

CERTIFICATION

The documents in the following set of exhibits which are from the New York Legislative Assembly Papers were obtained in the following manner. I obtained them from the New York State Archives in Albany, New York, from record group A-1823, "Petitions, correspondence and reports relating to Indians, 1783-1831." This record group is also known as the Legislative Assembly Papers, Vols. 40 and 41. In December, 2005, I prepared the transcripts contained in the exhibit set which follows from the microfilm copy of the Legislative Assembly Papers record group. I subsequently checked the accuracy of these transcripts with the photocopies of the documents obtained at the New York State Archives or with copies of the original documents found in the microfilm collection, Francis Jennings, et al, eds., *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Six Nations and Their League* (Woolbridge, Conn.: Research Publications, 1985).

November 16, 2006

s/J. David Lehman

J. David Lehman

EXHIBIT A

RETURN TO: Robert T. Coulter

INSTITUTE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF INDIAN LAW
927 15th STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

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P E N N Y I

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Printed at Bathurst & Co. Albany, N.Y.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

York (State)
Commissioners of Indian Affairs,

APPOINTED BY LAW FOR THE

EXTINGUISHMENT OF INDIAN TITLES

IN THE

STATE OF NEW YORK.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE ALBANY INSTITUTE.

WITH AN

Introduction and Notes,

BY FRANKLIN B. HOUGH,

MEMBER OF THE ALBANY INSTITUTE.

VOL. I.



ALBANY:

JOEL MUNSELL,

MDCCCLXI.

1861

Buffaloe Creek, 14th May, 1788.

Sir: We have had the Pleasure of seeing your Proclamation in which we are happy to find your Excellency and your State has considered the Lease which Mr. Livingston and his Friends has taken from some of our young Men, contrary to the Resolutions and Speech from the whole of the Sachems and Chiefs of the Six Nations; the Purport of which was to cover up the Fire they had kindled at Canadasago¹ until the Spring, when we promised to attend. They told us they were sent by the Congress, otherwise we should not have taken the least Notice of their Message, as we had already promised Congress not to attend any Council but what should be called by their Authority. We must therefore beg of you to prevent any of your People from settling on our Lands, as we look upon the Lease not to be in the least binding, since not one Sachem or principal Woman had given their Consent, nor will we receive their Money but keep our Lands. We are all preparing to go to the Council at Tuscaroras, and have desired Mr. Livingston to meet us there, where we hope to settle all our Affairs according to Promise, and shall be ready to hear what he has to say. We shall then expect every Assistance from the Deputies from Congress to assist us in our Grievances at that Meeting. And we are much obliged to your Excellency for your obliging Speech & Attention to our Interest, and are with the greatest Respect your Excellency's most humble Servants.

Signed by a Number of Chiefs from the Six Nations.

¹Canadasago was at the Foot of Seneca Lake, adjacent to the present Village of Geneva, Ontario Co., N. Y. An ancient Fortification known as Fort Hill, is located on Lot 58, and was covered with heavy Forest Trees when first known to the Whites. Another beautiful Ground called the Old Castle, about one and a half Miles Northwest of Geneva, is covered by an Indian Orchard, and the Ground has never been plowed. This was sacred to the Burial of their Dead, and the Indians stipulated in the Treaty that the White Man's

Plow should never pass over the Bones of their Fathers. For many Years after the Purchase, the Indians came hither annually at Plowing Time, and watched the old Orchard, to see that the Stipulation was not broken. In one Corner of the Ground is a Trench and Series of Holes, the Remains of an ancient Stockade which has long since disappeared. This was one of the most favorite of the Indian Residences, and numerous Relics of Aboriginal Occupation have been found in the Vicinity.

Thereupon Resolved, that it is proper to postpone the Time of holding the Treaty, and that a Message be sent to the Six Nations of Indians for that Purpose, the Draft of which Message being prepared, was read and agreed to by the Board, and is in the Words following:

Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations!

Brothers! We lately sent you a Message requesting you to meet us at a Treaty to be held at Fort Schuyler on the tenth Day of July next, and we have lately been informed that probably some of your People will be abroad, so that they will not be able to attend at that Time.

Brothers! The Business of the Treaty is of the greatest Importance both to you and to us, and concerns all your Men and all your Women and all your Children, and we could wish that all your People should be there, and we have therefore postponed the Time for holding the Treaty until the first Day of September next.

Brothers! We hope that all your People will come to the Treaty at Fort Schuyler, and be present when we brighten the Chain and renew the Covenant between you and us.

Brothers! We request you to send us an Answer to this Message as soon as you can, so that we may know what to depend on. I am your Friend and Brother,

GEO: CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, June 16th, 1788.

Resolved also, that a Letter be written to Mr. Tayler in Answer to his Letter of the 8th instant, covering the Message to the Six Nations, the Draft of which Letter being prepared was read and agreed to by the Board, and is in the Words following:

Sir: I have received your Letter of the 8th inst. with its Inclosures, which I have communicated to the other Commissioners, and we coincide with you in Opinion that it will be most advisable to postpone the Time for holding the Treaty with the Indians, and we have therefore sent you an additional Message to them for that Purpose, and which you

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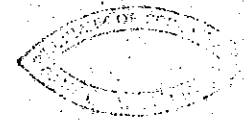
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VOL. I.



ALBANY:
JOEL MUNSELL,
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1861

The Governor also laid before the Board a Letter from Joseph Brandt, dated at Buffalo Creek, the 9th of July inst., and returning the Belt of Invitation to the Commissioners, which Letter is in the Words following:

Buffalo Creek, July 9th, 1788.

Brother attend! Since we wrote you about two Months ago respecting the Lease which Mr. Livingston had obtained of our Lands, we have held a great Council with our Brothers from Boston,¹ at which all the Chiefs and principal Warriors

¹The Deed of Cession referred to was executed at Buffalo Creek, July 8, 1788, between Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, Purchasers under Massachusetts, and the Six Nations, for \$5,250, without any Reservations. The Tract embraced all the Lands between the State of Pennsylvania and Lake Ontario, bounded East by the Preemption Line and West by a Line described as follows: From the Line of Pennsylvania, North on a Meridian to the Confluence of the Shanahagwaikorechi (Canaseraga) Creek and Genesee River, thence down the Genesee to a Point two Miles North of Shanawageras (Canawagus) Village, thence West twelve Miles, thence Northward on a Line that shall pass twelve Miles West of the Genesee at its most Westerly Point to the Lake.

There was subsequently much Complaint as to the Terms of this Agreement, the Indians insisting that an Annuity of \$500 was due them, and that the Payment was to have been \$10,000. In a Speech by Red Jacket, delivered before Timothy Pickering at Tioga Point two Years after, the Seneca Orator after recounting the Incidents of the Negotiation, which was protracted through the Night and till Sunrise the next Morning, said: "And last Summer a Year ago, we came to Canandaigua expecting to receive ten thousand

Dollars, but then we found but five thousand to receive. When we discovered the Fraud, we had a Mind to apply to Congress, to see if the Matter could not be rectified: for, when we took the Money and shared it, every one here knows, that we had but about a Dollar apiece for all that Country. Mr. Street! You very well know, that all our Lands come to was but the Price of a few Hogsheds of Tobacco! Gentlemen who stand by [looking around and addressing himself to the White People who were present], do not think hard of what has been said. At the Time of the Treaty, twenty Broaches would not buy half a Loaf of Bread, so that when we returned Home there was not a bright Spot of Silver about us. The last Spring again, General Chapin stretched out his Hand to us to open a little Fire at Big Tree Flats; and then I had a little Talk with him; and finding we had but a Shilling apiece to receive, we desired him to shut up his Hand again. This is all we have to say at this Time. Mr. Street knows how hard it was for us to part with our Land. And this we said; because we wish the President to know how we have been treated." The Reader will find voluminous Papers relating to these Complaints in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1.*

The Rev. Mr. Kirkland for his Scriv-

of the Six Nations attended. At this great Meeting we have sold Part of our Country to our Brothers from Massachusetts

ices at this Treaty, received 2000 Acres of Land in the seventh Township, seventh Range.

In December, 1790, a large Deputation of Senecas attended upon President Washington at Philadelphia, to state their Grievances concerning this Treaty. The following Speeches, interesting from their Points of brilliant Eloquence, and as Mirrors of the Feeling professed by the Parties, will further illustrate this Subject.

The Speech of the Corn Planter, Half Town, and Great Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca Nation to the Great Council of the Thirteen Fires:

Father. The Voice of the Seneca Nation speaks to you, the great Councillor, in whose Heart the wise Men of all the thirteen Fires have placed their Wisdom. It may be very small in your Ears and we therefore entreat you to hearken with Attention; for we are about to speak of Things which are to us very great. When your Army entered the Country of the Six Nations we called you the Town Destroyer; and to this Day when that Name is heard our Women look behind them and turn Pale, and our Children cling close to the Necks of their Mothers. Our Councillors and Warriors are Men, and can not be afraid; but their Hearts are grieved with the Fears of our Women and Children, and desire it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

When you gave us Peace, we called you Father, because you promised to secure us in the Possession of our Lands. Do this, and so long as the Lands shall remain that beloved Name will live in the Heart of every Seneca.

Father. We mean to open our Hearts

before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our Chiefs returned from the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and laid before our Council what had been done there, our Nation was surprised to hear how great a Country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying us anything for it. Every one said that your Hearts were yet swelled with Resentment against us for what had happened during the War, but that one Day you would reconsider it with more Kindness. We asked each other, what have we done to deserve such severe Chastisement?

Father. When you kindled your thirteen Fires separately, the wise Men that assembled at them told us that you were all Brothers, the Children of one great Father, who regarded also the Red People as his Children. They called us Brothers, and invited us to his Protection: they told us that he resided beyond the Great Water, where the Sun first rises; that he was a King whose Power no People could resist, and that his Goodness was as bright as that Sun. What they said went to our Hearts; we accepted the Invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca Nation promise they faithfully perform; and when you refused Obedience to that King, he commanded us to assist his beloved Men in making you Sober. In obeying him we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this Promise told us that you were Children and had no Guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them and were deceived, until your Army approached our Towns. We were deceived; but your People in teaching us to confide in that King had helped to

in the Presence of our Brother Coll. Butler, and have also fully settled and adjusted all our other Land Affairs, and

deceive, and we now appeal to your Heart—Is the Blame all ours?

Father. When we saw that we were deceived and heard the Invitation which you gave us to draw near to the Fire which you kindled, and talk with you concerning Peace, we made haste towards it. You then told us that we were in your Hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded of us a great Country as the Price of that Peace which you had offered us, as if our Want of Strength had destroyed our Rights. Our Chiefs had felt your Power and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that Country. What they agreed to has bound our Nation; but your Anger against us must by this Time be cooled, and although our Strength has not increased nor your Power become less, we ask you to consider calmly. Were the Terms dictated to us by your Commissioners reasonable and just?

Father. Your Commissioners, when they drew the Line which separated the Land then given up to you from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise that we should be secured in the peaceable Possession of the Lands which we inhabited East and North of that Line. Does this Promise bind you?

