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**Journal of
Thomas Dean**

**AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO
INDIANA IN 1817.**

**PUBLISHED BY
JOHN CANDEE DEAN,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
1918.**

JOURNAL OF
THOMAS DEAN.

*A Voyage to Indiana
In 1817.*

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Brief Sketch of the Life of Thomas Dean

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THOMAS DEAN,
[1783-1844]
OF DEANSBORO, N. Y.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF
THOMAS DEAN

My grandfather, Thomas Dean, was a very methodical business man, who left a chest of papers, containing letters, contracts, accounts, legal documents, etc., all filed in perfect order. There are old letters from Quaker friends and relatives dating back to 1799. In this chest, now in Indianapolis, was found the journal of a journey made by him in 1817, which is published in full herewith. This journal is the simple record of a voyage made one hundred years ago, from central New York to central Indiana, all the way by water.

The purpose of the journey was to secure land in the West for the Brothertown Indians, then living in Oneida County, State of New York. Owing to the encroachments of the white population, and their desire to purchase Indian lands in New York, it was deemed desirable to move the Brothertown Indians to the West, where they would have more land, advantageous surroundings, and removed from injurious influence incident to the presence of the white population on the weakness of the Indian character.

The New York Indians were the remnants of seven tribes of New England Indians, who had been moved to Oneida

County, New York, in 1788. A tract of land had been purchased from the Oneida Indians in 1774, but owing to the hostility of the Mohawk tribe during the Revolutionary War, it was considered unsafe for them to move until after the war had closed. The Brothertown Indians consisted of remnants of the following tribes: Mohegans, Farmingtons, Stoningtons, Pequods, Narragansetts, Montauks, and Neshantucks.

The boat crew, for the voyage to Indiana, consisted of chiefs and leading men of the Brothertown tribes, as follows: Paul Dick, Jacob Dick, Thomas Isaacs, Charles Isaacs, and Rudolphus Fowler. There were also two Indian women aboard, Sarah Dick and Betsy Isaacs, wives of chiefs. The only white person in the company was Thomas Dean, their attorney, agent, and captain.

There is no description of the boat, but at Vincennes, Indiana, "Dr. Lawrence S. ^{Schuler}Shoeler, who had been on the boat yesterday, took a brief account of our voyage with intention of publication." The boat drew twenty-one inches of water. Going down the Allegheny River they took on three passengers; it therefore carried eleven people with ease, besides the chests and other cargo. It was built by Thomas Dean at Deansboro, Oneida County, New York, and launched into the Oneida Creek. He, with his party, ran the boat down this creek into Oneida Lake, out through Oneida River into Oswego River, and down into Lake Ontario. On Lake Ontario he sailed to Niagara and up the Niagara River, portaged around the great falls and sailed to Buffalo. From Buffalo he sailed on Lake Erie to a harbor near Chautauqua Lake and there portaged the boat into

that lake. The waters of Chautauqua Lake are discharged into the Allegheny River, so that it was possible to sail down the Allegheny into the Ohio River and thus reach the mouth of the Wabash River.

The southern part of Indiana he found sparsely settled, but the central and northern parts were still wildernesses. In his voyage from Fort Harrison up the Wabash to the mouth of the Mississinewa River and return, a distance of about 360 miles, he does not mention having seen a single white man. The Indians he met on the river could not speak English and he therefore had great difficulty in communicating with them. He was looking for good land, well watered, and describes the fine, fertile, silent prairies near the Wabash. In his journey on foot from Fort Harrison to the White River country and return, he passed through a wilderness of forests sparsely inhabited by Indians. The hardships were most severe. What would a man of today think of making a journey from Terre Haute to Fort Wayne, about 220 miles, most of the way on foot, with a heavy pack on his back? Some days Dean and his party traveled forty miles.

His unusual resourcefulness was exhibited at Fort Wayne, where he was unable to obtain a boat for taking himself and party down the Maumee River. He at once went into the forest, cut down a big tree, and made a large canoe, not only sufficient for his party, but in which he was able to take two additional passengers. The canoe was made in two working days, launched into the Maumee River, served its purpose, and was afterward sold for a good price at Fort Meigs.

It is difficult to believe that this modern Jason, toiling through the forests of Indiana with a heavy pack, swimming rivers to get his boat over rapids, sleeping on beds of wet brush and leaves in forests, sometimes without food, and living like an Indian, had left behind him, at Deansboro, N. Y., a large, beautiful home, situated in the charming Oriskany Valley. He had left a wife and five children. He was owner of large farming interests, and was the chief man of affairs in that part of the county. Besides being engrossed in the management of Indian affairs, he served as postmaster, justice of the peace, etc.; was called frequently to act on arbitration boards; was on numerous boards of trustees, including trustee of Hamilton College; trustee, president, and finally sole owner of the Friends Cotton and Woolen Manufactory. Deansboro was named after him.

From his journal, under date of August 29, it will be seen that while in an old shelter, made by the Indians for hunting on the bank of the Wabash, he realized the serious hazards that he was running in making this journey. He says:

“This morning I awoke at about 2 o'clock and put out the fire, laid down again, went to sleep. I had a remarkable dream, which agitated me very much. It brought me to the situation of my family, and the state of my affairs in which I had left them; the imprudence of leaving home on such a journey without first settling all of my affairs; that they would lose greatly in case of my never returning to them again. The contents of my dream agitated me so much that I could not eat much breakfast.”

He was a pioneer of most sturdy stock, over six feet tall and very muscular. He was born in Westchester County, near New York city, in 1783, and moved with his father to Oneida County in 1798. They were Quakers, and his father received an annuity of £50 from the Society of Friends in New York city for services as missionary engaged in teaching the Indians industry and morality. Thus Thomas Dean grew into benevolent work among the Brothertown Indians, and the Quaker annuity eventually came to him. The nearest postoffice was fourteen miles away, at Old Fort Schuyler, now Utica.

He devoted his life to Indian philanthropy. He was confident that the Indians could be made into industrious, moral citizens. His energy was prodigious. He spent much time in Washington, for some years going to every session of Congress to secure legislation in protection of the Indians. These journeys were made in stage coaches. The distance from Deansboro to Washington was about 500 miles. It is interesting to note the cost of transportation by stage in those days. His account in 1828 shows the cost of two seats in stage, from Utica to Albany, \$7.00; Albany to New York city, \$20.00; New York to Philadelphia, \$12.00; Philadelphia to Baltimore, \$12.00; Baltimore to Washington, \$5.00; total fares, one way, \$56.00. There were also tips to drivers, ferry over the Susquehanna and other rivers, extras for trunks, etc. His visits to Albany to meet the New York Legislature were much more frequent.

His accounts with the Brothertown Indians show the following entry: "They agreed to allow me for my extra services going to the city of Washington six times, to Green

Bay, Wis., four times, and sundry other journeys, in all about 20,000 miles." This was before the days of steam.

Thomas Dean was not only the attorney and agent of the Brothertown Indians, but also acted for the Stockbridge and Oneida tribes. He did not succeed in acquiring Indian lands in Indiana, but in 1824 he made a treaty with the Winnebago and Menominee Indians by which the Brothertown tribes secured a tract of land on the east side of Fox River, Wisconsin, eight miles wide and thirty miles long.

Owing to a dispute over the title to this land in 1828, he made a new treaty with the Federal Government, by which the land on Fox River was exchanged for nearby land on the east shore of Lake Winnebago. Twenty three thousand acres were laid off in a square. The title was in fee simple from the Federal Government, secured by patent. The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians were moved to this tract, which they now occupy.

Thomas Dean died at Deansboro, N. Y., in 1843.

JOHN CANDEE DEAN.

Indianapolis, Ind., March, 1918.

Celoron was under the direction of the Marquis de La Galissoniere, commandant of New France, his object being to reclaim the country for the King of France.

When Thomas Dean reached Vincennes, he met Dr. Lawrence S. Shuler. Mr. Dean wrote: "I became acquainted with Dr. Lawrence W. Shuler, who had been on board our boat yesterday. He took a brief account of our voyage with intention of publication. We conversed on the subject of civilization and internal navigation. He proposed making some remarks on both subjects in his publication." The following is Dr. Shuler's article. It was published in the *Indiana Sentinel* at Vincennes, Ind., July, 1817.

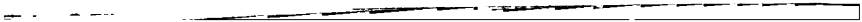
(From the Indiana Sentinel.)

The extensive inland navigation of the western country is strikingly exemplified by the late arrival at this port (Sunday, July 20) of the elegant schooner built boat, "Brotherton Enterprise," of six tons burthen, from Rome (Deansboro, N. Y.) in fifty days. This boat left the Mohawk River (Oneida Creek) on the first of June last, under the command of Thomas Dean; and is navigated by four Indian men, accompanied by two Indian women and an Indian boy, all possessing habits, manners and education indicative of the most complete and refined civilization. The object of Capt. Dean and company, we understand, is to obtain from the Wabash Indians the cession of a tract of land for the Brotherton Indians, in consequence of an invitation given by the former. They intend to ascend the Wabash to its source, and by a short portage, to pass over into the Miami of the lake, by which they calculate to return. The whole route will, they calculate, be performed by the first of September next, making (in the short space of three months, including the time spent in curiosity, business and the necessary detention of bad weather) a journey of between two and three thousand miles, belting the states of Ohio and Indiana, and part of the states of N. York and Pennsylvania. In circumnavigating this extensive area, which contains between 80 and 100,000 square miles, they have only to pass three short portages of about thirty miles. From Rome (Deansboro, N. Y.) they passed through Wood Creek, into the Oneida Lake, from which they descended the Oswego river into L. Ontario—coasting the south side of that lake, to the Niagara Falls, they carried their boat on wheels from Queenston to Chippawa (a portage of eleven or twelve miles) into the Niagara River—ascending the Niagara, and coasting the north side of Lake Erie, to the mouth of Catoragus Creek, and up it to a portage of eight and a half miles, over which they passed into Chatauque Lake, and down the Conewongo into the Allegheny. The

Allegheny, Ohio and Wabash present a smooth and uninterrupted navigation to the head of the Wabash; a portage of nine miles, connects the Wabash with the Miami of the lake, over which Capt. Dean intends to transport his boat and descend the Miami into Lake Erie. He will coast that lake to Buffalo, N. York. In the spring of the year, during high water, boats have frequently passed and repassed by water from the Wabash to the Miami of the lake without unloading.

What a striking view does not this give of the future relative importance of the western states. The waters of this country are, generally speaking, navigable to their source for boats of considerable burthen, and in numerous places the waters leading into the Ohio are connected by short portages to the navigable waters of the lakes—indeed, from the Illinois River boats can frequently at a high stage of water pass into Lake Michigan as easily as from the Wabash into Lake Erie. Had Capt. Dean ascended the Illinois, and thence into the lakes, he would have doubled the length of his route and circumnavigated twice the extent of territory which he now will. If the contemplated canal through the state of N. York is ever completed, and if the waters of the Ohio were connected by canals with the lakes, I think the opinion may be hazarded that the states of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois territory will in turn become more populous and rich than any other equal extent of country in the United States.

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**HOME OF THOMAS DEAN,
DEANSBORO, N. Y.**

PART I

VOYAGE FROM DEANSBORO, N. Y., TO NIAGARA RIVER

Oneida Creek, N. Y., May 31st, 1817, 6 o'clock A. M. Wind N.W., and cloudy, with some rain. All hands at work fitting for the voyage. At 15 minutes of 10 A. M. Paul Dick arrived and joined our company, and 20 minutes past 11 his father, Thomas Dick, came to see us; 30 minutes past 1 P. M. ran down Oneida Creek with Burlingame and several others on board. Ran out of the creek onto the lake and made sail, the wind blowing a gale. We made two or three tacks, but the lake was so rough that we did not gain more than one or two miles and it was thought best to run back into the creek and wait until the wind abated. Paul Dick and I went to Burlingame's, about three-quarters of a mile from the boat, and lodged; the rest of the company lodged in an old house or in the boat.

