Oneyde, he found Cahank there an Oneyde that was returned from France. That 3 other Indian Prisoners were come to the 5 Nations as Messengers from the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada, but would not divulge their Message till the Meeting of the Sachims. That the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada had sent for Degannesore an onnondage Sachim & tells them if he is sent to him, he will send Ocques's Eldest son & Father Lomberville<sup>16</sup> to Treat with the 5 Nations in the spring. That the Oneydes & onnondages had Burnt 9 houses a Little above monreal & Taken 30 prisoners & that two parties were still out. That the French were jealous of the praying Indians that live a Little without monreal in a Fort & sent to them to come & Live among the French or go home to their own Country, upon w<sup>ch</sup> they resolved to go & Live at monreal & theire Fort Church & House were thereupon Burnt.<sup>17</sup> That the Garrisons of Quebec & Trois Rivier were drawn off to monreal & that 200 men were in Fort Champli. That 4 Sachims of the Dowaganhaes were come to the Sinnekes & brought 3 prisoners & made Peace with the Sennekes in behalf of 7 Nations of the Far Indians & had Included the Christians of this Government, & had promised to bring 5 Prisoners more in the Spring.

1689/90.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>

Tachaiadoris the Greatest of the Maquas Sachims acquaint[s] the Magistrates of Albany That 3 of their Indians come from France were sent to onnondage as Envoys & had brought 2 Letters from the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada, One from the Gov<sup>r</sup> & the other from Father Lombervill. That he had endeavoured to get them, but could not. That he designed to go to onnondage in a Case of so great Importance & desires that some Gentlemen might go with him. accord-

<sup>16</sup> Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil and Jean de Lamberville.

<sup>17</sup> Denonville claimed that the Canadian Iroquois were moved into Montreal because he 'had notice that the enemy had resolved to seize them, the fort at their mission being in a very poor condition,' and he hoped that soon both missions could again be moved away from the city at 'a distance from drunkenness' (*NYCD*, 9:441).



ingly Cornelius Veile Interpreter & Robert Sanders are sent up with Instructions.

1691.

June 3

The Skachkook Indians acquaint Gov<sup>r</sup> Sloughter that they are removed from Skachkook down to the place called the Half moon & pray his Assistance in makeing a Small Fort to Secure them there.<sup>18</sup> That this Land is the Christians Land & that they are willing to pay them Tribute for it.

June 3.

Capt<sup>a</sup> S[c]huyler & Capt<sup>a</sup> Raling being Examined about the Dowaganhaces Indians that came last year to [E]sopus with whom the 5 Nations were at War Do say that the said Indians came to See if the Gov<sup>r</sup> was come & *were desirous of Trade with us, & were sorry that the People that were acoming to Trade with Them, were hindred of their design by some of their Indians, but it was thro Ignorance, which they desire may be pardoned & That they might have peace with the Sinnekes, so that they might have a Free Intercourse of Trade.*<sup>19</sup>

1691.

Aug: 11:

The Maquase return from their exped: to Canada & say that they lost 17 men on the spot at Prarie besides 11 wounded, yet they had the Victory over the French.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Sloughter resettled the Schaghticoke at the Half Moon, at the mouth of the Mohawk River, in 1691, to strengthen the defenses of Albany (and doubtless to keep a closer watch over these wavering allies of the English). By 1699 the village had returned to Schaghticoke (Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 326-27, 360-61).

<sup>19</sup> On June 2, 1691, a spokesman for the three western Iroquois nations complained to Sloughter that they had 'heard that some Indians did come from Dowaganhaes [the Ottawa country] to the Sopus or New Yorke last yeare, but never heard what their business was, now whats become of them[;] doe desire that we may be acquainted with that affair.' Two days later Sloughter answered that 'Concerning the Dovaganhaes some of them came to Sopus and were desirous that a Free Trade might be between us and were willing to make peace with the Brethren [of the Five Nations], they dyed there of the small pox at Sopus' (quotes from *NYCD*, 3:776-79; these speeches are summarized in the notebook). The interrogation of Schuyler and Raling that provided Sloughter with his answer to the Iroquois queries is recorded only in the notebook.

<sup>20</sup> In the summer of 1691 Peter Schuyler led a force of 120 New Yorkers, 66 Mahicans, and 80 Mohawks on an expedition against Canada, expecting to rendezvous near Prairie de la Magdelaine with 500 warriors from the other Iroquois nations. The reinforcements never arrived, but as Schuyler's outnumbered forces withdrew, they killed 40 or more French and their Indian allies, while losing 21 New Yorkers, 6 Mahicans, and (according to Schuyler), 16 Mohawks (*NYCD*, 3:800-5, 9:520-24).

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