Hear now, we beseech you, what has since happened concerning that Land. On the Day in which we finished the Treaty at Fort Stanwix, Commissioners of Pennsylvania told our Chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us all the Lands belonging to us, within the Limits of their State; and they told us their Line would strike the River Susquehanna below the Tioga Branch. They then left us to consider of the Bargain till the next Day; on the next

Day we let them know we were unwilling to sell all the Lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a Part of it, which we pointed out to them on their Map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great King at the Time of making Peace with you, and was *their own*; but they said that they would not take Advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it after the Manner of their Ancestors. Our Chiefs were unable to contend at that Time, and therefore they sold the Lands up to the Line which was then shown them as the Line of that State. What the Commissioners had said about the Land having been ceded to them at the Peace our Chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the Price, and they passed it by with very little Notice; but since that Time we have heard so much from others about the Right to our Lands which the King gave when you made Peace with him that it is our earnest Desire that you tell us what it means.

Father. Our Nation empowered John Livingston to let Part of our Lands on Rent to be paid to us. He told us that he was sent by Congress to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the Writing he obtained from us. For since the Time of our giving that Power a Man by the Name of Phelps has come among us and claimed our whole Country Northward of the Line of Pennsylvania, under Purchase from that Livingston, to whom he said he had paid \$20,000 for it. He said also that he had bought likewise from the Council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them \$20,000 for the same.

And he said also that it did not belong to us, for that the great King had ceded the whole of it when you made

after a tedious Attention to the Business of the last Fall, transacted between Mr. Livingston and some of our Nations

Peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole Country North of Pennsylvania and West of the Lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it *all*. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some Days he proposed to run a Line at a small Distance Eastward of our Western Boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate War if we did not comply.

Upon this Threat our Chiefs held a Council, and they agreed that no Event of War could be worse than to be driven with their Wives and Children from the only Country which they had a Right to, and, therefore, weak as our Nation was, they determined to take the Chance of War, rather than to submit to such unjust Demands, which seemed to have no Bounds. Street, the great Trader to Niagara, was then with us, having come at the Request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our good Friend, we consulted him upon the Subject. He also told us that our Lands had been ceded by the King, and that we *must* give them up.

Astonished at what we heard from every Quarter, with Hearts aching with Compassion for our Women and Children, we were thus compelled to give up all our Country North of Pennsylvania and East of Genesee River up to the Fork, and East of a Line drawn from that Fork to the Pennsylvania Line.

For this Land Phelps agreed to pay us \$10,000 in Hand, and \$1,000 a Year forever.

He paid us \$2,500 in Hand, Part of the \$10,000, and he sent us to come last Spring to receive our Money; but instead of paying us the Remainder of

the \$10,000 and the \$1,000 due for the first Year, he offered us no more than \$500, and insisted that he agreed with us for that Sum to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six Days, during all which Time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just Demand, and he insisted that we should receive the \$500; and Street from Niagara also insisted on our receiving the Money as it was offered to us. The last Reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us, was, *that the King had ceded the Lands to the Thirteen Fires* and that he had bought them from you and *paid you for them*. We could bear this Confusion no longer, and determined to press through every Difficulty and lift up our Voice that you might hear us, and to claim that Security in the Possession of our Lands which your Commissioners so solemnly promised us. And we now entreat you to enquire into our Complaints and redress our Wrongs.

Father. Our Writings were lodged in the Hands of Street of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our Friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street on every Occasion, we doubted of his Honesty towards us, and we have since heard that he was to receive for his Endeavors to deceive us, a Piece of Land ten Miles in width West of the Genesee River and nearly forty Miles in length, extending to Lake Ontario, and the Lines of this Tract have been run accordingly, although no Part of it is within the Bounds which limit his Purchase. No doubt he meant to deceive us.

Father. You have said we are in your Hand and that by closing it you would crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If so tell us so; that those of our Nation who have become

at Canadasago, we have all concluded to permit those People to settle in our Country, and as it is agreeable to us we hope

your Children and have determined to die so may know what to do.

In this Case, one Chief has said, he would ask you to put him out of Pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the Hand of his Father or of his Brother, has said he will retire to the Chataugay, eat of the fatal Root and sleep with his Fathers, in Peace.

Before you determine on a Measure so unjust, look up to God who made us as well as you. We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our Nation.

Father. Hear our Case: Many Nations inhabited this Country, but they had no Wisdom, and, therefore, they warred together. The Six Nations were powerful, and compelled them to Peace; the Lands, for a great Extent, were given up to them; but the Nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those Lands, and claimed the Protection of the Six Nations as the Brothers of their Fathers. They were Men, and when at Peace had a Right to live upon the Earth. The French came among us and built Niagara; they became our Fathers and took Care of us. Sir Wm. Johnson came and took that Fort from the French; he became our Father, and promised to take Care of us, and did so until you were too strong for his King. To him we gave four Miles around Niagara as a Place of Trade. We have already said how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for Peace; you demanded a great Country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you as the Price of Peace, and we ought to have Peace and Possession of the little Land which you then left us.

Father. When that great Country was given up, there were but few Chiefs

present, and they were compelled to give it up, and it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those Chiefs that have given up that Country. The Chippewas and all those Nations who live on those Lands Westward, call to us and ask us, Brothers of our Fathers, where is the Place you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

Father. You have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the Children of the Brothers of our Fathers. When last Spring they called upon us to go to War to secure them a Bed to lie upon, the Senecas entreated them to be Quiet till we had spoken to you. But on our Way down we heard that your Army had gone towards the Country which those Nations inhabit, and if they meet together the best Blood on both Sides will stain the Ground.

Father. We will not conceal from you that the Great God and not Men has preserved the Corn Planter from the Hands of his own Nation. For they ask continually, Where is the Land which our Children and their Children after them are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that the Line drawn from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario would mark it forever on the East, and the Line running from Beaver Creek to Pennsylvania would mark it on the West, and we see that it is not so, for first one and then another come and take it away by Order of that People which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer.

When the Sun goes down, he opens his Heart before God, and earlier than that Sun appears again upon the Hills, he gives Thanks for his Protection during the Night; for he feels, that among Men, become desperate by their Dan-

their Settlement on our Lands will meet with your Encouragement and Approbation. This we have done to bring about a general Union among all the Five Nations.

ger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves Peace, and all he had in Store he has given to those who have been robbed by your People, lest they should plunder the Innocent to repay themselves. The whole Season which others have employed in providing for their Families, he has spent in his endeavors to preserve Peace, and at this Moment his Wife and Children are lying on the Ground and in Want of Food; his Heart is in Pain for them, but he perceives that the Great God will try his Firmness in doing what is right.

Father. The Game which the Great Spirit sent into our Country for us to eat is going from among us. We thought that he intended that we should till the Ground with the Plow, as the White People do, and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our Children any Land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning this great Business.

All the Lands we have been speaking of belong to the Six Nations. No Part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you. The Land we live on our Fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us for our Children, and we cannot part with it.

Father. We told you we would open our Hearts to you. Hear us once more.

At Fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our People who should do you any Wrong, that you might try them and punish them according to your Law. We delivered up two Men accordingly, but instead of trying them according to your Law, the lowest of

your People took them from your Magistrate and put them immediately to Death. It is just to punish Murder with Death, but the Senecas will not deliver up their People to Men who disregard the Treaties of their own Nation.

Father. Innocent Men of our Nation are killed one after another, and of our best Families; but none of your People who have committed the Murder have been punished.

We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our People, and we now ask: Was it intended that your People should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you but be protected against the Revenge of the next of Kin?

Father. These are to us very great Things. We know that you are very Strong, and we have heard that you are Wise, and we wait to hear your Answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just.

CORN PLANTER,
HALF TOWN,
GREAT TREE.

Signed at Philadelphia, Dec. }
1, 1790, in Presence of }
JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter.
TY. MATLACK.

The Reply of the President of the United States to the Speech of Corn Planter, Half Town and Great Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca Nation of Indians.

I, the President of the United States, by my own Mouth, and by a written Speech signed by my own Hand and sealed with the Seal of the United States, speak to the Seneca Nation and desire

Brother: You sent us an Invitation to meet you at Fort Schuyler, which Belt we return. We are unable to meet you at the Place you propose this Year as Business of the utmost Importance to the Indian Nations calls our immediate At-

their Attention, and that they would keep this Speech in Remembrance of the Friendship of the United States.

I have received your Speech with Satisfaction, as a Proof of your Confidence in the Justice of the United States, and I have attentively examined the several Objects you have laid before me, whether delivered by your own Chiefs at Tioga Point in the last Month to Colonel Pickering, or laid before me in the present Month by the Corn Planter and other Seneca Chiefs now in this City.

In the first Place I observe to you, and request it may sink deep into your Minds, that it is my Desire and the Desire of the United States, that all the Miseries of the late War should be forgotten and buried forever. That, in future, the United States and the Six Nations should be truly Brothers, promoting each other's Prosperity by Acts of mutual Friendship and Justice.

I am not uninformed that the Six Nations have been led into some Difficulties with respect to the Sale of their Lands since the Peace. But I must inform you that these Evils arose before the present Government of the United States was established, and when the separate States and Individuals under their Authority, undertook to treat with the Indian Tribes respecting the Sale of their Lands. But the Case is now entirely altered. The General Government only has the Power to treat with the Indian Nations, and any Treaty formed and held without its Authority will not be binding.

Here, then, is the Security for the Remainder of your Lands. No State, nor Person, can purchase your Lands, unless at a general Treaty, held under

the Authority of the United States. The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded, but it will protect you in all your just Rights.

Hear well, and let it be heard well by every Person in your Nation, that the President of the United States declares that the General Government considers itself bound to protect you in all the Lands secured to you by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the 22d of October, 1784, excepting such Parts as you may since fairly have sold to Persons properly authorized to purchase of you. You complain that John Livingston and Oliver Phelps, assisted by Mr. Street of Niagara, have obtained your Lands, and that they have not complied with their Agreement. It appears upon Inquiry of the Governor of New York that John Livingston was not legally authorized to treat with you, and that everything that he did with you has been declared Null and Void, so that you may rest Easy on that Account. But it does not appear from any Proofs yet in possession of Government that Oliver Phelps has defrauded you. If however you have any Cause of Complaint against him, and can make satisfactory Proof thereof, the Federal Courts will be open to you for Redress as to all other Persons. But your great Object seems to be the Security of your remaining Lands; that, therefore, the Sale of your Lands in future will depend entirely upon yourselves. But that when you may find it your Interest to sell any Part of your Lands, the United States must be present by their Agent and will be your Security that you shall not be defrauded in the Bargain you may make.

It will however be important that

tendance on the Treaty now held on the Ohio River, for which Place we are now setting out. Brother, this is all we have to say.

Jos. Brant

in Behalf of the Five Nations.

His Excellency
Governor CLINTON.

P. S. We shall appoint an Agent by the next Fall and give him Power to see our annual Rents paid justly, and hope you will establish him in that Office.

before you make any further Sales of your Lands you should determine among yourselves who are the Persons among you who shall give such Conveyances thereof as shall be binding upon your Nation, and forever prevent all Disputes relative to the Validity of the Sale.

That besides the before mentioned Security for your Land, you will perceive by the Law of Congress for regulating Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes, the fatherly Care the United States intend to take of the Indians. For the particular Meaning of this Law, I refer you to the Explanations given thereof by Col. Timothy Pickering at Tioga, which with the Law are herewith delivered to you.