June 1st. At 3 A. M. P. Dick and I started to meet our company and all set about getting ready to start. It was clear and very frosty; some ice. We drank some chocolate, ate some bread, all aboard, and went down the creek to the lake and took leave of Thomas Dick. Set sail at 6 A. M.; the wind very light, and from the W.S.W., so that we had to row. At 12 o'clock, opposite Roderdam, we were rowing along at a good rate, not expecting any shoal; I was steering when I discovered rock, and we had but just time to stop our

headway and put about. The water on the shoal was not more than a foot deep. I considered it fortunate that we had not a fair wind and going very fast or we might have injured our boat, for we had no idea of there being any such shoal water in or near the middle of the lake. At 2 P. M. we landed on Frenchman's Island and took dinner. It is a beautiful island, well timbered, containing thirty or forty acres. At 5 P. M. we got under way with head winds, but ran down the Oneida River to the head of Cognoy Rift and put up at Sclos Billos.

June 2d. We breakfasted on eels and put our baggage on board. The boat drifted around on a root, and in getting on board she rocked on it and it punched a hole in her larboard bow, on the second strap from the garboard, about one and a half inches in diameter. We immediately discovered the leak and ran down the rift, intending to go to Three River Point, but she took in water so fast that we had to go on shore, unload all our things, draw the boat up and put in a graving piece. We repaired our boat, loaded her, and embarked about 11 o'clock, went down to Three River Point, stopped and made some inquiry about the river. We then passed down to Three River Rift and took on a pilot, giving him one dollar to run the Rift. Then we continued down to Six Mile Creek and stayed all night. In the morning we ran down to the Falls of Oswego, took out our load, hired a pilot to run over the falls for two dollars, hired our goods carried over for two dollars, and employed a pilot to pilot us to Oswego for two dollars more. We arrived there about 5 o'clock P. M. The wind being fair, we concluded to load our stores and put out into the lake, although

it was cloudy. We put out to sea about 7 o'clock P. M. on the 3d of June and ran all night. The next day we put into Pultneyville. We ran on to Genesee River, arriving there at half past 7 P. M. On the 5th and 6th of June we lay there wind-bound until about 5 P. M. Then we ran up to the inlet of Long Lake, about four miles, where we stayed all night, and in the morning put out and sailed up to Braddocks Bay, thence to Sandy Creek, about seven miles, and there we put up for the night.

June 8th. We started early in the morning with a fair wind, and clear and pleasant, and put into Eighteen Mile Creek, obtained some bread and milk, then stood on to Twelve Mile Creek and camped. About fifty-one miles this day.

June 9th. Started with a fair wind. It rained very hard. We stopped at Niagara at about 12 o'clock and went to view the garrison at the fort, then put up the Niagara River to Lewiston.

PART II

VOYAGE FROM NIAGARA TO LAKE CHAUTAUQUA

June 10th. We went to get our boat hauled over the portage, but could not. I crossed over to Queenstown, Canada, to get it over the portage, returned and crossed with the boat and agreed with A. Brown to take it, with the baggage, for six dollars. I entered the boat at the collector's office for 50 cents.

June 11th. We loaded our boat and baggage onto two wagons at about 10 A. M. and passed slowly along with the boat and baggage. Had a very poor ox team to draw the boat. Thomas Isaac and I, walking a little ahead, went to see the famous falls of Niagara and then met the teams. The rest of the company then went to view the falls. We arrived at Chippawa about 5 P. M. without much difficulty or damage. Thomas and I began to unload, and when the rest of the company came up we ran the wagon into the river and launched the boat. We examined our baggage and dried some of it, much of it being all wet with the heavy rains that had fallen. It is a very fine day and dried up the mud smartly, the wind blowing high from the northwest. We ran up the river about two miles and put up at Mrs. Holden's.

June 12th. A fine, pleasant morning. We started for Buffalo and had a strong opposing current. We soon crossed over to the west channel and took dinner on Grand

Island. Kept to the west side of the island, on the west side of the river, until we arrived at the ferry opposite Black Rock, where we crossed, and arrived about 17 minutes past 7 P. M. and put up for the night.

June 13th. In the morning we had a tight pull to get up the rapids, the wind being ahead. We took breakfast on the beach not far below Buffalo and arrived at Buffalo about 9 A. M., where we stopped, received and read letters, and wrote home. We discovered our boat leaked more than usual; drew her out on the beach and found we had started one of the nails in the seam on the bottom, and repaired it. We put our things on board at about 8 P. M., returned up the creek by the town, where we took up lodgings.

June 14th. We found all things safe, although there had been a hard wind and a heavy shower of rain in the night. We took breakfast at Buffalo, transacted our business, obtained some provisions, etc., and put out to sea 15 minutes past 12 o'clock. It rained hard, and but little wind. There were two schooners and a sloop which went out at about 30 minutes past 7 A. M. We passed along, using our oars, until about 2 P. M., when we came in sight of the three vessels standing on near our course. The wind began to blow a good breeze, and about 6 P. M. we came up with one of the schooners, called the "Buffalo Packet," the other vessels standing to the west. We spoke to the packet and found she was going to put into Cattaraugus Creek, where we intended to make a harbor. We passed the packet and ran into the creek about 35 minutes past 7 o'clock and took lodging, all being wet. We came about thirty miles. The schooner came in soon after us with several passengers, who were all wet

as well as us. Some of them very seasick. We had a good harbor in this creek. The captain of the packet informed me that he intended to put out for Shaddocks Bay between 12 and 1 o'clock in the morning, so we concluded to start early to be in his company.

June 15th. All hands on board and we got under way 40 minutes past 3 A. M. and left the harbor. We soon caught up with the packet, which had sailed some time before us. At about 5 o'clock there came a very thick fog, so that we could see but a little way ahead, and we steered southwest and by south until about 30 minutes past 6 o'clock, with a light breeze from the N.N.E.; then the wind began to increase, the fog soon disappeared, we found we had gained on the schooner while running in the fog. The wind blowing a good breeze, we soon overhauled her near the bay where we intended to make harbor. Supposed there was a creek to put into and get breakfast, but when we arrived in Shaddocks Bay we found there was no creek there, and the wind blew so hard and the swells ran so high that we could not beat out of the bay again. We out with the anchor which we had made at Oneida Creek. This was the first time we tried to use it, so we did not know how it would hold, and now if it gave way we must go ashore. Though it was not rocky, yet the surf ran so high that it is probable it would injure our boat; but as high as the swells were, our anchor held, so that we did not drag more than four or five rods. We kept an oar out at the stern to keep the boat straight with the wind and she rode out the gale very safely, though it made R. Fowler and S. Dick very seasick, it not being for the first time. I borrowed the boat belonging

to the schooner to come along side and take Sarah Dick, Betsy Isaac, Jacob Dick, with Charles, on shore, and left Thomas Isaac, Paul Dick, and myself to manage the boat as well as we could. R. Fowler was so sick that he did not feel like doing anything, and instead of having a warm breakfast, which we expected, when we put about to run in, we were glad to take a piece of bread and raw pork, which relished very well with me. This place is about fifteen miles from the Cattaraugus Creek. When the wind abated, we got all on board, started for Portland, about fifteen miles farther up the lake, where we arrived about 10 o'clock P. M. It was with some difficulty that we found the harbor of Portland; not knowing the shore, we ran a great way out of our course to search the shore for fear we would run by the harbor, and then we would have found no harbor until we came to Erie. The shore of the lake, most of the way, was perpendicular rocks, so that there are but few good harbors. We hauled our boat up on the beach as far as we could and took lodgings.

June 16th. R. Fowler proposed to go across the portage to the Chautauqua Lake and then down the Ohio River. Jacob Dick and Paul Dick joined with him. Thomas Isaac and I were for keeping up the lake, but we consented to the voice of the majority, although it was much farther, but they said it was safer. We consented. Paul and Rudolphus went out and engaged two men with teams to take our boat and baggage across, for which we were to pay five dollars each. We loaded our boat and baggage, went about two miles to the four corners of Portland, and put up for the night.

July 17th. We started with the teams and passed a very rough, hilly road filled with stumps, roots, and crossways over the land between the waters of Lake Erie and the Chautauqua Lake. The country was thinly settled and in some parts pretty good, and well timbered with some of the finest chestnut trees that I ever saw. We arrived at Mayville about 1 o'clock P. M. It is a small village on the northwest shore of Chautauqua Lake. The lake has very handsome shores and is well stocked with different kinds of fish. We left Mayville, went down the lake about sixteen miles against the wind, and put up on the northeast side of the lake at the house of a man by the name of Chene, where there was very good land with heavy timber.

PART III

VOYAGE FROM CHAUTAUQUA LAKE TO PITTSBURGH

June 18th. We started with a head wind and ran down to the rapids, where there are mills, with locks for boats to pass through. We went through them, and about one-half mile below we went to the village of Jamestown to get meat, bread, and cheese, but I could obtain no bread, nor pork under 30 cents per pound, and 18 cents for poor new skim milk cheese. It being about 12 o'clock, and having eaten very little this day, we had to dine on potatoes, crackers, and a fish which I bought for 9 cents. In the morning, being refreshed by our frugal meal, we embarked down the Chautauqua Creek, a small navigable stream with a quick current and a smooth bottom. It is fortunate for us that the waters are high at this time, or we could not go down, our boat drawing about twenty-one inches of water, and in a dry time there is not more than nine inches or a foot of water in the creek. We took in three passengers, one of whom was a good pilot, and we went down the stream, which was very crooked, with swift current, which made it difficult to sail. We passed down to the Casdaga Creek six miles, and there our pilot left us. The river was larger and the current very moderate, the bank low and the flats large. We passed down ten miles and came into the Cone-

wango Creek, which is a considerable stream. It comes in from the northeast, and there we put up at Captain Dollof's for the night. We obtained four quarts of milk, half a loaf of bread, and one pound of butter, of which we made a supper. Part of a bed was put on the floor for three of us to lie on. All were wet, there having been very heavy showers, which lasted almost all the afternoon.

June 19th. We called for our bill and the reply was \$2, which astonished me. We reasoned with him until the avaricious wretch was satisfied with \$1.50. We then proceeded down the river, which was very crooked, but with a gentle current and a deep channel. The banks are low and frequently overflowed by high water, and the soil is rich, though rather low for cultivation to advantage. We went about six or seven miles, when we came to a small stream called Still Water, which river is from seven to fourteen feet deep, and the passage easy to the rapids, which are about twenty miles, where we stopped and took breakfast on our scanty collection of food at the dam about half past 1 o'clock. We had two pigeons, a pheasant, and a small groundhog, which we picked up in our passage of twenty miles down the river this morning, not being able to purchase either bread or meat within the distance which we came. After refreshing ourselves, we took in a pilot from the mill to run us over the dam, which he easily did, and at the mill we took in three passengers for Warren, Pa., one of whom was an Indian by the name of Henry O'Bail, son of the famous chief called Complanter, who acted as pilot. After the shower we went on toward Warren. We had a strong current and a crooked channel for eight and

one-half miles to Warren, where we arrived about 7 P. M. Here we obtained some bread, meat, and butter, though at an extravagant price. We took up lodgings for the night at the inn.

June 20th. We left Warren at about 5 A. M. with our own company and ran down the river to Broken Straw, about twelve miles, a stream which comes in from the north-west; then passed down about thirty-four miles, went on shore and fried bacon and boiled potatoes, not having bread sufficient. We went on board and ate our dinner. We got some wet, there being a very heavy shower, which our sails did not completely shelter us from. We started two or three deer from the river, which R. Fowler went in pursuit of, and got a chance to shoot at one, but did not hit him. We saw them again, when J. and Paul Dick went in the chase, but did not kill any. Night drawing near, and having the appearance of rain, we went down the river with our oars at work. We soon saw another deer in the river, which we fired at, but did not get. It became foggy and I expected rain, so we ran down to Oil Creek, about seven or eight miles farther, and put up about a mile and a half from the place where the Seneca oil is found on the waters of the creek, but the water is so high now that the place where the oil issues from the earth could not be seen. We came down the river today fifty-three miles, although we had a strong head wind through the day.