You have said in your Speech that the Game is going away from among you, and that you thought it the Design of the Great Spirit that you should till the Ground, but before you speak on that Subject you want to know whether the Union mean to leave you any Land to till. You now know that all the Lands secured to you by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, excepting such Parts as you may since have fairly sold, are yours,

and that only your own Acts can convey them away. Speak, therefore, your Wishes on the Subject of tilling the Ground. The United States will be happy in affording you Assistance in the only Business which will add to your Numbers and Happiness. The Murders that have been committed upon some of your People by the bad White Men I sincerely lament and reprobate, and I earnestly hope that the real Murderers will be secured and punished as they deserve. This Business has been sufficiently explained to you here, by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and by Colonel Pickering on Behalf of the United States at Tioga. The Senecas may be assured that the Rewards offered for apprehending the Murderers will be continued until they are secured for trial, and that when they shall be apprehended they will be tried and punished as if they had killed White Men.

Having answered the most material Parts of your Speech, I shall inform you that some bad Indians and the Outcasts of several Tribes who reside at the Miami Village, have long continued their Murders and Depredations along

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VOL. II.



ALBANY:

JOEL MUNSELL.

MDCCCLXI.

Niagara, 18th June, 1789.

Sir: Having before wrote to some of your principal People, on the Subject of our Lands at Canajoharie, which we have never as yet had any Answers to, probably owing to their not having received them; having a safe Opportunity beg leave to mention to your Excellency that we are informed a Mr. Clock,¹ who we found troublesome before the Commencement of the late unhappy War, is again striving to take Advantage of us, in order to deprive us of our Right in that Part of the Country, which when at the last Treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784, you was with a Number more of your principal People kind enough to assure us, as our Lands were not confiscated at the Close of the War, we should not be deprived of our just Right; we therefore look up to your Excellency for Justice, and which from your Character we have no doubt but we will obtain. The Reason of our not exerting ourselves relative to this Matter before now, was owing to our being employed in Business in the different Parts of this Country, being obliged to attend at the different Treaties, which has made us neglect paying that Attention to our private Concerns which we otherwise should have done.

From the great Scarcity of Cattle at present amongst us, owing to our having lost Numbers this last Winter, we would wish to dispose of our Canajoharie Lands and would take part Cattle in payment and give a just Deed of the same. Your Excellency being at the Head of the State, we have thought proper to first mention it to you and shall wait your Answer, which we hope will be soon, that an End may be put to the Business.

I flatter myself we will give you every Satisfaction in any Purchase which may be made from us, as what we ourselves do we shall wish to abide by. I have the Honor to be

Your most obedt. humb. Sert., JOSEPH BRANT,
in behalf of the Mohawk Nation.

GEORGE CLINTON, Esq.,

Governor of the State of New York.

¹ Mr. Klock resided at Canajoharie, concerned in large Land Patents in Oncida and with Henry Remsen and others was County.

To his Excellency the Governor of the State of New York, &c.

Brothers:

We have been informed of the Purchases you made of some of our young Men, both of the Onondaga and Kayuga Country, and we have considered long and seriously on the Consequences that may arise from suffering Individuals (without Authority) to dispose of Property that was given by the Great Spirit to our Forefathers and handed down by them to their Children the Five Nations in general. We have not been hard with the white People who has made an open and fair Application for Lands at our Council Fire; but we have accommodated them, and we hold the Sales sacred, because it was done in full Council and at a proper Place; but what is partially purchased from Individuals, at improper Places, we are bound by the ancient Customs of our Forefathers to disapprove of.

Brothers:

We did not expect that you, after advising us to shun private Treaties with Individuals and avoid selling our Lands to your disobediant Children, that you would yourself purchase Lands from a few of our wrong headed young Men, without the Consent or even the Knowledge of the Chiefs; therefore we have at present only to communicate our Disapprobation of those Sales, and request that you will not make any further Settlements or Surveys on the Lands till the Money is paid us agreeable to the Sales we made at Buffalo Creek last Summer. It is not that we have any Objections to you having the Lands; it is equal to us who has it, as we have sold it in public Council at our Council Fire like Men and do not mean to deviate from it like Children; but we expect to be paid the Money we then agreed for with Dr. Benton, and to have the Distribution of it ourselves, and not that a few Individuals shall run away with the whole, to the Prejudice of all the Five Nations & to the Disgrace of your Brothers.

Buffaloe Creek, 2nd June, 1789.

SHARONGYOWANON,

KAKONDENAYEN, in Behalf of the
Onondaga Nation.

OJAGEGHTÉ, } in Behalf of the
 OGHNIOKWENTON, } Cayuga Nation.
 OGHNENRAYEWAGHS, } in Behalf of the
 SKENTYOGHKEVADOGH, } Seneca Nation.
 JOS: BRANT OF TEKANAWETER, in Behalf
 of the Mohawks, &c., &c.

Resolved, That Samuel Jones and Ezra L'Hommedieu, Esqrs., prepare Answers to the said Letters and lay them before this Board with all convenient Speed.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners for holding Treaties with the Indians within this State, at the House of John Tayler at Albany, on Tuesday the 14th Day of July, 1789.

Present: His Excellency the Governor,
 His Honor the Lieut. Governor,
 Abraham Ten Broeck,
 Ezra L'Hommedieu,
 Samuel Jones, Esqrs.

Mr. Jones and Mr. L'Hommedieu, to whom were referred the several Letters from Joseph Brant, and from the said Joseph Brant and six other Indians at Buffalo Creek, and from the Sachems, Chiefs & Warriors of the Oneida, Onondaga and Kayuga Nations, reported Answers thereto respectively, which being read and amended were approved, and are as follows:

Brothers:

Your Speech delivered at Fort Stanwix in June was communicated to me by Mr. Tayler, Agent to the Commissioners. It informs me that a Man has settled at the Onondaga Eel wares, near the Cross Lake and built a House there. This Person has no Right to settle on those Lands, and you will be justified in turning him off, if he will not depart peaceably. I will give Orders to our Surveyors to direct him to depart from that Place, and also direct the Surveyor General, in running out the Land, to reserve one Mile Square to

comprehend the Eel wares on both Sides of the River, for the use of your Nation and such white People as may stand in need of Fish. I have given no Permission to any Person to settle on the Lands reserved for common use at the Salt Springs, and no Person shall remain there contrary to the Agreement made between us. Shew this Letter to Major Hardenbergh, our Surveyor, and he will direct that Man to move off when you desire it.

Brother:

We hear Provision is very scarce among you; we have therefore sent you some Corn, which will be delivered to you at Fort Stanwix, to relieve your present Wants and as a Testimony of our Friendship for you.

Your Friend & Brother,

GEO: CLINTON.

To the Onondagas.

Albany, 14th July, 1789.

Brothers:

Mr. Tayler, our Agent, after his Return from Fort Stanwix, delivered to me the Speech of your Nation with a Belt, and I was happy to find that your Nation are so well satisfied with the Treaty made with us at Albany last Winter. You may be assured that Agreement will be kept inviolate on our Part, and we make no Doubt but the same will be faithfully observed by you.

I am sorry to hear from you, that some of our disobedient Children intrude on your reserved Lands; listen not to the Birds that tell Lies and say you have been deceived. The Mothers, the female Governesses, the Sachems and Warriors, may fully rely upon the Governor and Chiefs of New York to fulfil all their Promises. They will take effectual Measures to prevent any Intrusion on your reserved Land, and I recommend to you not to suffer any white Man to settle on your Land.

Brothers:

I have sent the Surveyor to mark out your reserved Lands, so that they may be always known by you and your

EXHIBIT D



Archives, Hamilton College Library

October 27, 2006

To whom it may concern:

I certify that these are true and correct copies of the documents 112c, 120a (the "Census of the Six Nations"), and 140a from the Samuel Kirkland Correspondence, in the Hamilton College Library Archives.

Sincerely,

Katherine Collett
kcollett@hamilton.edu

I do hereby certify that the price mentioned in the bill
will have been performed by Mr. Kirkland, agreeably to the
direction of the board of common officers,

Senecas - men -	399
woman -	416
Boys -	82
girls -	57
Child -	183
	1157
Onondagoes -	
men -	114
woman -	141
Boys -	17
girls -	17
Child -	49
	338
Cayugas - men -	135
woman -	150
Boys -	17
girls -	13
Child -	34
	349
Tuscaroras - men -	110
woman -	99
Boys 21 - girls 22	43
Child -	31
	283
Swingwakeri -	82
Swingwakeri -	75

Return of six Nations, with names of heads of families

Oct 20th 1789

SKirkland
Papers
120a pl

Senecas living at Buffalo Creek

		Strikes				
		Men	women	Boys	girls	Child
Enayawias	at a lips for a hat	2	5	1	2	1
Gashaga Billy	in a warm	2	4			2
Washington	hanging	5	1		1	1
Kanadenlon	long sun	2	6		1	3
Kanquash ne gon t	hanging sun	1	3	1		3
Sawaynawah	a big stick sticking up	2	2			1
Gaghkion	sticking in a fact	2	1	1		1
Tonogonfon		4	3	1		1
Koyaton	a sandy tree	3	9	3		2
	Enayawias mark	21	34	7	4	14
Kaenya	falling tree	11	8	1	1	3
Kaknaquing	corn husks	2	1	1		2
Senongogus	long horn	2	14	1		
Kanwenonnowah	crack speaking person	6	14			1
Chachowah	silver brown	2	8			
	Kaenya hi mark	23	25	3	1	6
Kicwathah	disturbing a person	6	14			1
Ta longongutia	creeping thro' the ground	1	5	1		2
Oghshiagon	cut feet	3	2		1	2
Kayhwalagone	moving sun	3	2			
Kanowdouti		1	1			1
Kaghgwete	Hot sun	2	1		1	
Kaghgwante	sun set	3	1			
Gaghsewah	colouring coat	2	2			
Wtagaphunio	loosing hands	2	14	1		1
Lawntes	long legs	1	6		1	2
Wagh ne gon	hanging	1	3	2		2
Yaghkonshawlohon	a head at two feet	1		1		
Tokahmawapson	lovely canoe	2	1	1		
Enoncolane	registered at a town	2	1			
Enongonlagon	burning kettle	1	3		1	1
Hawhonfais	drummer	2	1		1	2
Oghlewen	whittling	2	1			1
Tenechqua	speaking	3	2			
Kownahonle	splitting arrows	2	2		1	1
Keyonawigh	striking the sky	3	1			1
	Kicwathah hi mark	45	46	6	6	17