June 21st. We left Oil Creek at 10 minutes past 5 A. M., went down seven miles to Franklin, at the mouth of French Creek, ran in there to get some bread, when it began to rain, and we took breakfast. When the rain abated we started

about 10 A. M. and passed down the river. There were but few houses, all small log cabins, and the inhabitants appeared to live by hunting, fishing, and the few shillings they could get from the pockets of the travelers. Lee, the landlord where we took breakfast, informed me that there were large settlements in the country back from the river, but there was but very little grain raised; that the land had a very good appearance, but did not produce well after two or three crops. He said that the frost had injured their crops very much for some time back. After the rain stopped we went on down the river with the current, helped by our oars, to a place called Miller's Eddy, about fifty-eight miles, and put up at an unfinished house.

June 22d. Started about half past 4 A. M., ran down the river, procured some bread on shore, took breakfast, continued on down, and passed Armstrong, a small village on the south side of the river. It is the county seat of that county, forty-five miles above Pittsburgh. We put into shore and stopped at a house two miles below Freeport. From there, passed on down to a place called Mechanicsburg, on the south side of the river. It consisted of several small houses, most of them abandoned by the inhabitants, four families only living there, and they so poor they could afford us no relief or lodging. It rained very hard. We crossed over the river and found poor lodging on the opposite shore, where we put up, having come about seventy-two miles. We were now within about ten miles of Pittsburgh.

June 23d. We started about half past 4 A. M. and ran down the river, passing three arks with families going down the river; arrived in Pittsburgh about 6 A. M., where we

put in for provisions and to get breakfast. I wrote home, and after breakfast our curiosity surpassed our anxiety to proceed, so we went to see some parts of the town, the steam factories, viz.: a saw mill, grist mill, nail factory, rolling mill, and the Flint Glass Works, which was not then in operation, but we went into the warehouse, where we saw some of as good glassware as is brought from England or India. We also went to see the flour mills. The town is well situated on the point, but it might be very considerably improved in beauty of appearance. Their manufactories are most interesting and surprising. Not getting our supplies and not satisfying our curiosity, we were not yet ready to start until about 6 P. M., and then we concluded to put up for the night at our landing place at Shepherd's. I would be glad to give a more particular description of Pittsburgh, but time will not permit.

PART IV

VOYAGE FROM PITTSBURGH TO CINCINNATI

June 24th. We started 30 minutes past 3 A. M. from Pittsburgh. The morning was very foggy and continued thick until about 8 A. M. We passed Big Beaver, a stream putting into the Ohio, and then sailed on with a gentle and smooth current. Took breakfast on board, then ran down to Steubenville, where we went on shore to get fire, some bread, etc. We had not time to take a view of the town as we wanted to, because we were rushing to pass on our journey down to Big Grave Creek, making 112 miles this day traveled.

June 25th. In the morning it was foggy, but cleared off, and we ran down to Beaver Creek, which we called eight miles by the current, then went down, passing several islands and many points, until we came below States Creek, then running on our oars and by the current until we came to the ———. We put in and stayed all night near an island called the Three Brothers.

June 26th. Started at 5 A. M. and ran down to Marietta, about ten miles. We put in there for breakfast and water, waiting until it stopped raining. We passed the Little Kanawha River 45 minutes past 4 P. M. and then went down to Blennerhassett Island, where we went on shore and

saw a beautiful landscape with very fertile soil. The elegant buildings that formerly stood on it were consumed by fire, and their chimneys were only to be seen from a distance. We passed by Little Hockhocking and then Big Hockhocking on the right side at 15 minutes past 7 P. M. We passed Belleville at 45 minutes past 9 P. M. and concluded to run during the night, it being dark. We ran all night, but had little chance of seeing much of the shore or many of the islands we came upon. Forty-one miles today by daylight.

June 27th. Before day we passed Letart Rapids and down by the Great Kanawha River and so down by Gallipolis, running on all day and all night, passing several villages and tributary streams.

June 28th. We passed the Canseonnick Creek about 5 A. M. and down to Lime, or Mayswell Stone, at 5 P. M., where we got more provisions. This is a handsome town on the left side of the river. From here we passed down to a small village called Ripley, about ten miles below Limestone Creek, where we put up, being about 248 miles below Marietta. I was unwell, having taken cold by being out the night before and lying in the heat of the sun the next day.

June 29th. We left Ripley in the morning and passed by Augusta about 10 A. M., arriving at Cincinnati at 9 P. M., where we put up for the night.

PART V

VOYAGE FROM CINCINNATI TO THE MOUTH OF THE
WABASH RIVER

June 30th. In the morning we expected to wash our clothes and spend the day at Cincinnati. We ran two nights to get there, but not finding a convenient place for washing, we took a view of the steam mills, town, etc. I went to look for Robert Hunt, but found he had moved eight miles from town, so I was not able to see him. We concluded to take in provisions, etc., and start down the river, and after taking a preliminary sail on the river with four passengers and after passing General Harrison's Seat, came to Lawrenceburg at about 9 P. M., twenty-nine miles below Cincinnati. We expected to put up here for the night, but could not get lodgings to our satisfaction. We left three of our passengers, but one continued with us to the Falls of the Ohio. We started at about 10 and ran all night.

July 1st. We passed Port Williams on the Kentucky River in the morning, and stopped at West Port to take dinner, then ran down to New London and put up for the night. On the 2d we went to Louisville, arriving at 8 P. M. Here we obtained lodgings, being about 180 miles from Cincinnati. This is a handsome town of Kentucky.

July 3d. I wrote home, and started about 9 A. M. to run down to the falls. We passed over them without any difficulty; nothing to be seen of them except a strong current and a ripple on the right side near shore. Passed Salt River about 3 P. M. In the evening we put up about 8 P. M., Jacob Dick being unwell.

July 4th. We continued our voyage, Jacob Dick being some better. We sailed all day down the pleasant current of the Ohio and only went on shore to get some vegetables, etc. Not finding a suitable place to lodge, we concluded to run all night, and so passed on throughout the night.

July 5th. We continued our voyage until we stopped for breakfast, then ran down to Anderson's Ferry, put in, and crossed over to the opposite shore to Troy to get good water. In the evening ran down about three miles, and with some difficulty got lodging on a floor.

July 6th. We passed down eight or ten miles and took breakfast on the shore near a house where a woman had a young child. After breakfast we started with a good breeze, though ahead, and beat down to the Yellow Banks; passed the village at that place about 3 P. M., but not stopping. We continued for about two miles and put in shore to be sheltered from a very heavy shower which we were threatened with. Here we obtained our dinner at the house of a very hospitable gentleman of Kentucky, and there being a very heavy storm of rain, wind, and thunder, we put up for the night with him.

July 7th. We ran down to near the Frenchman's or Three Mile Island, about fifteen miles, and put in for breakfast. We found the people in this place, as well as in many other

places where we stopped, very poor. There were no seats or furniture in the house, so we cooked our food, took it on board, and ate as we sailed. The wind became fair and we ran down before a light breeze to below Pigeon Creek, then beat down about two or three miles to the Red Bank at the village of Henderson, Ky., where we stopped at about half past 8 P. M. After some time I found poor lodgings for our company. We thought of walking out to see a steam mill, but in the morning we concluded not to.

July 8th. We understood that the steam mill would not be in operation through the day, and finding the poverty of the place to be so great, we concluded to cleanse our boat and proceed, for we could get neither flour, meal, milk, butter, nor cheese, and our stock was small. We thought best to run down farther, although we had not eaten since we took breakfast at Frenchman's Island. After our boat was cleansed, we reloaded, passed down the river five or six miles to the place of a wealthy planter of Kentucky, who had many slaves, from one of whom we bought some onions and cucumbers. The gentleman was very polite to us and furnished us with greens, squashes, etc. He had a fine plantation and about one hundred slaves in different parts of his lands. We started about half past 11 A. M., went down the river and took our breakfast as we sailed. The wind was ahead, as it usually was. We sailed till near sundown, then went on shore near Straight Island, made a fire, and cooked our supper. We concluded to run down to the mouth of the Wabash in the night. The boatswain and I took the watch, the rest turned in about 10 P. M., and we went to near the head of Wabash Island. We concluded to go

ashore for fear of passing that river unnoticed, as it was very dark. We called all hands and ran ashore, made fast to some willows about 1 A. M., and lay down to sleep on the boat.

July 9th. We started early and ran down by the island to the mouth of the Wabash River. The description by the Navigator of the river, etc., published in 1817, I cannot vouch for. I am convinced it is not correct in all respects, viz.: at the Frenchman's or Three Mile Island it appears to be erroneous, but according to his statement it is 1,003 miles to the mouth of the Wabash River, where we arrived this morning at 6 A. M. Here we turned into the river and passed up four or five miles and landed for breakfast about 9 A. M. As far as we have come we find the Wabash to be a fine river about 250 or 300 yards wide, with a gentle current, though it is expected that the current will be stronger as we ascend. In passing the waters of the Ohio it was not so much to our disadvantage that it rained nearly every day, for it raised the river fifteen or twenty feet above low water mark, which made it safe and easy passing down.

PART VI

VOYAGE FROM THE MOUTH OF THE WABASH RIVER TO
VINCENNES.

July 9th, 1817. We arrived in the mouth of the Wabash River at about 6 o'clock A. M. after passing 1,003 miles on the Ohio River, 30 miles on the Chautauqua Lake and its waters; the Conewange River, 25 miles; Allegheny River to Pittsburgh, 197 miles; total, 1,255 miles; the grand total route we came from home, 1,546 miles. Being a long time on our way, and in much rain, we concluded to lay by and wash some of our clothes and clean ourselves. So we ran up the Wabash River four or five miles and went on shore, took breakfast, and made a wash. I was quite sick by taking a drink of buttermilk and water. The Wabash appears to be a handsome river, about 270 yards wide, its current smooth and not very rapid, with handsome sandy banks, though subject to be overflowed by the water for several miles on each side, so that at times the river spreads to the width of ten or fifteen miles, and some said twenty miles; that the banks could not be settled with safety, therefore we found but few houses. We got through with our wash and dinner and all on board about 7 P. M., and rowed upstream about four and one-half miles to a house on the Indiana shore and took lodgings on the floor.

July 10th. We concluded to take breakfast before we started, so we cooked on shore, took breakfast, settled with

our host, John McDaniel or Donil, and started about 8 or 9 A. M. It was said that we were ten miles from the mouth of the Wabash and two miles from the Ohio River. We had a fair wind, though very light, and soon found that the navigation of the river was obstructed in some places by large bars of fine sand, which in many places extended one mile across the river, and the water was not more than twelve or eighteen inches deep, while in the channel it is five or six feet. We here found the current to be stronger, though it was very smooth. The bank of the river was from ten to fifteen feet high, and by the appearance of the leaves on the flats the water flowed eight or ten feet on them. In times of high water the land on the shore in some places appeared to be very rich and fertile and in other places not so good. About 2 P. M. we had a shower of rain, then the wind became ahead, though it was not hard. We ran up to within a half mile of what is called the Little Cutoff. About 30 minutes past 5 P. M. we went to cook dinner. We were told that we had come sixteen miles, and were four miles from the Ohio River. We took dinner, it being near sunset. No other house nearer than ten miles on the river, and passage up the river difficult, it was thought best to put up for the night, and we lay on the floor. We came about sixteen miles this day.

July 11. We started about 5 A. M. and ran up to the Cutoff or chute as it is called. This is a part of the river that cuts off a great bend and forms an island. To go around the bend would be seven miles and to go across is about two, so that the island was nine miles in circumference. We entered the chute and found a swift current, and

very full of logs and trees, so that it was difficult getting along. However, we with great exertion rode through in one hour and forty minutes; went up one-half mile and crossed onto the Illinois side, took breakfast on the bank, and then went on. The wind being fair, but light, it helped us some; the current being strong, rising, and smooth. We ran up to Wilkenson's Ferry and took dinner of mush and milk. This is ten or twelve miles from where we started. Near this place we saw the first rocks or stones since we came on the Wabash, as big as birds' eggs. After dinner we went two or three miles and came to a rapid called the Grand Chain. This swift water, with some rocks in the bottom, we ran up without difficulty, then passed several bends in the river, which brought the wind ahead, though it was light, and the clouds gathered on every side as though it would rain very hard, and there was much hard thunder and lightning. We ran until a little after sunset and put up at a cabin. The people very properly call them all cabins, here, they being small huts, though this one was poorer than common. We supped on mush and milk and turned down on the floors, where we rested indifferently. The man told us we had come twenty miles this day.