Therage River Lake

near Lake

Wolf Lake

SK 120a 2

		m.	w.	B.	G.	C.
Guthrie tribe	Kawnonendon	2	3	2	2	2
	Ahnehshengwas	a rising note	8	8	3	3
	Togonyatagh	stretch of sky	3	4	1	1
	Atahengatah	a cash speaking person	3	3	2	2
	Anungagete ya	its horn	3	3	1	1
	Kawnehlehu	any thing (anything)	11	7	3	3
	Koghytogo	pulling news	3	2	1	1
	Cannonsmentah	pulling skins	3	2	1	1
	Togonyonlon		3	2	1	1
	Sawlonaw		3	1	1	1
	Sengawas	Longmossshaw	4	3	1	1
	Satowah	stream water	3	2	1	1
	Tekendeyackhon	a cat	5	2	3	3
	Konondon wahon	entering a town	4	5	3	3
Bear tribe		Kawnonendon mark	45	39	14	13
	Ongee	long arrow	2	5	1	1
	Dingwapan	twenty toampian	3	2	1	1
	Ganoughgwan	lake a Pitman	3	3	2	2
		Ongee mark	4	8	3	3
	Ahlichton	a tree	2	1	1	1
	Gaghswang	a brownish white hanging	2	1	1	2
	Nanadagowen	in a hole in a swamp	4	3	1	1
	Waghagaway	clear sky	2	2	1	1
	Towindafce	two men talking	1	5	1	2
	Aghyentiegas	cutting wood	1	3	1	1
	Sowack	duck	2	1	1	1
	Skawonwei	21 canoes	4	4	3	2
	Heghyut	standing tree	2	4	1	1
Hawk tribe	Saiwyewongwas	superior to B. & D.	2	2	1	1
	Wagwasutgetant	carrying a person	1	1	1	1
		Ahlichton mark	2	7	3	3
	Kendashowa	a large tail	1	2	1	1
	Kaghgadagon	red sun	3	1	1	1
	Togwagwan	20 springs of year	1	2	1	1
	Kawonthon	one language	3	3	1	2
	Tuskabwaw	a thick	1	2	1	2
	Atawenlowa	bloody	2	2	1	2
	Skyyahonwagan	a fisher	2	5	1	2
	Skindyoungwalle	a party standing before door	4	1	1	2
	Gegwadagen	burning wine	5	1	1	2
		Kendashowa mark	22	19	2	10

Inukkat Kanadaraq, 20a

Kaghyeout	step it up	4	2	2	1
Kemangowanau	large wood	3	5		1
Agemahyengeha	showing wind	5	4		3
Inyaksu	a misty dark	2	2	1	1
oatyongorogaton	under by	2	2	1	3
Ontagwason	at head	5	6	1	3
Sejungefe	like for snow	5	3		1
Storwayney	a canoe drifting	2	2		1
	Kaghyeout high	28	26	4	14

Detwateeregen	two arrows sticking together	4	4		1
Dehaldsen	a long track	2	7	3	2
Ganghane	making a fire	4	2		1
Ukkgenden	ball playing	4	3	1	2
	Detwateeregen high	44	16	4	3

Kaghykayuate	flying arrow	8	7	1	2
Kemangowanau	a in of hemlock	3	5	1	2
enchlangowan	large pine	1	3		2
Steneysen	praying	4	1		1
Sejungewadogen	carrying a person	2	3		
Suskowah	large branches	2	1	1	1
ottongator		2	1		
Deviagawnet		2	1		
medathon	sticking fast	3	2		1
Dehwanak	sticking door	6	5	1	2
putawgon	praised	2	4	1	2
Sagiyantetgash	looking for a person	7	4	1	3
	high	42	37	6	5

Inukkat Keenghyadieng

Inagayonandagephi	Spice Carrier	3	7	1	3
Canoe way	a canoe across water	3	3		1
Seuaphyator	struck by of road	3	3	1	2
Thaingshihaas	a clear place	3	1		2
	at high water	12	14	2	5
Seuengowan	large ground	4	4		2
Jeangewee	dry trunk in vine	2	2	1	2
Hamayonter	carrying very thing	1	2	1	1
Bohakwene	pulling a canoe	3	5	1	1
Seahkeone	dying dog	2	1	1	1
Kamayontow	playing child sucking fast	2	3	1	1

Sinchar at gungu...

Wolf Tribe

Raondawana	Big tree	2	4	2	2
enayewahgan	Hold fast the hat	1	2		
Owefase	Sticking a hand in	1			2
Legudagofe	A hand some body	1	2	1	
Leguwas	spitting of sp	1	2		1
Kodahawane	loud noise	2	2	1	1
Tom Dawkan	visible	2	1	1	
Kanawaka	striking two things together	4	3	1	3
Shenach D. gungu	sitting a person aside	2	3	1	1
g. shenawkan	legs stick out	3	4	1	3
tonightua	shadows	1	1		
etotagekan	drawn up	2	3	1	1
ogunyon	entering a lot	2	2		1
	my track	23	31	9	15

Wolf Tribe

Olawge	Post	2	1		
awmuyon	canoe laying up	3	1	1	1
Schontawen	a large house camp	4	2	1	2
Gathigwe	sun fish	1	2		1
Zahflawen	beaver feet falling	1	2	2	2
Higyalagen	putting new	5	3	2	2
Omuwonon	going up stream	1	1		
Sawayes	fall from	3	5	2	3
Kanistoten	standing boards	1	3	1	2
Kendadith	tree	21	20	7	13
wanneyonten	throwing away a heart	1	2	1	2
		3	1		12
Harksin	from the boat	7	5	4	4
onightye	here it is	3	2	1	
Kayngowak	sticking two of same	3	2	1	2
Kawneful	made up	1	2	1	2
Atanic	climbing up	2	3	1	1
Ingwayesta	hand some ground	3	3	1	2

Sinchar at Kanaunges

Wolf Tribe

Ovichgadiche	hot bread	4	4		2
Ligonondon	carrying a man	4	2	1	1
Sonwais	tall vine	3	1		
Sonondon		4	2		2
Gieshata	sticking up a paddle	4	2	1	1
		19	11	2	2

Wolf Tribe

Hawk Tribe

Bear Tribe

Eel Tribe

Sawtooth Tribe

ya-shagwatte - east side lamp	3	11	1	-	2
so-gonjuaah - large fire	2	2	2	-	1
Agheewah - asater	7	7	1	1	2
Kawyuwafce - young cutler	1	3	-	-	-
Kunguotee - looking at sky	4	4	-	-	-
A song was - pretty look	3	1	-	-	-
Kenne-yumet - sitting in stone	2	4	3	1	2
Kottendon - drum skins	4	1	1	-	-
	26	26	8	2	7

Oondayaot Buffalo Creek

Heheyaubnee - large sky	10	8	1	1	-
to-tuwa-gaah - heap snow	2	1	-	-	-
Kapahetwa - warm	4	4	1	-	2
Kamwah - bundle of skin	1	1	-	-	-
Yow-on-gentle - walking snow shoe	2	5	2	2	2
Kow-netunk - across slipping up	3	2	1	-	-
	22	26	5	3	4

So-gonjuaah - falling shoe	5	5	-	-	1
wigh-satugen - lift him up	3	7	1	-	-
Kalaghkente - (Mokaw) flying sun	2	2	1	-	1
Kanetafka - flying	3	3	-	1	-
Kawpetuka - covered over or sealed	4	2	1	-	-
Janehegwa -	3	2	-	-	1
owehonten - blipmi	3	3	-	-	1
Toste-ha-kah	3	4	-	-	2
maahyuant - at Bee	3	9	-	-	2
Kawawetee - hand to mouth	1	3	-	-	1
	30	40	3	1	9

Kagohwahne - large ground	3	5	-	-	2
Higuyano - sleeping in guttie	5	2	-	-	1
one-shaghek - burning day	1	2	-	-	1
Sagayenne - paying angel	2	3	-	1	1
Kagondenaye - on foot	4	1	-	1	1
	15	13	-	2	6

Oonoghshone - house maker	3	3	-	1	1
ongaghyente - ground carver	3	1	1	-	-
Iyatque - red shoulders	5	3	1	-	-
Keyaton - rearing	6	6	-	-	1
	11	13	2	1	2

carried forward

Turtle J.
 Wolf J.
 Warner J.
 Bear J.
 Turtle J.
 Wolf J.
 Eagle J.

Brought over -
 Shanamate across the swamp
 Agikiwakonte going to war
 Teeponkie
 Kientwaga large wood
 his mark
 Tawgonsonia large forehead
 Syantegoghtle carrying
 Dashed at home
 his mark
 gevhenetoloh
 Dyendagehan white wood
 Kanungahan a little like
 Boghdon stays
 Boghwen canoe riding
 Keganlenon scrambling
 his mark
 Onondago at Old Onondago
 * Harwalute small lake
 Jowefee
 Ojehquicwa strongman at left rakmtape
 Jeahnanwe get fish
 his mark
 Saowahlu empty
 Ontieya across lake
 Keganlongwar loosening sticks
 Nahiktolon a prick in thorn
 Schonwagh/kwaghtle of tall tree
 Geongwan Lake again
 Onondago at Jeneato
 Kanadaghton standing by a town
 Guenyeuten in of sky
 Hahygaadehon leaving sun
 Onegamegat standing stone
 his mark
 agogant Buffalo Creek
 Gageghe high carrier
 Kengugate moving sky
 Konophyui taking a canoe
 Mewotamish run through of foot
 Ohewheyon something handsome
 his mark
 Tawgonson entering of sky
 geyengwathle open house
 Gastehadon has rained
 Otagron get out of way
 Ontetoyaghten cutting a tree carried over

11	13	2	1	2
5				
2	5			5
3	2			
1	1			4
22	23	3	1	4
3	5		2	2
1	1	1		
2	4			2
6	10	1	2	4
4	2		1	1
2	4	1		3
2	2		1	
2	3		1	
2	4			2
1	2			1
13	18	7	3	7
6	4			2
5	2	1		1
4	1			
2	2	1		1
15	9	2		4
3	2		1	1
3	2		1	1
3	2		1	1
9	5		3	3
3	2		1	1
3	2			
1	4			
7	8			
2	4	1	1	2
2	3	2	1	3
1	3	1	2	2
1	1		1	1
6	11	4	5	8
4	3	1		1
4	7	1		1
3	4	1		
1	1		1	1
2	3			
14	18	3	1	3
6	4	1		1
8	9	2		3
5	7	2		3
2	1			
22	26	5		6

1200 6

Mice I.

Guth. I.

Bald Chick.

Bear I.

Mice I.

Wolf I.

Keyundalikah	wood leaning	28	29	5	9
Chengamunnen	large sky	3	4	-	1
guchahya	striking	3	4	-	2
	his mark	9	5	-	1
Pughegachyon	broken up	38	42	5	13
Pon Dahanie	painting his head	3	2	1	1
Kawshawnege	two draw lanes	1	4	1	1
Dwahlon	red squirrel	4	3	1	-
Shalaf	seven	1	3	-	1
Shawgonleyak	stepping aside & round	2	6	-	1
	his mark	2	3	-	1
		13	24	3	4
Powunagen	weep words	10	8	1	1
wongente	want to know	3	6	2	4
Pachgowachik	splitting of sun	3	3	-	1
Ohuyowation	nut to killing	2	2	-	-
	his mark	21	19	3	6
Jugawakha	waking a person	7	8	1	4
Kanowdagan	old town	1	4	-	1
Pegemuthaw	blown down	1	1	-	-
Lighyefen	dragging on infant	4	4	-	1
ongushakhan	strike of horse	4	7	1	1
Pangenshangga	two faces	3	3	-	-
Puwah tangamark	Bitter	2	-	-	-
Poghamandos	vacant place	2	4	-	1
Lupelakhon	steep	3	2	1	-
		2	-	-	-
wongphusen	moving house	2	3	-	2
wandekan	travel at load	2	3	-	1
	his mark	32	36	3	8
Auguter	long quarter	7	4	-	-
ongongowach	large up	4	1	-	-
Kanichegagon	old seed corn	2	5	-	1
on rager	black hat	3	1	-	-
	his mark	16	11	-	1
In Deoghrives at Buffalo Creek					
ongogegenon	numbering	2	5	1	1
butchogthkan	old town	1	1	-	-
Haykawogenon	treading on a mountain	1	2	1	1
mahtinguti		1	5	1	1
gengahkaya	no heart	6	14	3	3
	his mark	-	-	-	-
Kanforokt	3.2. with craft 3.3	6	5	-	-
Konokamney	no wish - l. Porayah. 2.2.2.1. 2.2.2.1. 9 rapids	3	3	2	1
nichqucksati	a Ball	3	2	-	-
Keest	a saddle	1	2	-	-
	his mark	13	12	2	1

Deer I.

Beaver I.

Wolf I.

Deer I. Beaver I.

In the forest at Buffalo					
Vantgawhlawla	stingy	5	1	1	1
agheama	fulman	1	1	-	1
Toghtole	hiding	1	2	-	2
Chaghkawa	large branch	2	2	-	-
Chaghkawa	hanging leaves	1	2	2	2
his mark		10	8	3	6
Delaware at Kadavagayee					
Rupawmatamen	side of path	4	2	-	2
Lawpe	hanging things	3	5	2	1
Chankhawm	gun a little	7 4	7 2	1 1	7 2
Keyokhaw	humming bird	3	4	1	1
mohiotalus	young fawn	3	5	-	1
Tawna wif	split quail	2	2	-	1
his mark		17	24	3	11

Tuscaroras at upland					
Karaghyaghae	empty or hammer	10	6	1	2
Shawcoghagh	h. a turkey & wood	1	2	1	-
Cherighae	Big knife	7	4	2	1
Hawenah	low voice	3	3	1	-
Toroghsat	high voice	2	2	1	-
Tewash	branch off feathers	3	2	2	-
High sheonice	under the usher	4	3	1	-
Hogey	cut asunder	3	4	1	-
Toghtatnat	stopping	2	2	-	1
Chaghten	pulling	3	1	1	-
Chaghten	bird back	2	3	1	1
		45	34	12	8

Tuscaroras at Seneca					
Tu sarogh	4.2 - 1 - 1	Tu anny	4.6 - 2.2 - 8	8	2
Toagway	7.3 - 1.1 - 2	Kanagay	4.1.1.2	11	5
Kongaghyway	2.1.1.1 - 1	Tu anny	2.2.1.1.2	4	3
Kanaway	1.4.1.1 - 1	Kanagay	2.3.1.1 - 2	3	7
Onaway	3.1.1 - 1	Torunawhae	2.1.1.1	5	2
Torahaphya	2.2.1 - 1	Torawhae	2.2.1.1	4	4
Honawink	6.6 - 1 - 1	Honawink	1.1.1.1	7	7
To wagonie	4.4 - 2	Torawhae	2.1.1.1.1	6	5
To hawon	2.2.1 - 1	Torawhae	1.2.1.1	3	4
Tonaway	2.2.1 - 1	Torawhae	3.3.1	5	5
Sonaway	1.2 - 1.1	Kanaway	2.4.1	3	6
Hannafay	1.1.1 - 1	Kanaway	4.4 - 2	5	5
Torawhae				1	4
		65	65	0	14

	men	women	boys	girls	Child	Total	1200
Number of Senecas	399	416	82	57	183	1137	12
Onondagoes	114	111	17	17	49	318	
Cayugas	135	150	17	13	34	349	
Ted Dughronis	27	34	6	1	7	75	
Delawares	27	29	6	4	17	83	
Tuscaroras	110	99	21	22	31	283	

at Grand River 2265
 in the Ohio 1200
 10th Capt Abel 0200

Total 3665
 of this quantity

Deputation of
 J. D. and L. E.

Exchange for £50. - - - - - Sterl^y

Boston January 29th 1789

Sir At Thirty days sight of this my First of Exchange (First & Second of the same tenner & date unpaid) Pay to the Rev^d M^r Samuel Kirkland, or order the Sum of Fifty pounds Sterl^y agreeable to a vote of y^e corresponding Board of Commissioners here, being in full of his salary from the Society in Scotland, to the 16th day of March next, as Missionary to the Oneida & other Indian Tribes of the five Nations as y^e Letter of Advice from - - - - -

Sir Your Most Humble Serv^t

To
John Davidson Esq^r Treasurer to the
Society in Scotland, for propagating
Christian Knowledge Edinburgh.

Exchange for £50. - - - - - Sterl^y

Boston January 29th 1789

Sir At Thirty days sight of this my Second of Exchange (First & Second of the same tenner & date unpaid) Pay to the Rev^d M^r Sam^l Kirkland, or Order the Sum of Fifty pounds Sterl^y agreeable to a vote of y^e corresponding Board of Commissioners here, being in full of his salary from the Society in Scotland, to the 16th day of March next, as Missionary to the Oneida & other Indian Tribes of the five Nations as y^e Letter of Advice from - - - - -

Sir Your Most Humble Serv^t

To
John Davidson Esq^r Treasurer to the
Society in Scotland, for propagating
Christian Knowledge Edinburgh.

Exchange for £50. - - - - - Sterl^y

Boston Jan^y 29th 1789

Sir At Thirty days sight of this my Third of Exchange (First & Second of the same tenner & date unpaid) Pay to the Rev^d M^r Sam^l Kirkland, or order the Sum of Fifty pounds Sterl^y agreeable to a vote of y^e corresponding Board of Commissioners here, being in full of his salary from the Society in Scotland, to y^e 16th day of March next, as Missionary to y^e Oneida & other Indian Tribes of y^e five Nations as y^e Letter of Advice from - - - - -

Sir Your Most Humble Serv^t

To
John Davidson Esq^r Treasurer to the
Society in Scotland, for propagating
Christian Knowledge Edinburgh

a general statement of the six nations
of Indians living within the United States.

1. The Onondas who reside near the Onondaga Lake, ^{about 12 m from Albany}
in five small villages. ~~They~~ consist of about
five hundred fifty souls — 550
Their dependants & Allies — 38
Viz Suscaroras Stockbridge } 588
& Mohegan Indians — } 287

2. The Onondagos near the
Onondago salt Lake about } 184
36 miles west of Onida — }

3. The Cayogues - residing on the
east & west sides of the Cayogo Lake 130
about 38 miles west of Onondaga — 1151

4. Senecas residing on the west side
of the Genesee River - six small
villages - ^{about 60 miles west of Cayogues} Viz - Kanawages - about
20 miles south of Lake Ontario containing
14 wigwams - oahgwataiyegh alias 112
hot-bread their Chief —

- (2) Big trees Town. about 8 miles farther
south containing 15 houses. 120

Big trees, alias Kaondowanes - their Chief -

- (3) - Little Beards Town. about 5 miles south on
the great flats - containing 14 wigwams - 112
11145

^{brought over}
(4) The town upon the hill - about 3 miles south ¹⁴⁹⁵

140a 2

I near the forks of the Genesee River -
containing 26 houses - under the direction 208
of Bigtree Little Beard -

(5) - Onondago - 12 miles southwardly
lying on the west Branch of
the Genesee - 6 houses - under the - 48
direction of Bigtree Little Beard

6. Kalonghyatilong - 12 miles farther
south - on the aforementioned Branch
containing 22 houses - 176

Spruce Carrier - Chief Sachem -

Tuscaroras - situated near Bigtree
town 26 houses - aghotigwalefok 208
their Chief - 2135

1. Senehas - onondagoes - Lagoyes
residing on Buffalo Creek which
empties into the east end of - Lake
34 miles south of Niagara -
containing 256 houses in their 2048
several respective Villages -

2. Kadaigeas - about 25 miles west of
the Buffalo - on the south side of Lake Erie
4 23

Brought over — about one half Senecas the
 containing 28 houses — ⁴⁸⁸³ the
 other half composed of Delaware & Shawaghegy
 both subject to the Senecas —
 Big Log or big tree — their Chief — 224

3 - Corn Planter Village on the
 Allegany — near the Pennsylvania
 line — 30 houses — — 240
 Total — — 4847

MB. The number of warriors in the six
 Nations & their dependants. I should estimate
 at about nine hundred — ^{which} of the Senecas
 compose nearly two thirds. — In justice to
 the Corn Planter, I must say from my certain knowledge
 has been the most active person & influential character
 in all the five Nations, in bringing about a good under-
 standing between them & the United States since 1784.

PS. The settlement on Grand River — about
 76 miles west of Niagara on the north
 side of Lake Erie — contains about eleven
 hundred souls — composed of emigrants from
 the whole six Nations — with some Delaware &
 mingoes — they are under the command of
 Capt. Joseph Brant — Chief of the Mohawk
 Nation — of the real Mohawks there remain
 only about 30 warriors —

Decemr. 24th 1790

J. Kirkland Miffy

Number & situation
of the six Nations &
their dependants -

1790 -

EXHIBIT E

which state

means of the
Council for
New Spain
to be made,
to which
or people
with all
these will
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and now,
but it is
assured me
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number of
to be
has always
one great
and public
General
Journal
important
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which

the General Convention of the Free Nations is organized
and what a time there in public Council we have spent
and shall always return to shortly

Bartholomew

But the
Chilango
to me
against
Chilango
and to
I feel that
little on the
of the fall before, from part of our ship only

Being to the receipt of the Governor's letter
we received a letter from some Commissioners to attend
a Society to be held at unknown where we were there
proportion to go. When after some deliberation from the
another village arrived in our village informing that
the Society was to be held in the fall at the village
and requesting me to go to attend, the Governor was
then informed that our ship was gone to the continent on
Public Service and could not attend but that during
the winter we will be the Governor's court, in the form
of a ship of his service, to assist the navigation of the
of the coast sailing in our village (informing that the
the chief of the nation, and a few young men, Governor
made a present purchase of the whole of the Amalgam
country, and again last winter with the assistance of

Now regarding the college, a few individuals together at Albany will make a still more unjust purchase of the Bay State County, without the consent or even the knowledge of a single Stockholder. Chief Justice or principal officers of the State are not from a college. They are not to be bought by any man. They are to be kept the property of the people. If they head, he will be with us, but only as a transient means of support. It is not worth paying the value of any thing except the good of the Nation in general to allow the hands behind, such is our wish that these and a friendly intercourse should be let - obtaining between these people and ours, that a great number of them a similar endeavor which I think, (being voluntary) had brought us into, by an unwarranted check of power in leaving the whole of our country to other arrangements, made, capable of short of our country to ease the poor Nation from that - bringing them into which I, but imprudence had brought them into by which we will easily perceive how strong our wish has been to avoid violating the much undisturbed friendship between these children and ours, on June 18th when we were all prepared to attend the Court of your Commissioners on "Dedication to the State" - would, the necessity with respect to the State's Government here at Buffalo. Weeds and just before.

and
Mr.
Shaw
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no, or in
the the
the state
what we
to explain

(103)
I never saw such an order to have that interesting
matter settled in full Council, that no disturbance
should arise afterwards, it was not without much advice
by that we released part of our Country by giving up
another part to the State. The People, who have kept
themselves in a state of independence to purchase
the peace, have been very generally consulted upon
the matter, and have all been in unison on that subject
of peace which we rather wished to strengthen
than weaken. We there is a public and full Council
and holds to the People a large host of laws on
the General Peace and Government to the People
and his Associates and the same history becoming very
cast of the People's power there are the people's the
concerning with them. We have not only the
State of the People, but the State with them as
the people's property, but we are not to be surprised
to find them, notwithstanding they don't wish
to assist themselves of the State it was often
conferred to them in public Council at a public
Council therefore we hold it stands with us as
being agreeable to the People's State, made more
constant and shall have no objection to the Council
being settled peacefully, but what has been said