July 12th. We started about sunrise and ran up the river against a strong current most of the way three miles to the Grand Cutoff, which is about two and one-half miles across and twelve or fifteen around the island. It was thought we could not get up with our boat through the chute; we landed at the point and went to reconnoitre. We went up to the rapids, about a quarter of a mile, while breakfast was preparing, and found strong rapids with rocky bottom. As bad

as it appeared, we concluded to try, so we returned, took breakfast, and proceeded up to the rapids, which were very swift and very rocky. The water falls, by appearance, about six feet in eight or nine rods, and the rocks are large. We ran our boat up to the foot of the rapids, took out our chest, boxes and some other articles to lighten the boat, and carried them up to the head of the rapids. It is at this place that the Harmonists are building a famous grist mill. They have a fine quarry of stone that is easy hewn and would make grindstones. Their work appeared to be well done and their walls very thick and strong. Some of the inwalls were five or six feet square and the wall laid smooth. There were twenty or thirty hands at work at it, carpenters, stone cutters, and laborers. They were very friendly to us. We ran across to the right-hand side of the stream near where the mill was building. Thomas Dick, Isaac J. Dick and R. Fowler took hold of the bowfast; P. Dick and I were in the boat, Paul on the bow with a pole, and I steered. The current ran very swiftly and it was hard work to hold her by the fast, but some of the Harmonists took hold and assisted. We ran up by the worst rock, the fast broke, and we swung round in spite of what Paul and I could do, and went down sidewise over the rocks. Some of them were so near out of water that we thought the boat would overset, but we went down without much injury and then worked the boat over on the right shore, where all hands got on board, and we ran up to the chute. The Harmonists were on the beach with another rope to help us. We noted that our fast was bent at the small sternfast, and the other warped. Then, after much exertion, we went up the chute. They would take

nothing for their assistance. We took in our goods and proceeded up the cutoff through a gentle current until we came to the main river, though it was full of logs, trees, etc. Then we went up three-quarters of a mile to the landing, opposite the town of Harmony, where we arrived all fatigued about 1 P. M. We landed and took dinner, went up to town and obtained some fresh supplies of provisions. It being near night, we concluded to put up for the night and to lay over the Sabbath, as we had not been at any place since we left home where we could improve to our satisfaction. Therefore we concluded to stay with the Harmonists, having procured lodging at their public house. Came about five miles.

July 13th. In the morning we prepared for meeting and went to their forenoon meeting. They had a very good meeting house and there were three or four hundred of the Harmonists assembled. They were the whole, with the exception of ourselves and two or three others. The minister, by the name of Rapp, delivered a discourse in the German tongue which we could not understand; they sang in the same language, and appeared very solemn and severe in their devotions. After meeting (half past 10 A. M.) we went to look at their fields, vineyards, etc.

July 14th. At about 3 A. M. the bell rang for duty and we prepared to start; got under way at half past 4 A. M., went up the river five or six miles, and took breakfast on the bank near a house or two. After breakfast we proceeded and in the course of the day took in some good water and passed up to an island. We wanted to run to the left of it, and got part of the way, where the bar across was so shoal

that we thought best to run back and go around the island. In passing around we saw four or five wild turkeys on the island. They flew across to the right and were on the bank. Our company landed with guns, but got no chance of a shot at them. We proceeded on up the river until near 9 o'clock in the evening and took lodgings on the floor at a house on the bank. The current ran very swiftly. It was a hard day's work, though it is said we came but twenty miles, and we had the wind in our favor about three hours, and then a headwind. The banks of the river were not high and were subject to be overflowed in high water, except where we put up. We saw fine pieces of cane on the shore, some of which we took on board before night.

July 15th. We started in the morning and ran up five or six miles, took breakfast on the beach, then proceeded on up the river ten or twelve miles and took dinner on the bank, then went up the river until dark. Not finding a house, we went on shore, made fast, and lodged in the boat. I was very much troubled with the cramp in consequence of swimming in the course of the day. We came eighteen or twenty miles and stayed within about two miles of Colkey Island, where there is some swift water.

July 16th. In the morning we ran up above the French settlement at Colkey Island and took breakfast on the shore. We had a fine mess of mussels for breakfast and then passed on up the river until we came to the mouth of the White River about 4 P. M. This river is between 100 and 200 yards wide at its mouth and the water appeared deep, but understanding it was hard going up, we continued to go on up the Wabash to Fort Wayne, if possible, or we might

lose our boat. So we continued up the Wabash and soon came to the Grand Rapids, where the water ran very swiftly and the bottom was a slippery rock. We had to get out and wade to find the channel, and shove the boat up. We passed up after dark and put up for the night.

July 17th. Started up another rapid, where we got out, pushed the boat up, passed a little creek, and came to a small village called Palmyra, on the Illinois side, where we obtained some good water and two fish; went on a little farther and cooked dinner. I was quite unwell in consequence of taking cold by being in the water. Paul Dick was also unwell, and Thomas Isaac likewise. We went up to a place called Dukertown, about three miles from Palmyra, and put for the night. There was one poor house where we put up; there were one or two more houses not far off. We all took some lus pills.

July 18th. In the morning I was quite sick and the landlord was unwell. He invited me to go to see a small prairie not far off. I went with him. It was settled and cultivated; the land was very handsome and fertile. When we returned I gave him a good dose of thoroughwort tea, which operated well. We concluded to stay all day, and in the afternoon I was better. We stayed all night at the same house. The people were very kind. The landlord was much better.

July 19th. In the morning I felt quite feeble, though better. We took breakfast and started up the river. The landlord offered to pilot us up the Little Chain, which was near. The women and I went on shore until the boat came up, and then we passed up the river twelve or fourteen miles, went on shore, got some milk, made mush, and took dinner

about 5 P. M. There was a hard shower, it looked like rain, and we concluded to put up for the night, but could get no lodging unless we stayed in an uninhabited house which was all-to-pieces, so we proceeded on up the river two or three miles, passed one strong rapid, and as the sky had the appearance of a heavy rain we went on a sand beach about sunset, covered our boat with our sails and prepared for night, there being no house within four or five miles on our way.

July 20th. All hands pretty comfortable. We went up two or three miles and ran onto the limb of a tree which was sharp and lay concealed under the water, so that I could not see it, and it made a break in the garboard, struck under the boat's starboard bow. We soon found she took in water, and ran on shore, found the leak, put in some calking, then went on two or three miles farther, took breakfast on the beach, then proceeded on in sight of Vincennes, hauled our boat on shore, mended the breach, cleaned our boat, loaded up, went up to the town, about one and one-half miles, where we arrived about 2 o'clock P. M. This is about 170 or 180 miles from the mouth of the Wabash. The river here is about 270 yards wide and not more than four feet deep. We saw horses ford the river one-half to three-quarters of a mile below the town, though the river is very low at the town. At our landing we excited the curiosity of the inhabitants, and there were many of them of all ranks who came down to the shore to know where we were from, and to admire our boat, which was different from any ever seen at this place. I soon became acquainted with some of the inhabitants, in particular Thomas Jones,

who had been an Indian trader for twenty-eight or thirty years and had acquired a large fortune by the trade. He informed me that former Governor Posey and the present Governor Jennings were now in town. Governor Posey is the present agent for Indian affairs, therefore I thought it advisable to have an interview with them in the morning, so we entertained the curiosity of the inhabitants with the relation of our voyage, which appeared very interesting to them.

The following is a copy of the letter of introduction presented by Thomas Dean to Governor Jennings:

To the Honourable Governor of the Indiana Territory and to the Agents of the several Tribes of Indians in said Territory.

Gentlemen:

Having been informed that a certain tribe of Indians residing near White River in your Territory have proposed to grant to the New Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, who now reside in the Counties of Oneida and Madison in New York State, a certain tract of land upon certain conditions,

We therefore, as Superintendents of the said New Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, beg leave to represent that they are now about to set out on a journey to that country to accomplish that business, and that they have agreed with Mr. Thomas Dean, an inhabitant of the County of Oneida, to accompany them and to be their agent to negotiate with said Indians, or their agents in your Territory, and as we are personally acquainted with Mr. Dean, we do not hesi-

tate in recommending him as a suitable person for that purpose, and as a gentleman in whom you may place the greatest confidence.

Any assistance which you can afford him in transacting his business will be considered a singular favour and gratefully acknowledged by your humble servants.

ASABEL CURTISS DOOLITTLE,
JOSEPH STEBBINS,

Superintendents of Indian Affairs.

Paris, N. Y., 12 May, 1817.

July 21st. I took breakfast with Wheeler Mallett. He and his brother Baldwin were unwell. I then went to see the agent for Indian affairs. I gave him my credentials and explained to him our expectations and wishes. He appeared to be very friendly, and said he would aid us; that I had better consult Governor Jennings on the subject, though he had no control of Indian affairs, or of the public lands. We went to see the Governor, but he was three miles out of town, and it rained very hard. We gave over seeing him until the next morning, as we were told by the receiver of public money, with whom he resided, that he would be in town in the morning. I became acquainted with Doctor Lawrence S. ^{Shepley}Sheplee, who had been on board our boat yesterday. He took a brief account of our voyage with intention of publication. We conversed on the subject of civilization and internal navigation; he proposed making some remarks on both those subjects in his publication. He is a very sociable gentleman and introduced me to Samuel Dilworth, printer, at Vincennes, of the Indiana Sentinel. I

left with Samuel Dilworth the copy of Joseph Hull's Spelling Book for examination. We had a rainy day until night; put up at the same place, John Longe's Inn. I saw several people from the State of New York, who were glad to meet us, and we them. Met Mr. Brown, son of Oliver Brown of York State.

July 22d. We went to see the Governor at the receiver's office. He was there, but it being an improper place for a conference, it was proposed to meet at the inn at 11 o'clock A. M. We then proceeded to Governor Posey's, according to appointment, which was at 10 o'clock. We met him and found him an agreeable old gentleman, as I before thought him to be. We had some conversation on our object, but the interpreter, Barron, did not bring the chiefs and people of the Weas, as was expected, so we returned and met the Governor of the State according to appointment. He is a talking man, and I think no great friend of Indians. We explained our business to him. He in a very pleasant way raised many obstacles. The first was that no person had a right by law to contract with Indians for lands. I answered him that I knew of no law to prohibit one nation of Indians from treating with another for the possession of their lands, which was agreed to by his excellency. Second objection was that the United States wanted to purchase a large tract of land north and east of the purchase of 1809, so as to extend it quite across the State of Indiana to the State of Ohio, that the strength of the State of Indiana might be concentrated and the public safety rendered more secure by extending the whole population throughout the interior of the State. It was answered by me that the small piece of

land, say 20,000 acres, could bear but a small balance in discomposing the forces of the State, but would perhaps supply it with as good inhabitants as though it were purchased by the United States and sold by the government, or as good inhabitants as were now in possession of the land heretofore purchased, and now settled with those who call themselves white people; which was admitted by the Governor. The third objection was that the United States Government had granted two miles square to the State of Indiana on some of the unpurchased land for a site for the seat of government, and we might choose that place and then Congress would not acknowledge the conveyance. I replied that if we chose a place suitable for the seat of government we would give the State the two miles square out of the land we agreed for. He said that would deprive the United States of the profits of the sale of the quantity of lands we possessed around the seat of government, but if we would take land at the head of the Wabash, he said, he thought there would be no objection. We replied that we were not partial to the White River or any other place provided the lands were good and well watered. After some further conversation our conference broke up.