101
since to the Governor, by the hand of some one of his
people coming to see about business, and in direction
relating to the Governor's language, to us on the
conference at the Council fire at Buffalo
which we are commencing the will
to settle with his
we presume the
present may vary
purchase, we were not
the being decided
of some people such
as we are the neighbors that we gave
a firm hand to the people, at the same time which
we hope we are now in about possession of the
lands, as the others might have been had the Governor
not have interfered in purchasing the same lands
from them who had no right to sell it, the 15th day
of July that is the time we are to meet with them to
secure our payment, and as the lands are held in
General Grant in distinct property we should wish
to receive our money, more the less with company
at the same time, that our children might have for
the whole but as Government have more amongst the
children which presents them coming forward to
find their business with us, we had our little signs
which we will remove the present - I presume further
speculation being making that a directly instrument
may again take place and continue to the matter
Satisfactory to both your children and ours, that

Buffalo
27 June

Exhibit E

Letter to the President of the United States from the "Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Five Nations Assembled in Council" at Buffalo Creek, June 2, 1789
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Lyman Draper Collection, Series U, vol. 23, pp. 164-169

To the President of the United States

Brothers,

We, the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Five Nations Assembled in Council at our Great Council Fire at Buffalo Creek congratulate You upon Your New System of Government, by which You have one Head to Rule, Who we can look to for redress in all disputes which have arose or which may arise between Your people and ours.

As You are now at peace with all Your Neighbours, so we wish also to live in peace with You, and that a friendly intercourse may Subsistence between you and us & between your Children and outs, and in order to lay a firm foundation for that it is Necessary first to remove all subjects of Uneasiness out of the way & for that purpose it is that we request You will listen and attend to out Complaints.

Brothers,

We feel ourselves injured by the Number of Council Fires which your people have kindled at Different places to do Business with us, it has always been the Custom with our Forefathers to have one Great Council fire kept Burning and there to do all public Business which respected the five Nations in General [.] The King our father had also one Great Council fire to which we resorted when we had any important Matter to Communicate. [A]t Buffalo Creek ours has long been Established, & still Continues, and there we hold and mean to hold all Treaties in which the General Consultation of the Five Nations is required and what is done there in public council we hold Sacred and shall always adhere to Strictly.

Brothers,

The Governor of New York addressed us in a speech dated the 18th of May, 1788, inviting us to attend at Fort Schuyler, on the 10th Day of July on Business of importance to our Mutual Happiness at the same time warned us against holding private Treaties with the Disobedient Children of the States, Contrary to the Good old rule and customs which had always been observed between Your Forefathers and ours, and advised us not to let them Settle on the Land which they had obtained a Lease of the fall before, from [some?] of our Chiefs only.

Prior to the receipt of the Governors letter we received a Letter from Your Commissioners to attend a Treaty to be held at Tuskarowas where we were then preparing to go. Soon after our Departure from Home another Message arrived in our Villages informing that the Treaty was to be held in the fall at Fort Schuyler and

requesting our Chiefs to attend. The Governor was then informed that our Chiefs were gone to the Southward on Public Business and could not attend till their Return. Notwithstanding which the Governor contrary to the principles of his advice to us (at the instigation of a Couple of Traders residing in our Villages) assembled two Sachems one Chief Warrior, and a few Young men & women & made a partial purchase of the whole of the Onondaga Country, and again last winter with the assistance of Peter Ryckman, he called a few individuals together at Albany and made a still more unjust purchase of the Cayuga Country, without the Consent or even the Knowledge of a Single Sachem, Chief Warrior, or principle Woman of the Five Nations, but from a Small Number of Boys and Girls, headed by an Onondaga (by Extraction) called Steel-Trap, the Grandson of an Onondaga known by the name of Red head. He was not looked upon as a Chief with us, but only as a Warrior. This we looked upon as Fraudulent means of possessing our Country, without paying the Value or any part thereof, for the good of the Nations in General to whom the Lands belong. Such is our wish that peace and a friendly intercourse should be established between your people and ours, that to extricate ourselves from a Similar embarrassment which O'Bale (Cornplanter) had brought us into, by an unauthorized Stretch of power in Leasing the Whole of our Country to John Livingston, Made a Sacrifice of part of our Country to ease the five Nations from that Distressed Dilemma (which O'Bale imprudence had brought them into) by which you will easily perceive how Strong our wish has been to avoid violating the much wished for friendship between your Children and ours. In June 1788, when we were all prepared to attend the Call of your Commissioners on Business to the Southward, we received Mr. Phelps & Doctr Benton at our Council fire at Buffalo Creek and put off our Journey some weeks in order to have that interesting Matter Settled in full Council, that no Disturbance should arise afterwards. It was not without much difficulty that we released part of our Country, by giving up another part of accomod[at]e Mr. Phelps, who had a Legal Authority from the Governor of Massachusetts to purchase the Lands, and stood ready to hold them upon the Lease, if we did not Chuse to treat with him ourselves. This Brothers was the Situation, we were brought into by the Self interest of Individuals on both Sides, without being previously consulted upon the Matter, still both to infringe on that Chain of friendship which we rather wished to Strengthen than violate. We then in a public and full council sold to Mr. Phelps a Large tract of Land on the Genesee River and Confirmed to Doctr Benton and his Associates all the Five Nations Country lying east of Mr. Phelp's purchase. Those are the people the Governor calls Your Disobedient Children. They are your children, settle the Matter with them as you think proper, but do not let us be injured to punish them. Notwithstanding they first took to avail themselves of the Lands, it was afterwards confirmed to them in public Council at Buffalo Creek therefore we hold it Sacred and if we are paid agreeable to the Bargain then made, we are content and shall have no Objections to the Country being Settled peaceably, but what has been sold since to the Governor by our Young men and wrong headed people contrary to our ancient customs and in direct Contradiction to the Governor's own Language to us and not confirmed at our Great Council fire at Buffalo Creek, we can not confirm and we are convinced you will see the impropriety of his pretensions to settle his people upon such a Slender Title, and we presume You will approve of our determining to prevent any Surveys taking Place by Virtue of that purchase. We were not desirous of selling our Lands, but after being deceived intirely by O'Bale & the intrigues of Your people, Such

was out wish for peace with our Neighbours that we gave a firm Deed to Mr. Phelps, at the same time which we also hold sacred & he is now in Quiet possession of the Lands, as the others might have been had the Governor not have interfered in Purchasing the Same Lands from them who had no right to sell it. The 15th day of July next is the time we are to meet Mr. Phelps to receive our payment, and as the Lands are held in General & not in Distinct property, we should wish to receive our Money from the New York Company at the same time, that one Division might serve for the Whole, but as Contentions have arose amongst Your Children which prevents their coming forward to finish their Business with us, we beg, You will so far interfere as will remove the present & prevent future Difficulties from arising; that a friendly intercourse may again take place and continue to the mutual Satisfaction of both your Children and ours, that they may sit down in peace and enjoy the fruits of their Labour.

We again repeat, that it is not our wish to live in contention with our Neighbours, nor do we wish to take our Lands back to ourselves, but that we may be paid for them agreeable to the Conditions of the Sale made at our Council fire at Buffaloe Creek last Summer, and that (if possible) at the same time we are to receive our payments from Mr. Phelps, but Should the time be too Short for the full Determination of so Weighty a Matter, we hope You will be able at this time to acknowledge the receipt of this and we wish that in order to inform Yourselves fully of the Measure that have been taken, that You would send Commissioners to enquire into the Circumstances of these our Complaints, and take Peter Ryckman who is well acquainted with all these proceedings and who has himself been a principle instrument in Creating all the Mischief that has been occasioned on both Sides, may also attend with them and when you have the Matter explained so that you perfectly understand it, We presume that all will be made right & that we will then be enabled to Convince you of the Sincerity and justice of our intentions by strictly adhering to all Public Treaties we engage in.

Sign'd

Sharongyowanon} in Behalf of the Onondaga Nation.

Kakondenayen}

Ojageghte} in Behalf of the Cayuga Nation.

Oghniokwenton}

Oghnenrayewaghs} in Behalf of the Seneca Nation.

Skentyoghkevadogh}

Jos: Brant or Tekanaweter, in Behalf of the Mohawks, &c., &c.

EXHIBIT F

Exhibit F

Six Nations Chiefs at Buffaloe Creek to Governor Clinton, Canadaque, July 30, 1789

Hough, ed., *Proceedings of the Commissioners*, pp. 340-343

Brother: We have this Day received your Letter dated 14th Inst. in Answer to ours of 2nd June; we are very sorry you have paid so little Attention to it. We endeavoured to explain to you that you had not treated with the Chiefs, nor with persons authorized by them to dispose of our Country, but we are now sorry to find you do not wish to be convinced of an Error, which you took no previous Steps to avoid. You say the Treaty you entered into gave great Satisfaction to the Indians and would be much to their Advantage. Undoubtedly a large Sum of Money to a few Indians, *void of Principal*, would be pleasing, and their Ideas of Advantage are but momentary and never descend to Posterity, and they are too blind to see the Traps laid to disunite the Nations to which they belong. What you mean by offering your Assistance to see the Money fairly divided among those of their Nations who are entitled to receive it, we do not understand, unless you think none entitled to it but those who remain in the reserved *Trap* and who are intirely in your Power. Our Ancestors made no Distinction in a Nation; they held their Lands in common, and we do not wish to deviate from their Customs.

Brother: When you proposed a Treaty in July 1788, at Fort Stanwix, we informed you that we should be on Business to the Southward with the Commissioners of Congress; upon which you postponed it until September, and then we had not returned; nevertheless you proceeded to Business (you say) in full Council according to the Custom of *your* Ancestors, after the most serious and solemn Deliberations; true, it was the Custom of your Ancestors to do Business with ours in full Council, but it was the Custom of our Ancestors to call a Council and treat on Business of Importance to their Nations and Posterity, without the Presence or Knowledge of the Chiefs, nor was it the Custom of yours to require it; therefore we now see clearly what we before had only a glimmering View of, and that your solemn Deliberations were the dictates of Policy and your Determination was to effect a Disunion, which would terminate in our Ruin.