We parted and went to our quarters, and understood that Governor Posey had sent the interpreter, Barron, to our lodgings, wishing us to go to his quarters. We went and met the agent and the two Wea chiefs, with five or six of their men, and presently the interpreter came in, and we communicated to them through the interpreter our wishes, that we had come to make them a visit, and run the chain of friendship between us, and that if it were pleasing to them

and their people we wished to come to reside in this country, and we would wish to meet them and the rest of their brothers with our brothers, the Delawares, Miamis, Eel River and Mississinewas, at White River or some place that they would appoint to have a council, and we would go and visit the Delawares and other tribes and meet them. The agent replied that he and the interpreter would be at Fort Harrison in two or three weeks with the goods for the Indians' annuity, and that would be the most proper place; to which the Indians agreed, and it was therefore agreed we should meet them at Fort Harrison in twenty-five days from that time, and that we would go and visit the Delawares and give them notice of the council. Then the chiefs replied that they were glad to see their brothers, the Wapenocas, and said they always liked to shake hands with them, and that they would be glad to meet their grandfathers, the Delawares, in council with us, and that we must go and fetch them to the council. They would think that it was not good, or that their grandfathers were not pleased with it (*as we had told them we had sent four men to visit them

*The remark in parentheses refers to a treaty made with the Delaware and Miami tribes in 1809. A petition of the Brothertown Indians drawn up by Thomas Dean, and presented to President Andrew Jackson in the year 1829, contains the following statement:

"In the year 1809 your petitioners (the Brothertown Indians) sent a delegation to the Delawares and Miamis, in the then Territory of Indiana, who made an agreement for a tract of land on White River, in the State of Indiana, in the most solemn manner, agreeable to the ancient custom of the Indians, but before your memorialists could remove onto their newly acquired lands the Government of the United States purchased the whole country of the Miamis and Delaware Indians, by which your petitioners lost their lands and all that they had expended in acquiring them."

six or seven years before, and of the report that they brought back). We replied that we could not promise that the Delawares would attend, but we thought they would. They said they could do nothing without them, if they did not come. So we shook hands and wished each other well until we met at Fort Harrison, and so parted. We returned and made some preparations for starting up the river, and I wrote home while at Wheeler Mallett's, he not being much better or his brother either.

While going to the postoffice to put the letter in, Governor Posey saw Thomas Isaac and me going by. We had some conversation on Governor Jennings' sentiments as to our business, and he wished that his communication might be kept confidential, what had passed between us heretofore, as it relates to our business with the Governor. We parted; he went to our boat, we to the postoffice. We then returned to take our departure from Vincennes. When we arrived at the boat the Indian agent was there, and the goods for the Indians had arrived which were going on to Fort Harrison, but he said he would not give notice of a distribution until about the time of our treaty.

PART VII

VOYAGE FROM VINCENNES TO FORT HARRISON

We parted and left Vincennes about 5 p. m., ran up the river and stopped at Fort Knox; got water, but it was not very good. This is about three miles, and we went on until dark; encamped in our boat on the Indiana shore near a small brook, there not being a house near shore.

July 23d. Started in the morning and ran up until we came to a house on Elise's Prairie, which is on the Illinois side and is twelve miles long and seven or eight wide. We obtained some milk, made mush, took breakfast on the bank, the house not being near the river, then we passed on around a point and came to the prairie again. We went on shore and viewed it. It is a very handsome piece of land and settled in some places. We went around another bend and came to it again at ——— Ferry, where we went on shore to get some good water, potatoes, etc. They had some noodles. We took some bread and butter; went on until night, when we were about to camp on the beach, but by blowing the horn we found a house by the barking dogs (which abound in this country) about one-half mile from shore. Here we secured the liberty of lying on the floor, and some milk; supped on bread and milk. We lodged on the floor with satisfaction. R. Fowler and P. Dick were comfortably lodged in the boat. We stayed about three miles below the Shaker settlement, and it was said thirty miles from Vincennes. I paid four shillings.

July 24th. We went up the river about three miles until we came to McCarter's Ferry. Went on shore to the settlement of Shakers, which is called the Buseso Prairie, which is about four miles wide, seven or eight miles long, and I did not understand the width, but it appeared to be extensive. The Shakers have about 1,500 acres of land here and several other lots in other places, some in the State of Illinois, where they expect to build mills on the Umber Creek, which flows in below Vincennes. We wanted to get some flour and other provisions which we could not get at so good advantage at any other places. The flour could not be ground until near night, and they bid us welcome to stay with them, so we concluded to put up for the day and night. It was now about 3 P. M. There were some of the principal men who came to the boat and went out in the river with us to see how our boat would run; then some of us went up with them, leaving R. Fowler and P. Dick to keep ship. We viewed their plantations more fully, their gardens and orchards, which appeared to be well cultivated, all in proper order. They were getting in their wheat, which was good. I saw some which they assured me did weigh seventy-three and one-half pounds to the bushel, and I spoke for some to bring with me, but did not think of it again when I came on board. We were conducted to a house where we were to lodge, and entertained with a great deal of apparent disinterested friendship.

We attended their evening service, where they sang a hymn, then sang and danced two or three times, broke up, and we repaired to our quarters. We were called to another house across the street to sup, where everything appeared to

be kept in good order by the women. We supped and retired to good lodgings in the apartment allotted to us, they having ground our flour and sent it on board the boat at evening.

They spoke of many losses and hardships they have had in consequence of the war, and that they thought Tecumseh and the Prophet had been very much misrepresented, they and their people appeared to be peaceable people, and that they were in his opinion Christian Indians, opposed to war, and he thought it was an unguarded expression of General Harrison to one of the Pottawottomi chiefs by the name of Winemank that caused the battle at Tippecanoe. The Prophet Cala-la-wissa and his adherents did not join in the battle, but the Prophet withdrew across the river; that there were not more than 250 men engaged in the battle out of 800 which had assembled at the Prophet's town for the purpose of information, or of religious devotion; that they were well acquainted with the Prophet and believed him to be a peaceable and a good man.

July 25th. In the morning the trumpet was blown for exercise about 4 A. M. and each family (four in all) repaired to their different places for labor, which was short, and then they went to their business. They conversed freely on the subjects that we introduced. After finding that we wanted to purchase some sole leather they ascertained the quantity we wanted, gave us a piece, for which they would take no pay, which was as much as we wanted, viz.: four or five pounds, besides some garden sauce, in the whole to the amount of \$5 worth. We took our leave of them at the mill and proceeded to the river. Two or three of them followed us and spent some time with us at the river. I gave

them some pamphlets to distribute at discussions. We parted with them with gratitude and respect, went on up the river, stopped at a Frenchman's house, fifteen or sixteen miles, where we put up, some on the floor and some in the boat. We got some milk and took supper.

July 26th. Started and took breakfast five or six miles upstream. Obtained some milk on a high bluff of rocks or sandstone and had a view of Lamotts Prairie, where we went on shore two or three times to see the country. It appeared to be delightful. We continued seventeen or eighteen miles and then we took dinner. Some went to the house, and some were in the boat. We had some buttermilk to drink and waited till the rain was over, when we went on five or six miles, went on shore, put up for the night and lodged in the boat five or six miles below the Union Prairie. We came about twenty miles.

July 27th. We started and went up to Union Prairie. They have just laid out a town on the bank of the river and so far back into the prairie that the banks are high and pleasantly situated. The village is to be called York. There are several New York people in the neighborhood, one by the name of Richardson, who is a proprietor of the village. We came up the river twelve or fifteen miles and encamped on the river bank near a house, where we got milk, but we lodged on board.

July 28th. Obtained more milk, took breakfast, and went on up the river. We saw some very large fish, but could not spear them. I threw the spear at one small pickerel and killed it. It would weigh two or three pounds. Saw many wild geese and some turkeys. Went seven or eight miles,

stopped at a ferry, and secured some milk and potatoes. Started about noon, went up ten or twelve miles, and put up on the beach four or five miles above Prairie Creek Prairie, where we went on shore. It is a very handsome place. We saw very large flocks of geese. Paul Dick shot at some and R. Fowler shot one flying, but got none.

July 29th. We went up the river four or five miles, went on shore, and ate breakfast. I went back about a mile into the woods and found a house on the Honey Creek Prairie, and procured some cucumbers. After breakfast we passed on eight or nine miles and came to a place called Terre Haute, where there is a village laid out. We stopped a few moments and went on. There was a hard shower and a hurricane. We went on the bank and waited till it was over and then went up to Fort Harrison, where we arrived about 7 P. M. This is about twenty miles that we came today and about 140 miles from Vincennes. We put up at John A. Lafond's, who had no family, but kept house and a little store.

PART VIII

JOURNEY FROM FORT HARRISON TO THE WHITE RIVER
COUNTRY AND RETURN

July 31st. We prepared by washing our clothes, baking bread for our journey, and storing our goods. The women finished washing the clothes that were not washed yesterday, and we began to unload our goods and stored them at John A. Lafond's, where we put up. Major Chunn offered to put our boat under the care of the guard at the fort, that it should not be injured or taken away.

We had our goods all stored, made a chain, fastened our boat near the fort to a stump, put the oars, poles, etc., into the blockhouse, and prepared to start, but we could not get ready until it was too late in the afternoon. The Indian who was going to wade Eel River and pilot us agreed to wait until morning, so we made preparations to start early in the morning. In the evening John A. Lafond and another man informed me that we had best not start too early, as an Indian had told them that twenty or thirty of the Pottawottomis had come from Chicago, were hostile, and if they came across us they might injure us. We thought it was a false report and concluded to start as soon as we could.

August 1st. We put up what clothes we wanted to take with us and some bread. They told us we could go through in three days if we had horses, it being one hundred miles, so we concluded to take three days' provisions and get horses if we could, but it happened that there was not more

than one pound of meat put up. We took three guns and an ax, started about 10 A. M., and our guide went on with us. The weather was very warm, and we had to go through the prairie, about seventy-two miles, which was very hot and uncomfortable. We could get no water to drink until we went about thirteen miles, where there was good water and a family lived. Here they gave us some milk to drink. After we had refreshed ourselves we left two guns and proceeded on. We traveled very fast until we came to Raccoon Creek, a large stream that runs into the Wabash twelve or fifteen miles above the fort. It was deep. Our guide went across and got a bark in the form of a canoe, took packs across, and Jacob Dick rode his horse across; the others waded. It was near up to their arms. I got some wet, as well as the rest, and it was very warm. We went on in our little path through the woods up the creek three or four miles, made a fire, and lay on the ground. Being very sweaty, and having no shelter, I took cold. We ate a piece of meat and laid down.

August 2d. We took a piece of bread and a small piece of meat for breakfast. It thundered, and as we went on in the little path it soon began to rain. I was very sore and stiff, so that I could hardly travel. It rained very hard, which made it worse going, and being wet with sweat all night, and now wet with rain, I was very uncomfortable. We went on some miles and stopped under the trees to rest, then went on again until fatigued, then stopped and made a shelter of bark and built a fire. Our guide would not wait for us, so we let him go on. It was so bad going through weeds and brush that we stayed about one hour

until it stopped raining, went on through mud and water some miles, and then came another shower. We reached a shelter of bark, made a fire, and stayed until the rain was over. As we went on we met an Indian man, woman, and boy, with two horses, going to the fort with skins, etc. We traveled until near night, made a shelter and fire, and camped for the night. We had a good fire, took a small piece of meat and a piece of bread, and obtained what rest we could to meet the fatigues of another day.

August 3d. In the morning we refreshed ourselves with some bread and water and started on our journey, it being the first day of the week. We followed our little path, crossed Raccoon Creek and its branches two or three times, and expected soon to come to the Wea village. About 12 o'clock we came to three or four bark cabins of the Weas, where our guide lived with his relations. None of them could speak English. They brought us about a quart of boiled corn, which we soon made way with. We tried to get a horse, but they made signs that we must stay there that night, for we could not get through to the village. I did not feel like traveling much farther on foot that day, and towards night one of the family who could speak some English arrived. He said we could have a horse to go through to the village next day for \$2, and some one would go with us. They gave us some blackberries to eat and at night they sweetened some for us, and showed us some barks we could lay on in a cabin by ourselves. We lay on a kind of stage, with barks on, with our own blankets to cover. As near as we could tell we were about sixty miles from the fort.

August 4th. This morning it thundered and there was a hard shower of rain and some hail. It soon cleared off, and they gave us about three pints of boiled corn, which we ate. We had but two spoons to use among five of us at this place. The women boiled some dried venison for us. We could only get one horse. My companions went forward and left me to follow. When we started, which was about 8 o'clock, the old man went on foot to ride my horse back, and his son, the one that came from the fort with us, rode with me and took part of our baggage. We traveled hard through the woods, brush, weeds, etc., in a small path, it being very muddy and in some places swampy for many miles. We overtook the old man, and then my company. They went very fast, sometimes on the run. We startled many turkeys in our way, one of which Fowler killed with his staff, having left the other gun and the ax where we stayed, but we took a hatchet. Jacob Dick took a turn on horseback. I went on foot awhile to rest him. We continued traveling rapidly until we came to the village, about 5 P. M. The village is on a prairie containing thirty or forty houses in different places. I had a letter of introduction from Lit Lafo to the French trader at the village. He invited us to his cabin to lodge. The man who rode with me shot a young deer as we rode along. We had some of it cooked for our supper. There were many Indians who came to see us where we put up, and we engaged two horses to go to White River, one for me and one for Jacob. We came about thirty-five or forty miles this day.

August 5th. We took breakfast early this morning. Thomas, Paul, and R. Fowler started on foot and left Jacob

and me to come with the horses and bring the packs. We had to give \$1.50 for each horse. We started about 9 A. M., in company with four or five Indians, men and women, and passed the woods as fast as we could. The path was bad, over a swamp or muddy ground. We traveled all day as hard as we could, but did not overtake the rest of our company. We startled many turkeys. We camped on the ground at night, made a fire near the other and lay by it, and there came up a man and woman, who camped a little way off. They brought us about a pint of sweetened hoecake, which was very good, having nothing to eat since morning. We ate that, drank water, and laid down for sleep. At dark a young Indian came up to our camp, who was going to take my horse back. He had killed a young raccoon as big as a cat. They burned the hair off of it, then boiled it without salt and gave us some, which we were glad to eat. We then tried to get some sleep under the trees, so that we had not much dew on us, but many fleas.

August 6th. They brought us a little piece of the raccoon and some other food which we thought was made of roots, which answered as bread, but I was not fond of it. We went on rapidly until we got through. Traveling along, the Indian who killed the raccoon walked before me and shot a turkey that would weigh fifteen or twenty pounds. We left the settlement about 10 A. M., gave up our horses, and understood that my other three companions had crossed White River. We therefore took the packs, rode through the river and went to the house of William Conner, a French trader, whom I found had gone to Philadelphia. His partner, William Marshall, had gone to Muncie, a town twenty-

five miles up the river. The women could not speak English, but we found they had gone down the river. We went down across the prairie about a mile, crossed the river, and went about four miles to a settlement of the Delaware Indians, carried our packs, and met them at the lower village. They gave us some bread and milk to eat. We invited them to go to Fort Harrison to the council, but they did not agree to go. We returned, crossed the river, and went to Conner's to get a horse to the upper town, but got none. Joe, Paul, and Rudolphus started on foot about half past 5 P. M.; the rest concluded to stay, and soon after William Marshall came home. He said we could not get any of the Delawares to go to Fort Harrison, they were all going to Fort Mayer, to a treaty there the 15th of September, so we concluded to go up in the morning. Marshall would furnish me with a horse to ride.

It is about forty or forty-five miles from the Weas to the White River, making about 140 miles from Fort Harrison to White River, and five down and five up makes ten miles.

August 7th. We took breakfast, hired a horse, and proceeded on up to the other town. We reached the settlement about 10 o'clock P. M., obtained some bread and buttermilk, then went on toward the principal Indian village and met Paul Dick with horse going for us. He said the council must be held at the village where Anderson lived. We went up and met several at his house, and appointed a council on the morrow. We were furnished with supper, which consisted of bread and herb tea made sweet, with which we refreshed ourselves. There was a very heavy shower of

rain, with hail and thunder, and a violent tempest, so that it was near blowing some of the cabins down. We put up at the house of the principal chief. It was as good as any in the village, and he a plain, majestic looking man, sixty or sixty-five years old. Paul and F. Fowler were directed to another house to lodge, and the rest of us lodged at the chief's. I had the most comfortable place. It was some boards or staves put on benches, and bullrushes laid on them, and a small pillow, though it was wet in the shower.

August 8th. We got together in the morning and were served with some boiled corn and venison for breakfast. After breakfast the people began to come in, and we were soon served with another dish of squashes, made sweet with sugar, and some bread, which we partook of. After the chiefs and councilmen and principal men of the nation came in they informed us that they were ready to hear what we had to say. I spoke to them as I have written in the appendix, and the reply of Anderson (Keklawhenund), the principal chief, as it is there noted.

There were twenty or thirty Indians who attended the council, which lasted about four hours. We went to look for the horse that I rode, but did not see it. We mentioned that we wanted some provisions to take on our journey, and we were informed that they would be brought in the morning, so we put up for the night, myself, T. Isaac, and T. Dick at the chief's, P. Dick and R. Fowler at another house.

August 9th. Our provisions soon came in. They were hoecake and Indian bread. We received two or three pairs of moccasins. Thomas Isaac found the horse, and after breakfast we took our leave, went down to the Nanticoke

village (Nancytown), obtained some buttermilk, Indian wampum, and butter from a woman by the name of Nancy, and then started for William Conner's. In the afternoon it rained very hard and we were very wet. We came down to Conner's about 5 o'clock and prepared to start in the morning for Fort Harrison, to be at the treaty there. We endeavored to get a horse or two, but could not, so we prepared to start on foot early in the morning.

August 10th. Took our breakfast early in the morning and obtained some dried beef to take with us. Settled with William Marshall for the use of his horse and what we had. Paid him \$3. We shouldered our packs, waded White River, traveled hard all day, and at dark were within about three miles of Corzeton or the Wea village. I was very much fatigued, as were some of the rest. We traveled about forty-two miles this day in very bad walking. We lay down in our blankets amongst the weeds without fire.

August 11th. Were up by the time we could see, and arrived at Longley's by sunrise or nearly, took breakfast, started on for the settlement on Raccoon Creek, where we arrived about 5 P.M., had supper of venison and lay down early to rest.

August 12th. In the morning we paid \$1 for what we had received, started early, traveled as far as we could, and in the afternoon it rained some. We stopped under a shelter for about two hours, then went on. The weeds and bushes were very wet, so that we were very wet ourselves. We put up at dark near the ford on Raccoon Creek.

There is a break here in the journal of eight days. This part of the journal would have contained an account of the conference with the Indiana Indians regarding the sale of land to the Brothertown Indians. The Delaware Indians having refused to join the council, it was quite evident in advance that nothing definite could be attained.

In 1822 Thomas Dean made a treaty with the Wisconsin Indians by which the necessary amount of lands were secured near Green Bay, Wis., to which the Brothertown Indians of New York were transferred. They now live on their land on the east shore of Lake Winnebago.

J. C. D.

PART IX

VOYAGE FROM FORT HARRISON TO THE MOUTH OF THE
MISSISSINEWA RIVER AND RETURN

August 20th, 1817. We sold some of our axes, settled our bills, prepared to start, and settled with Jacob Dick. Paid him \$25.06 toward helping him to defray the expense of the treaty, and I made Sarah (his wife) some other presents. We started at about 4 P. M. and Truman Ford went with us to Brouitlets Creek. At dark we all lay in the boat until morning. It is eight or nine miles from the fort.

August 21st. Ford gave me some ore to have tested. We started early in the morning, went up the river as fast as we could. There were four or five canoes, containing about twenty-two Indians, in sight. They were still in sight in the afternoon. At night we put up on a bank and the canoes all passed us. We supposed that we came about twenty-five miles this day. We lodged in the boat.

August 22d. We started early in the morning, went up the river, and about 12 o'clock came to a coal bank. Went to examine it; found the different courses to be about sixteen or eighteen feet deep and of a long extent. We took some of the coal to carry home, but we had it from the surface and with it some kind of ore, etc. In going on we passed the Indians that had passed us the night before. Went up the river until night, we supposed about twenty-

three miles. It thundered and looked as if it would rain. We covered our boat and prepared for night to lodge on board, and it soon began to rain. The mosquitoes were so very troublesome that we could not even rest, much less sleep, and it rained all night very hard, with much thunder and lightning. The Indians in the canoes were on a beach, drinking. We passed them about noon and some came on after us, but we saw them no more.

August 23d. As we could not sleep, and being wet, we started as soon as it was light, went on up the river, past some very handsome prairies and bluffs, one of which we went onto in the morning. It was high land and thin timbered. We passed several small streams and creeks and we went, we supposed, twenty-three or twenty-four miles. Went on shore for the night, lodged on board. It was clear and very cool.

August 24th. Went up the river and on our way came to a settlement of Indians near a prairie which we supposed was Tippecanoe. We obtained some soft corn from them to boil and gave them salt, then went on. In the afternoon we came to a high, rocky bluff and went up onto it. It was sand rock. We could see a great way and over large prairie ground. We went on until we came to the prairie. Went up on the bank, but the weeds were so high that it was difficult to see the grassy path of the prairie, and we went on until we stopped for the night. Then we passed through the weeds, which were seven or eight feet high and very thick, until we came to the grass, which was fifty or sixty rods. We went out a half mile on the rise of ground, but could not see to the farther side of the prairie. It is on the

60 FORT HARRISON *to* MISSISSINEWA RIVER

east side of the river. Lodged in the boat. The weather was cool. We supposed that we came twenty-three or twenty-four miles.

August 25th. We went on up the river and passed some prairie, and in the afternoon came to one on the west side; saw a large piece of high land near the prairie that had been cleared off, and it appeared as if it had been settled, which I suppose was Tippecanoe. We continued until after dark and put up on a beach at the mouth of a large creek, which is the Tippecanoe branch or West Branch. I suppose we came twenty miles.

August 26th. We started early in the morning, and, passing on, saw some wild turkeys on the trees. We shot two; they were young and made us a fine breakfast. We now came to rocky shores and soon came to a prairie on the west side where some Indians lived, by swift and shoal water. We supposed that it was Mississinewa. We spoke with some, but could not understand them much, but they signified that it was farther up the river. It looked like a fine prairie. We went on, but soon found that our trouble was beginning, for the water grew shallow very fast and the current stronger. We passed up some very swift water, but it was deep enough for our boat. We passed two islands opposite one another and went between them. It being near night, went on a little farther and put up on a small willow island. Lodged on board, as it is the most comfortable place in this wild place. We came today sixteen or eighteen miles.

August 27th. We started early in the morning and about 8 o'clock came to an Indian village. They hailed us to come on shore and wanted whiskey. We informed them

we had none for them. They wanted tobacco, which we gave them. We let them have some powder and salt. We received corn to boil, and some deer skins. We did not want to part with our salt, but they insisted on having it, and we let them have one pint of salt for one skin. They wanted to trade more than that, but we told them we could not, and started to go, but a woman brought three muskrat skins for a pint of salt. We then put out and were called on the other shore by some on the bank who wanted whiskey, tobacco, salt, etc. We gave them some and went on, and were called again, but we didn't stop, but continued up the river one or two miles and took breakfast. Two Indians followed us with two deer skins and wanted whiskey, tobacco or powder, but we told them we could not trade. We had nothing with which to pay for them and did not want them. They saw our fish spear, and wanted that, so I let them have one spear, some salt, and a little tobacco. We went on our way, and after going two or three miles through swift water, came to a rocky shoal where the river was very wide, the bottom a rock, so that the water was not more than six or eight inches deep, and in many places not more than three or four inches. We took out our baggage, carried it 200 or 300 yards on our shoulders, drew up our boat, and loaded in our goods. Were about four hours in going about half a mile. Continued on over rocky bottom and shallow water four or five miles until night. We came to strong rapids of falls. The water falls three or four feet in about fifteen rods. We examined the passage and arranged to put up for the night, deciding not to attempt to go up until morning. An Indian went up with his canoe

62 FORT HARRISON *to* MISSISSINEWA RIVER

on the west shore around the bend. He towed his canoe. There was not water enough for our boat. We came about ten miles this day and lay on the west side of the river.