Brother: You say you are disposed to lend your Aid to accommodate any Difference in the Distribution of the Money, and you expect we will not molest your Surveyors, or it will be considered as hostile. You also advise and warn us not to listen any more to your disobedient Children, lest greater Evils follow. We are not frightened at your Threats, nor are we directed by your disobedient Children, but by the feelings of an injured People who seek for Justice; nor are we thirsty for Blood or War, but our sincere wishes are to live in Peace and Fellowship with out Neighbours, and to obtain that desired Object upon just Principles. It is equal to us who possess the Country, as we have sold it according to our Customs fairly and now wish to have the Money paid that we may divide it amongst the People who are entitled to receive it; and as for the Reservation we seek no more than we made at Buffalo Creek. We wrote Congress the same time [we] wrote you and requested that Commissioners might be sent either here or at our Council Fire at Buffaloe Creek to enquire into those Differences, that the Causes might be removed, and we are

anxiously waiting their Answer. We hope that Congress will view our Situation impartially, and we presume the World can easily discern that it is not the Good of the State, but self Interest, that influences the Proceedings which most affect us. We wish to avoid all kind of Disturbance and Controversy between our People and yours and to settle all Matters with you to our mutual Interest and to the Good of Posterity. We do not start Difficulties for trifles, tho' never so glaring. We received with Silence your Proceedings in the Shemung Purchase, which was similar to the present; there we saw your disobedient Children treat with a few of our People for a Tract of Country and we saw your State afterwards confirm it. Sooner than disturb that Chain of Friendship, which we rather wish to brighten than violate, we overlooked; but when they (Livingston & Co.) made the second Attempt to deceive a few of our Chiefs out of our whole Country it became alarming and roused the Attention of all our Nations, and in order to extricate ourselves and relieve some part of our Country, we were obliged to confirm the Sale of the rest, tho' contrary to our wish, which will be fully explained when Congress think proper to send Persons to enquire into it; but it is too long for the Subject of a Letter. It is hard for us to judge what are the Motives which influence your Proceedings; therefore we wish our Difference to be determined by Congress. Perhaps self Interest throughout your State is too prevalent to admit of impartial Decision in a Matter where they are so deeply interested.

Brother: We are of the same Opinion now as we were when we wrote before, and see more clearly the Attempt on our Disunion, and again request that neither Surveyors nor Settlers proceed further till an Accommodation takes Place. We are, Brother, with due Respect in Behalf of the Five Nations, your obedient and very humble Servants.

Sharonyowanew
Tehodageradon
Tekanaghgwaghshea
Athokwine
Oghniokwendon

Onondaga Chiefs at Buffaloe Creek

[Also signed by 10 Cayuga chiefs from Buffalo Creek, 8 Seneca Chiefs from Buffaloe Creek, "Cadaragaras," Genesee, 2 Tuscarora Chiefs from Niagara Landing and Genesee, and Joseph Brant]

EXHIBIT G

Exhibit G

Proceedings of meeting of Onondagas, Cayugas, and Mohawks at Niagara, August 15, 1789

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Federal Archives Division, Indian Records, RG 10, Vol. 1834-1835, pp.365-367; also available in Francis Jennings, et al. eds., *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Six Nations and Their League* (Woodbridge, Conn.: Research Publications, 1985), 50 microfilm reels, reel #39

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Principal Chiefs of the Onondagos, Cayugas & Mohawks

Niagara 15th August 1789

Present Lt Col Harris, Comm't of the Upper Posts and Lieut. Colonel Butler, Dep'y Agent. After the Usual Ceremonies had passed

The Fish Carrier Compliments Col. Harris on his return to the Country after his long Absence and proceeded

Brothers

You (Colonel Butler) was present and know what was agreed upon at the Council at Buffalo Creek last Summer when we Sold our Lands to the Americans, & that we were to receive the payment at a Time then Fixed, which the Whole of the Five Nations were to Share in, But we have been [?] when we went to receive our Shares at Canadague (the place Appointed, we were much surprised to find that the Senecas had excluded all the Other Nations from receiving any Part of the Payment for the Lands, and told us that the Lands belonged to them alone, therefore the Other Nations had no right to expect any thing as the Onondagos & Cayugas had before Sold their Country and kept the Money to themselves and Desired us to go to our Friends the English, as we had no Business There. They also said that the [?] for the Security of the Payment, either by Col. Butler, Mr. Street, Mr. Kirkland, Capt. Brant, or a Mr. Dean, as the Land mentioned in the Papers was less than what was first agreed upon at the Council at Buffaloe Creek.

After this O'Bale was endeavouring to persuade the Senecas Not to take the Money, but to go and refer the Matter to Congress who would see them Justified. This Scheme of O'Bales we Opposed thinking it much against the Interest of the Five Nations and therefore advised them to take the Money which we looked upon as Just & that the Sums was agreeable to the Original Bargain Made at Buffaloe Creek, and told them that we did not want any Share ourselves and Only asked for provisions to carry us home.

Brothers,

About this time we received an Answer to a letter we had wrote to Governor Clinton but not a Satisfactory one for he still looks upon the Unjust Purchase he made from a few of our Young People to be good and Valid & says he is Determined to Hold it fast, and that if we hinder the Surveyors in their Business he will Look upon it as a Hostile Intention and that we mean to Quarrel with him. We now intend to warn the Governor again as we did before & to tell him that we see through his Artifice in

reserving small tracts of Lands to the Indians by which he hopes to Divide and Weaken us, but this we will endeavour to prevent by Sending for our People who are there to Move off to us & we have sent Belts to the Surveyors not to proceed until this Matter is Settled to our Satisfaction.

We are sorry that our Brothers the Senecas should differ from us in Opinion and even reflect upon us for our firm Attachment to the English which they have now done so openly, that we hope our Brothers, the English will see their real friends and make the Difference accordingly.

EXHIBIT H

Grand River, 25th February 1791.

Sir,

The line passed by Congress the 22^d July last, to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian Nations, shows a desire in them, to have justice done the Indians; that, with the assurances I have had of the good disposition of the President of the United States towards us, induces me to address you on the Subject.

Collecting all your Council fires and uniting them in one, I hope will answer the good purposes to which they seem to aim, and establish that friendship which we long wish'd to effect upon principles of mutual justice. — The number of Council fires which has since the year 1784 been kindled in our Country, has kept our heads in a state of intoxication, at none of which have we had a full representation — and although your present mode of meeting with us, may prevent such abuses as have been practised, from being exercised in future by your Citizens, yet if partial representations are still received from our people, I am afraid it will fail of effecting that happy end which

which our mutual interest requires. It is difficult
for us to prevent individuals from addressing you,
with assumed powers, which they have no right to
if such meet encouragement, harmony cannot be
established with permanency.

Oleib (or the Complanter) a Seneca Chief, I
understand has lately imposed himself on the President
of the United States, as a representative of the Five Na-
tions, he not being empowered by them, or any one of
them, I am ignorant of his business, but it has been
suggested to me, that amongst other things, he has
complained of a deception upon the Nations in the
purchase of the Genesee Country, in which I feel my-
self particularly called upon to contradict in vindi-
cation of my own character, as well as in justification
of the Purchasers.

Influenced by bribes and other selfish
views, in the fall 1787, he prevailed on the Chiefs (who
were sent to Canada to go to extinguish the Council fire
kindled there by M^r. John Livingston) to lease the
whole of the Five Nations Country, for a consideration
of Twenty thousand Dollars, subject to an annual
rent of Two thousand Dollars, and it was with these
intentions.

almost difficulty that the united efforts of the Free
 Willers were able to remove that ~~large~~ ^{large} ~~form~~ ^{form} of one
 half the ~~debt~~ ^{debt} in Spring 1787, at which time Mr.
 Phelps came with authority from the State of New
 York, and agreed with the Chiefs in a very full
 Council for a tract of Land on the Genesee River, the
 price of which the Chiefs requested the Rev. Mr. Kirkland,
 Colonel Butler and myself would determine, which
 was done, - On this principle viz: That the whole
 Country in place of Twenty was worth Thirty thousand
 dollars, consequently Colonel Livingston, should pay
 Fifteen thousand Dollars, and One thousand annually.
 Mr. Phelps having about one third of the remainder
 it followed of course that he should pay Five thousand
 and we fixed the annual Rent at Five hundred dol-
 lars, the writings were then drawn and explained by
 Mr. Kirkland in full Council, and agreed to without
 a dissenting voice, they were afterwards lodged with
 Colonel Butler at Niagara, where they remained till
 the time of payment, the year following, and no dis-
 satisfaction appeared amongst our People, until they
 assembled at Canandaigua, to receive the money, where

Chiefs

Heil, demanded Ten thousand dollars, he was
however, opposed by all the Chiefs, except the Sa-
vies to whom he belonged, and finally gave up
the point, and received the money -

I presume it must from these circum-
stances appear so extraordinary to every man of
sense, as it does absurd to me that the man who
was the sole instigator of the Country being first
sold, or bought for Twenty thousand Dollars, in a
clandestine manner, should afterwards object to
the same sum, when agreed upon openly and fair-
ly in full Council for two thirds of it, it clearly
evinces that self interest was too predominant
with him, and his not being tried in this, as he
was formerly by the Legislature, must be the cause
of this extraordinary conduct in him - Should
individuals, or parties, without the concurrence
of the whole, meet encouragement, the Five
Medians cannot be happy amongst themselves,
nor can that harmony subsist between them
and their neighbours, as might be produced by
a general representation of the cause of wrongs,
whereby

199
when there is any, which has long been the wish
wishes of the Nation.

I have the honor to be

Your most Obedt

Humble Servant

(signed) Jas. Bryant

To the Superintendent
of Indian Affairs for the
Northern District of the
United States

Exhibit H

Joseph Brant to Timothy Pickering, February 25, 1791

Massachusetts Historical Society, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 61, folios 197-199v

Grand River, 25th February 1791

Sir,

The law passed by Congress the 22nd July last, to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian Nations, shews a desire in them to have justice done the Indians; that, with the assurances I have had of the good disposition of the President of the United States towards us, induces me to address you on the Subject.

Collecting all your Council fires and uniting them in one, I hope will answer the good purposes to which they seem to aim and establish that friendship which we long wished to effect upon principles of mutual justice. The number of Council fires which has since the year 1784 been kindled in our Country has kept our heads in a state of intoxication—and although your present mode of treating with us may prevent such abuses as have been practiced from being exercised in future by your Citizens, yet if partial representations are still received from our people, I am afraid it will fail of effecting that happy end which our mutual interest requires. It is difficult for us to prevent individuals from addressing you with assumed power, which they have no right to; if such meet encouragement, harmony cannot be established with permanency.

Obeil (or the Cornplanter) a Seneca Chief, I understand has lately imposed himself on the President of the United States, as a representative of the five Nations, he is not being empowered by them, or any one of them, I am ignorant of his business, but it has been suggested to me that amongst other things, he has complained of a deception upon the Nations in the purchase of the Genesee Country, in which I feel myself particularly called upon to contradict in vindication of my own character, as well as in justification of the Purchasers.

Influenced by bribes and other selfish views, in the fall 1787, he prevailed on the Chiefs (who were sent to Canadasego to cover up the Council fire kindled their by John Livingston) to Lease the whole of the five nation Country, for a Consideration of Twenty thousand dollars, subject to an annual rent of Two thousand Dollars, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the united efforts of the Five Nations were able to remove that Lease from off one half of the Country in Spring 1787 [1788?], at which time Mr. Phelps came with authority from the State of Massachusetts, and agreed with the Chiefs in a very full Council for a tract of Land on the Genesee River, the price of which the Chiefs requested the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, Colonel Butler and myself would determine, which was done. But those principles viz: That the whole Country in place of Twenty was worth Thirty thousand dollars, consequently Colonel Livingston should pay Fifteen thousand Dollars, and One thousand annually. Mr. Phelps having about one third of the remainder it followed of course that he should pay Five thousand and we fixed the annual rent at Five hundred dollars, the writings were then drawn and explained by Mr. Kirkland in full Council, and agreed to without a dissenting voice, they were afterwards lodged with

Colonel Butler at Niagara where they remained till the time of payment, the year following, and no dissatisfaction appeared amongst our People, until they assembled at Canadague, to receive the money, when Obeil demanded Ten thousand dollars, he was however opposed by all the Chiefs, except the Senekas to whom he belonged and finally gave up the point and received the money.