August 28th. We unloaded our boat early in the morning, carried our baggage seventy or eighty rods up the west shore, then crossed over to the east shore, towed the boat up the rapids, crossed over, took in our things, proceeded up over a rocky bottom and much shoal water that we often had to be out to lift and shove her up fifty or 100 rods in a place. Our passage was thus very slow and tedious, but we found the channel without much difficulty, where there was any, but the river was wide. It spread over a wide, flat rock. About half past 3 P. M. we came to the forks of the rivers, which we supposed were the Mississinewa and Wabash. One came in from the north and the other from the northeast. The latter we thought was the Mississinewa, but it contained more water than the other, which was different from the information we had received. Paul Dick went up the north branch and R. Fowler the other. When R. Fowler returned he said he thought we could not go up that branch, if it was the Wabash. Paul returned and said that the northeast branch was impassable, that the water was very shallow, there were falls in it of two or three feet perpendicular. It began to grow dark, looked like rain; we concluded to fall down the river sixty or seventy rods to an old shelter that was made by the Indians for hunting, and left by them, where we put up for the night. R. Fowler, Paul Dick, and I lodged on shore under the shelter. We made a little fire. We came about five or six miles this day.

August 29th. This morning I awoke at about 2 o'clock

and put out the fire, laid down again, went to sleep. I had a remarkable dream which agitated me very much. It brought to me the situation of my family, and the state of my affairs in which I left them. The imprudence of leaving home on such a journey without first settling all of my affairs; that they would lose greatly in case of my never returning to them again. The contents of my dream agitated me so that I could not eat much breakfast. I may write it down when I have more leisure, but I must note our situation this morning. Paul and R. Fowler again went out up the northeast branch, along an old path, to find a settlement of Indians, or to see if we could go up the river. They returned and said that they thought our passage up at an end; if we went any farther we would lose the boat and all the baggage we could not carry. We held a council to decide whether we should risk the sacrifice or return to Fort Harrison and there dispose of what we could, and then go by land. Thomas Isaac was in favor of going up the river as far as we could, and try the experiment. The rest were for returning. Betsy Isaac was unwell with the ague and fever, quite feeble, and it was difficult to provide a passage for her. Thomas started to examine the northeast branch after breakfast and returned about 1 o'clock P. M. and said that he went up the east branch about eight miles and thought that we could not get up. We then concluded to return to Fort Harrison, sell our boat and what baggage we could not carry on our backs, go across the country through the woods. We took some bread and sassafras tea, the only food we had that we could eat. Our pork was spoiled so that we could not eat it, but I made a

64 FORT HARRISON *to* MISSISSINEWA RIVER

comfortable repast; then we started about 2 P. M. down the river. The water in the river was falling, although it appeared low, we had frequently to get out and lift the boat along over the shoal places, but we got along without much difficulty and passed the falls or rapids by leading the boat. This is what I called the Wapanoke Dread, and we ran down to within three-quarters of a mile of the Wapanoke, where there are shoal rocky rapids and there we made our boat fast on shore, and laid down to rest, it being a fine, pleasant evening.

August 30th. Early in the morning we went down the rapids without much difficulty by passing behind a small island, clearing away the rocks, lifting and shoving the boat along, and we came down to the settlement of the Indians before mentioned when going up. They are the Pottawottomis, and we got a large piece of venison, some corn, a few beans, and let them have some more salt. We traded a little salt for five muskrat skins, and then went on down. The water had fallen so that we had to wade and shove our boat at places that were clear when we went up. We went down two or three miles, then stopped to cook our corn and venison and take breakfast.

R. Fowler complained of being chilly and unwell. He took breakfast, then we proceeded down the river, not without some difficulty. The water was much lower than when we went up. We pushed on as fast as we could, and R. Fowler grew worse, so that by 1 o'clock he lay down. He had a most violent pain in his head and back, and I thought some symptoms of fever approaching, but we were in a poor situation to administer proper medicine. He

could take no food of any kind. We continued on until dark with the expectation of getting to the place where we stopped when we went up, but could not, so went on shore, made some tea of thoroughwort or boneset, and gave him a strong draught. Then I gave him some Lee pills and we prepared for rest on board.

August 31st. This morning up by day, and found R. Fowler more comfortable, though very poorly. He rested but poorly. I could often hear him groan in the night, and I was fearful that a fever would ensue. I proposed giving him an emetic, but he declined for fear of the cramp, which he said he was subject to at such times. He could take no food. We made him tea of summer savory, the only palatable herb we had on board. We baked some cakes and took breakfast on the river floating down. We continued to sail down until after noon, when R. Fowler became so sick that we went on shore at the Great Prairie, where we put up on the night of the 24th. We made him some thoroughwort tea. He drank a good dose of it, and it worked well. Then we went on until night, put up by the shore, and boiled some rice for Fowler. Betsy Isaac was also sick.

September 1st. This morning R. Fowler was some better. We started about sunrise and went down a few miles below where we stayed on the night of the 23d, went on shore, ate breakfast, and Fowler ate some of his rice. We continued down the river as fast as we could when Fowler began to grow worse, and in the afternoon he was in extreme pain in his head and back. I would have given him a dose of medicine, but he declined taking any; but now he was willing to take one of ipecac, but his stomach was so

66 FORT HARRISON *to* MISSISSINEWA RIVER

empty that I thought it improper unless we had something to nourish him after it had operated. We were destitute of provisions, being nearly out, except flour and some potatoes. His distress increased so toward night we had to stop before sundown; warmed some water and soaked his feet, made him some tea of the root of sassafras, and gave him a drink. We had one onion on board. I applied that to his feet as a draft. We stayed here until morning, it being some distance below where we stayed on the night of the 22d when going up.

September 2d. We started this morning as soon as it was light, in hopes of getting to the fort by night. Fowler was much better and seemed comfortable, though very weak. We passed the coal bank mentioned before. I went on shore and got some pieces of coal. We ate what little potatoes and cake we had cooked and went on down the river. Our meat being all gone, and forty or fifty miles to go, we tried to get a fish. I struck a fish with the boat pole that would weigh five or six pounds. This was near where we stayed on the night of the 21st. We passed the mouth of Sugar Creek. Went on shore and took dinner, three or four miles below the creek. About 12 o'clock R. Fowler began to grow worse and the pain returned with much violence. I put camphor on his head and we made him some more tea when we took dinner at about 2 P. M., then ran down below Raccoon Creek and put up for the night.

September 3d. In the morning we arrived at Fort Harrison about 10 A. M., unloaded our boat, and began to prepare for our journey across the woods, but could not sell our boat, as we wanted to.

PART X

JOURNEY FROM FORT HARRISON TO FORT WAYNE

September 4th, 1817. We arranged for starting, but could not sell our boat. We collected our things as fast as possible; tried to sell the boat and buy a horse, but could not do so. I sold the six axes, seven hoes and the skins for \$25.

September 5th. We sold the boat to Captain Brutt, but did not get ready to start. R. Fowler was still sick. We concluded to leave him with money to buy a horse when he got well.

September 6th. We waited until the next morning. I sold my chest and other things and left about \$100 with R. Fowler, besides what he already had.

September 7th. We started in the afternoon and proceeded out onto the prairie about six miles, when it was dark. We laid down for the night, and it was uncomfortable through the night.

September 8th. This morning it rained some. Our pack was so heavy that it made it very hard to get along, and my feet began to be sore. We arrived at Adams about 9 o'clock and got breakfast; tried to get a horse. It rained, so we concluded to stay until morning. I paid 75 cents for our breakfast.

September 9th. It was a very rainy night, and rained hard the fore part of the day, so that we could not start. In the afternoon we went to get the horses ready to start in the morning as soon as we could, if the river was not too high. We had the promise of two horses and I agreed with an Indian for one horse to go to Corzkton (Wea Village) for \$2. Paul and Thomas stayed all night. I paid Adams \$1 for being there two nights and days.

September 10th. The weather this morning looked more favorable, though some cloudy. Paul and Thomas returned and said the man was coming with his horse, but we must have some one to go with him so as to have company to return with him. Adams did not want to go, so we could not get any help. We started about 8 A. M. and went on about one mile and came to an Indian camp where there were six Indians. We could get no horse from them. They were going our way, and started immediately. We followed. Paul forgot his powder horn and had to go back after it. Thomas carried his pack and I his gun. The Indians left us.

We went on to Raccoon Creek. It was very high, so that we could not get across. I shot a turkey on the other side, but we could not get to it. We then went up the creek to find a passage. I shot a deer, but it fell on the opposite side. The river was so deep and wide that it went down. Paul stripped and tried to ford, but it was too deep and swift, so we lost the deer. We then went up the creek through the weeds and bushes and over some bad gulfs until we were fatigued, and then turned off to the east to get on the track of the Indians, who had taken an

unusual route to avoid the main creek. We overtook them near night, when they had camped, they having one in their company who was sick. We made a fire and camped near them. We came ten or twelve miles. We had in company with us a man by the name of Peleg Tabor, belonging to Onondaga, who wanted to go through with us.

September 11th. This morning the Indians agreed to let us have one horse for \$1, which I gave for the day. We put two packs on the horse and Thomas rode in the forenoon and I in the afternoon. They took the other two packs, and we traveled hard through brush, winding hills, etc., and crossed some large streams and arrived at the head of Raccoon Creek near night and encamped close to the village. I paid 25 cents for venison and \$1 to Peter Cornstalk for the use of his horse. On the way the Indian killed three turkeys.

September 12th. We secured two horses from the Indians to go to the Wea town, where they were going. I paid them \$2 for the two and we traveled rapidly. Paul and I took turns riding and Thomas rode the other horse. We had very bad traveling. The mud and water in many places was up to our knees, and some creeks were deep, the water being very high. We arrived at the Wea town near night and went to Longlewy to encamp. He informed us he was going to start in the morning for Detroit, and would supply us with two horses in the morning to go to Mississinewa, if he could.

September 13th. In the morning I went up to the Indian that I had hired the horses from yesterday, to get two to go to Mississinewa, and he went with me to our quarters,

but would not go without \$10. I agreed with Longlewy for two horses to go to Mississinewa for \$5. I paid him \$1 for our breakfast. We started about 12 o'clock. Thomas and I rode. Paul and Peleg went first, on foot, we taking the packs. We went over a very fine county of land and crossed Sugar Creek. It was very high. We went twelve miles and came to a prairie which extends to the White River. It was about four miles across, and we went some distance into the woods and encamped under a shelter of some bark. Longlewy and his wife, a good-looking Indian woman, and two little boys encamped near us with their tent. The air was very cold and it looked like rain. We came about eighteen miles.

September 14th. This morning it began to rain at about 2 o'clock A. M., but the bark sheltered us. We ate some bread and a little meat and started about 7 o'clock in the morning. The bushes and weeds being very wet, and as it was raining some, it was very muddy and bad traveling. The creeks were high, some of them so deep as to wet the packs on our horses. Our friend Longlewy killed a raccoon, but it lodged in the tree and he could not get it down. Towards night his dog treed a small one, which his boy shot. We went on until near sundown and camped in the woods. Being wet and cold, we made a large fire, got some bark and made a shelter, dried ourselves as well as we could, and prepared for sleep. I suppose we came this day about thirty-two miles.

September 15th. It continues cloudy and some rain, though we lodged dry in our shelter. We started about 7 o'clock and went on through good land, but a very

muddy road, and crossed several streams of water, but none very large except Wild Cat Creek, which we crossed about 1 o'clock P. M. We went on until about 5 o'clock and encamped within about six miles of Mississinewa. Our provisions were all gone. We ate our last piece of bread at the Wild Cat Creek. Our friend Longlewy killed another raccoon, of which they gave us some. We came about twenty-two miles this day and made a shelter with a piece of cloth of Longlewy's, and our bed of weeds.