I presume it must be from these circumstances appear as extraordinary to every man of sense, as it does [?] to me that the man who was the sole instigator of the Country being first sold or Leased for Twenty thousand Dollars, in a clandestine manner, should afterwards object to the same sum, when agreed upon openly and fairly in full council for two thirds of it, it clearly evinces that self interest was too predominant with him, and his not being bribed in this as he was formerly by the Leases, must be the cause of this extraordinary conduct in him. Should individuals, or parties, without the concurrence of the whole, meet encouragements, the Five Nations cannot be happy amongst themselves; nor can that harmony subsist between them and their neighbours, as might be produced by a general representation of the causes of uneasiness where there is any, which has long been the united wish of the nations.

Joseph Brant

To the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the
Northern District of the United States

EXHIBIT I

Exhibit I

Israel Chapin to Timothy Pickering, July 17, 1792

Pickering Papers, vol. 62, folios 58-59v

Canandaique July 17th 1792

Dear Sir

I am just returned from along council of the five Nations and will now do myself the honor of gratifying the request signified to me in your very polite letter. I received orders the first of last month to repair to Buffalow Creek for the purpose of forwarding Hendrick on his way to the southern treaty. When I arrived there I could not but observe that the passion of Jealousy which has so forceable an operation in civilized life is felt perhaps with equal force in the rudest state of society. In a word it was easy to be perceived that the Chiefs of the five Nations were Jealous of Capt. Hendrick and for some time enfestred with vehemence on his tarrying for them. I told the Chiefs in council that they had certainly obtained the full confidence of Congress—that it was not from any preference to Capt. Hendrick that they wished him to make the utmost dispatch, but as it would necessarily be some time before they themselves could set out, it was necessary that the southern Indians should be apprised of their design—that the whole business of Capt. Hendrick previously to their coming would be only to give the information. These reasons at last prevailed but not 'till after seven or eight days consideration.

I had another difficulty to contend with that seemed even greater than the former. The Fish-Carrier and all the Cayugas residing at Buffalow Creek were highly disaffected and at my first arrival the treatment I received from them bordered on rudeness. Whether real or not they certainly feel like an injured people. Through the influence of our friends they held a council with me. They informed me that the Indian by the name of Steel-Trap was never considered as a chief of the Nation—that he only sold their Lands to the Commissioners of New York—he only received and squandered the money—that the five hundred dollars which the Governor of New York promised to pay the Nation annually had uniformly been paid to the Usurper Steel-Trap, and none of Chief or one Nation residing at Buffalow Creek had received a farthing. That their Lands were now gone without their consent and without an equivalent and that they had not so much as a pipe of Tobacco to smoke with their friend. They complained respecting the Lands leased to Messrs. Gore and Spalding at New Town. That the State of New York after disapproving of their lease had seized on and parceled out those lands without so much as the shew of a purchase even from Steel-Trap himself. That they still hoped to derive some benefit from the lands reserved to them. That the lease of those lands would have afforded a small income to the Nation and accordingly they leased them as they supposed under the guaranty of Congress. That even after their friends went on their lands the Governor of New York burn their houses and drove them from their farms. They then asked me and I confess it was a feeling Question whether I thought any dependence could be placed on the promises of white people. I observed to them that I could not pretend to judge of the controversy between them and New York as I had only heard one side of the question. That whatever injuries they might have received they did not originate from the Great Council of our Nation. That Congress were desirous of brightening the chain of

friendship with them and making it as lasting as the great mountains. I appealed to their Brothers who had been at Philadelphia for the speeches they heard and the treatment they had received. I urged them to make their minds easy for the present—that the ears of our great Men would be open to all their just complaints and that they might expect a redress of all real grievances. Fortunately my talk happened to please them. Their countenances brightened and after a little conversation among themselves, the Fish-Carrier took me by the hand and assured me that he would not only suspend his resentment but would go in person to the southward and endeavour to bring a general peace. I forgot to inform you that a considerable party of young warriors of the Cayuga Nation went to the southward last spring with a view of joining the hostile Indians. That the Fish Carrier assured me he would recall let the event of the southern treaty be as it might.

I write to you Sir with all the confidence of private friendship. In this confidence I would query whether as Congress actually guarantied the Lands to the Indians they would do any thing more than an act of Justice if they should appoint a Committee to enquire into all disputed purchases of land made of them since the peace. But to return, all was harmony in the council after the reconciliation of the Cayugas. The account given by the Chiefs that went to Philadelphia were received with applause.

EXHIBIT J

Reply of the Six Nations, assembled at Buffalo Creek, on the 21st of April, 1794, to a speech from General Knox, Secretary of War to the United States, delivered by General Chapin, on the 10th February, as interpreted by Jasper Parrish, one of the interpreters for the United States.

Clear Sky (an Onondaga chief) spoke as follows:

GENERAL CHAPIN: We are happy to see that you are arrived safe at our council fire, and that you have been preserved, by the Great Spirit, in good health.

COLONEL BUTLER: We are also very happy to see you at our council fire, as representing the King.

Captain Braudt then spoke as follows:

BROTHERS: You, of the United States, listen to what we are going to say to you; you, likewise, the King.

BROTHERS: We are very happy to see you, Colonel Butler and General Chapin, sitting side by side, with the intent of hearing what we have to say. We wish to do no business but what is done open and above-board.

BROTHER: You, of the United States, make your mind easy, on account of the long time your President's speech has been under our consideration; when we received it, we told you it was a business of importance, and required some time to be considered of.

BROTHER: The answer you have brought us is not according to what we expected, which was the reason of our long delay; the business would have been done with expedition, had the United States agreed to our proposals. We would then have collected our associates, and repaired to Venango; the place you proposed for meeting us.

BROTHER: It is not now in our power to accept your invitation; provided we were to go, you would conduct the business as you might think proper; this has been the case at all the treaties held, from time to time, by your commissioners.

BROTHER: At the first treaty, after the conclusion of the war between you and Great Britain, at fort Stanwix, your commissioners conducted the business as it to them seemed best; they pointed out a line of division, and then confirmed it; after this, they held out that our country was ceded to them by the King; this confused the chiefs who attended there, and prevented them from making any reply to the contrary; still holding out, if we did not consent to it, their warriors were at their back, and that we would get no further protection from Great Britain. This has ever been held out to us, by the commissioners from Congress; at all the treaties held with us since the peace, at fort McIntosh, at Rocky river, and every other meeting held, the idea was still the same.

BROTHER: This has been the case from time to time. Peace has not taken place, because you have held up these ideas, owing to which much mischief has been done to the Southward.

BROTHER: We, the Six Nations, have been exerting ourselves to keep peace since the conclusion of the war; we think it would be best for both parties; we advised the confederate nations to request a meeting, about half way between us and the United States, in order that such steps might be taken as would bring about a peace; this request was made, and Congress appointed commissioners to meet us at Muskingum, which we agreed to, a boundary line was then proposed by us, and refused by Governor St. Clair, one of your commissioners. The Wyandots, a few Delawares, and some others, met the commissioners, though not authorized, and confirmed the lines of what was not their property, but a common to all nations.

BROTHER: This idea we all held out at our council, at Lower Sandusky, held for the purpose of forming our confederacy, and to adopt measures that would be for the general welfare of our Indian nations, or people of our color; owing to those steps taken by us, the United States held out, that when we went to the Westward to transact our private business, that we went with an intention of taking an active part in the troubles subsisting between them and our Western brethren; this never has been the case. We have ever wished for the friendship of the United States.

BROTHER: We think you must be fully convinced, from our perseverance last summer, as your commissioners saw, that we were anxious for a peace between us. The exertions that we, the Six Nations, have made towards the accomplishing this desirable end, is the cause of the Western nations being somewhat dubious as to our sincerity. After we knew their doubts, we still persevered; and, last fall, we pointed out methods to be taken, and sent them, by you, to Congress; this we certainly expected would have proved satisfactory to the United States; in that case we should have more than ever exerted ourselves, in order that the offers we made should be confirmed by our confederacy, and by them strictly to be adhered to.

BROTHER: Our proposals have not met with the success from Congress that we expected; this still leaves us in a similar situation to what we were when we first entered on the business.

BROTHER: You must recollect the number of chiefs who have, at divers times, waited on Congress; they have pointed out the means to be taken, and held out the same language, uniformly, at one time as at another; that was, if you would withdraw your claim to the boundary line, and lands within the line, as offered by us; had this been done, peace would have taken place; and, unless this still be done, we see no other method of accomplishing it.

BROTHER: We have borne every thing patiently for this long time past; we have done every thing we could consistently do with the welfare of our nations in general—notwithstanding the many advantages that have been taken of us, by individuals making purchases from us, the Six Nations, whose fraudulent conduct towards us Congress never has taken notice of, nor in any wise seen us rectified, nor made our minds easy. This is the case to the present day; our patience is now entirely worn out; you see the difficulties we labor under, so that we cannot, at present, rise from our seats and attend your council at Venango, agreeable to your invitation. The boundary line we pointed out, we think is a just one, although the United States claim lands west of that line; the trifle that has been paid by the United States can be no object in comparison to what a peace would be.

BROTHER: We are of the same opinion with the people of the United States; you consider yourselves as independent people; we, as the original inhabitants of this country, and sovereigns of the soil, look upon ourselves as equally independent, and free as any other nation or nations. This country was given to us by the Great Spirit above; we wish to enjoy it, and have our passage along the lake, within the line we have pointed out.

BROTHER: The great exertions we have made, for this number of years, to accomplish a peace, and have not been able to obtain it; our patience, as we have already observed, is exhausted, and we are discouraged from persevering any longer. We, therefore, throw ourselves under the protection of the Great Spirit above, who, we hope, will order all things for the best. We have told you our patience is worn out; but not so far, but that we wish for peace, and, whenever we hear that pleasing sound, we shall pay attention to it.

[The belt and speech, sent by General Knox, were then returned to General Chapin.]

EXHIBIT K

Exhibit K

Fish Carrier's speech to Israel Chapin, Buffalo Creek, October 12, 1793

New York State Archives, Legislative Assembly Papers, vol. 40, pp. 297-298.

Also in Francis Jennings, et al. eds., *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Six Nations and Their League* (Woodbridge, Conn.: Research Publications, 1985), 50 microfilm reels, reel #42

Fish-carrier, Chief of the Cayuga Nation to Israel Chapin Esq., Superintendant of Indian affairs for the Northern Department, Buffalo Creek, Oct. 12th, 1793

We thank the great Spirit that he has let us meet together this day, and tho' we have been troubled with much sickness in this island, we are still here.

Brother—You informed us the other day that you and two other persons were appointed by the Governor as Commissioners to treat with us for the sale or lease of our Lands, and that a meeting was proposed to be held on the lands to be sold or leased this Fall.

Brother—You desired us to think of the matter and let you know when we would meet the Commissioners, and whether we would sell or lease our Lands.

Brother—The season is now far advanced, and Winter is near to us, which together with the great sickness, which prevails among us, makes it difficult for us to meet you this Fall.

Brother—We will meet you in the Spring, and we will either sell or lease our Land and let you know on what terms.