September 16th. This morning was clear, and I was up by the break of day, dried my things, which were wet by the rain and crossing deep water. We had a little of the raccoon and some boiled corn to eat; started about half past 7 A. M., went down to the village, crossed the river, and went about one and one-fourth miles, where we stopped at a house of a mixture of half French and Indians. Here I paid Longlewy \$5 and he went on his way to Detroit. We could get nothing to eat here but soft corn to take with us for food. We obtained fifty or sixty ears of corn and gave 50 cents. I prevailed on the Indians to let each of us have a piece of bread, and we got some sassafras tea. I had agreed with an Indian for two horses to go with us to Fort Wayne for \$6, and we waited until in the afternoon for him to come, but he sent word that he would not go under \$8. I could get no other Indian or horse to go, so we shouldered our packs, as heavy as they were, and started about half past 1 o'clock, went up the river about twelve miles, and crossed it. It was two or three feet deep. We went about three or four miles, made a fire about sundown, and encamped on some leaves. Peleg

Tabor came up with us about dark, we having outwalked him. It was clear and pleasant, but lightened in the evening and thundered at a distance. We roasted some corn and ate it for supper.

September 17th. We were up early in the morning and roasted corn for our breakfast. It was cloudy and had the appearance of rain; it thundered hard. We started about 6 o'clock, went on two or three miles, and it began to rain very hard. We stopped a few minutes under the trees, but it rained so hard we soon got wet, and went on through the rain. It soon began to be very muddy and slippery. We crossed the Wabash twice. It was about waist deep, but we got very wet and had very hard work to travel. We went about thirty miles and came to the middle village, where there are ten or twelve Indian wigwams. We arrived there about 4 P. M. and secured some boiled corn, also thirty or forty ears, which I had boiled, to take with us tomorrow. I gave them 75 cents for the corn and received some noodles. They gave us some corn and boiled squash, also some dried venison, for which I paid 12 cents. Peleg came up before night and ate with us. He was unwell. We could not lodge in their wigwams, so we started about sundown, and, going into the woods about one-half mile, took fire with us and made fire, and gathered some brush to lie down on. We had dried ourselves as well as we could, and went to sleep. We had passed Longlewy in the forenoon where he had pitched his tent. He came to the village, passed us and encamped about two miles ahead of us.

September 18th. Up early, ate boiled corn, and started on. It was very muddy and bad traveling, or rather wading, in the mud. We traveled on as fast as we could, having very heavy loads. Besides my pack, I had to carry R. Fowler's rifle, which Peleg undertook to carry, though it was very burdensome. We passed Longlewy's camp, and then he passed us. We traveled rapidly through the mud and crossed several streams of water. Some of them were waist high or more, and several Indians passed us who were going to Fort Wayne. Their horses made the going still worse, as they made the mud deeper. We crossed two or three creeks that were very deep, and some swampy marshes, and arrived at Fort Wayne about 8 o'clock in the evening, being very wet and very much fatigued. We waded St. Mary's River before we came to the fort. Put up at Hunt and Olivers, got supper of bread, milk, etc., and changed our clothes. I gave Thomas Isaac \$1 to get some whiskey, and we went to bed, having traveled about thirty-five or forty miles.

PART XI

VOYAGE FROM FORT WAYNE TO DETROIT

September 19th, 1817. We went to Isaac Wobby's,* but he has gone to the treaty. We took breakfast with Jane. I paid \$1.12 for our supper and lodging. We tried to buy a canoe or boat to go down the river. I went to the garrison, but the major was so sick that I could not see him, nor could I get an answer until in the afternoon; then it was that we could not have a boat, but we obtained the liberty to cut a tree to make one. We concluded to begin the next morning; bought some soap for 75 cents per pound to wash our clothes, and bought a quart of whiskey for \$1.

September 20th. We prepared to make our canoe. I bought some beef for \$1.75. We went out into the woods and selected a tree about two and one-half miles from the fort, cut it down and began to work on it, by blocking it out, until night. I trod on the path of a bear and ran a bone in the bottom of my foot, which made me very lame.

September 21st. This day we thought best to be still and not work on the canoe, as we had not often an opportunity of resting on the first day (Sunday). Towards evening we prepared to resume work the next day on our canoe.

*A Brothertown Indian.

September 22d. This morning we employed two hands to help us on the canoe. We went out early, worked all day. There were some very heavy showers of rain, which made us very wet. We worked until night; got the inside dug out, so that it was fit to draw to the river. I paid the men \$2 for their work.

September 23d. We prepared to move our canoe to the river. We secured a yoke of oxen and hauled it up to the landing. I bought fifteen pounds of beef for \$1.50 for provision. We made our paddles and intended to start about noon, but it rained, and we concluded to wait until morning and start early. I paid Thomas Isaac \$3 to get stores, bread, sugar, whiskey, etc. We were ready to start early in the morning, and agreed to take in a woman passenger. Peleg Tabor came on again and wanted to go in our canoe. We consented that he might, if we could get along with him in the canoe. All prepared to start early in the morning.

September 24th. We took leave of Jane Wobby and her family and started about 7 A. M. with Peleg Tabor and the widow Jane Edwards as passengers, and ran down the river in our little canoe, which we called the Roebuck. We went on all day without much difficulty, and at night camped on the bank of the river, having sailed down the river forty-five or fifty miles this day.

September 25th. We started early in the morning; met a pirogue bound for Fort Wayne. Ran down the river all day and had frequent showers that wet us some. About sundown we passed the old Delaware towns and went until

near 9 P. M. in hopes of reaching Fort Defiance, but, being very cold and wet, encamped on the bank of the river, having come about forty-six miles.

September 26th. We passed on down the river, and going down a rift we struck on a rock and swung around and filled the Roebuck and wet our baggage. We cleared out the water, went on, and arrived at Fort Defiance about 9 A. M. We stopped and bought some bread and meat for \$2.50. The Auglan River comes in here. We started about half past 12 P. M., leaving Peleg Tabor behind. We ran until after dark and expected to get to Lamot Prairie, but it was so dark we went on shore and encamped for the night. We ran about twenty-five or thirty miles this day.

September 27th. We started very early, ran down three or four miles, and stopped at Lamot Prairie, took breakfast, and then went past an Indian settlement. Two Indians came to us in a canoe and brought some peaches. We let them have some tobacco. We were at the head of the rapids about 1 P. M.; passed down and found them difficult, the water being very shallow and the bottom rocky, so that we had to wade a good deal of the way. We passed down to Roche de Bout before sundown and encamped with some men who were taking flour down to the treaty. It was about nine miles down the rapids and eighteen miles from Lamot Prairie to the head of the rapids. It was very cold and froze some.

September 28th. This morning there was a hard frost. We started about 7 A. M., went down wading and shoving our canoe along over the rocks where the water was too shoal for it to float with us in. The water ran very swiftly

and sometimes we shipped water and had to go on shore to bail. Arrived at Fort Meigs about 11 A. M. and found Isaac Wobby and Henry Nunham* there and put up at their marquee.

September 29th. We attended the treaty meeting, which was held by Governor Cass and General McArthur on the part of the United States, and the Wyandotts, Taidyas, Shawnees, Pottawottomis, Delawares, and some other tribes of Indians. We also attended on the 30th, when the treaty was finally signed by the parties and concluded.

October 1st. We again attended the treaty, and when the presents were given out I received the goods from Governor Cass that were due to the widow Pictrocke, to the amount of \$137, and delivered them to Henry Nunham and Robert Schugite to forward to her. We sold the Roe-buck to H. Nunham for \$8 worth of goods and in the evening we held a council with the Delaware and Shawnee chiefs. The Delawares, in the presence of John Johnson, agent, expressed the desire that the Brothertown Indians would go into their country, and on the 2d I received a certificate from John Johnson of the purport of the council.

October 3d. We engaged our passage to Detroit on board the "Fire Fly," Captain Hammon. Paul and Thomas Isaac assisted in loading the most of the day, and I had a conference with Stickney, the agent for the Miamis, about their lands on the Wabash. We left the marquee and put our packs into a tavern near the landing and lodged there. In the morning my two blankets were stolen from Paul's pack.

*Brothertown Indians.

October 4th. We were under way about 11 A. M., and going down the river we got onto the rocks, but with some exertion we shoved off and went on down into the lake, and had a fair wind. We ran all night, arriving at Detroit about 7 A. M. on the 5th of October, being about seventy miles from the foot of the Maumee Rapids. We left our packs on board the "Fire Fly" and the next day went about the village, and lodged on board at night. Our lodging was but indifferent.

October 6th. It rained some part of the day. We spoke a passage in the "General Wayne" and bought some stores. Paul Dick and I lodged on shore; Thomas Isaac lodged on board the "Fire Fly." Stores cost \$1.25; lodging for Paul and me, \$1.

October 7th. We engaged passage on board the schooner "General Wayne," Captain Rough,* and put our baggage and stores on board. We took a deck passage for \$3 each, and lodged in the hold on the cable.

* To Buffalo

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LUPIN 410

Celoron was under the direction of the Marquis de La Galissoniere, commandant of New France, his object being to reclaim the country for the King of France.

When Thomas Dean reached Vincennes, he met Dr. Lawrence S. Shuler. Mr. Dean wrote: "I became acquainted with Dr. Lawrence W. Shuler, who had been on board our boat yesterday. He took a brief account of our voyage with intention of publication. We conversed on the subject of civilization and internal navigation. He proposed making some remarks on both subjects in his publication." The following is Dr. Shuler's article. It was published in the Indiana Sentinel at Vincennes, Ind., July, 1817.

(From the Indiana Sentinel.)

The extensive inland navigation of the western country is strikingly exemplified by the late arrival at this port (Sunday, July 20) of the elegant schooner built boat, "Brotherton Enterprise," of six tons burthen, from Rome (Deansboro, N. Y.) in fifty days. This boat left the Mohawk River (Oneida Creek) on the first of June last, under the command of Thomas Dean; and is navigated by four Indian men, accompanied by two Indian women and an Indian boy, all possessing habits, manners and education indicative of the most complete and refined civilization. The object of Capt. Dean and company, we understand, is to obtain from the Wabash Indians the cession of a tract of land for the Brotherton Indians, in consequence of an invitation given by the former. They intend to ascend the Wabash to its source, and by a short portage, to pass over into the Miami of the lake, by which they calculate to return. The whole route will, they calculate, be performed by the first of September next, making (in the short space of three months, including the time spent in curiosity, business and the necessary detention of bad weather) a journey of between two and three thousand miles, belting the states of Ohio and Indiana, and part of the states of N. York and Pennsylvania. In circumnavigating this extensive area, which contains between 80 and 100,000 square miles, they have only to pass three short portages of about thirty miles. From Rome (Deansboro, N. Y.) they passed through Wood Creek, into the Oneida Lake, from which they descended the Oswego river into L. Ontario—coasting the south side of that lake, to the Niagara Falls, they carried their boat on wheels from Queenston to Chippawa (a portage of eleven or twelve miles) into the Niagara River—ascending the Niagara, and coasting the north side of Lake Erie, to the mouth of Catoragus Creek, and up it to a portage of eight and a half miles, over which they passed into Chatauque Lake, and down the Conewongo into the Allegheny. The

Allegheny, Ohio and Wabash present a smooth and uninterrupted navigation to the head of the Wabash; a portage of nine miles, connects the Wabash with the Miami of the lake, over which Capt. Dean intends to transport his boat and descend the Miami into Lake Erie. He will coast that lake to Buffalo, N. York. In the spring of the year, during high water, boats have frequently passed and repassed by water from the Wabash to the Miami of the lake without unloading.

What a striking view does not this give of the future relative importance of the western states. The waters of this country are, generally speaking, navigable to their source for boats of considerable burthen, and in numerous places the waters leading into the Ohio are connected by short portages to the navigable waters of the lakes—indeed, from the Illinois River boats can frequently at a high stage of water pass into Lake Michigan as easily as from the Wabash into Lake Erie. Had Capt. Dean ascended the Illinois, and thence into the lakes, he would have doubled the length of his route and circumnavigated twice the extent of territory which he now will. If the contemplated canal through the state of N. York is ever completed, and if the waters of the Ohio were connected by canals with the lakes, I think the opinion may be hazarded that the states of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois territory will in turn become more populous and rich than any other equal extent of country in the United States.