



# *Beyond Penn's Treaty*

## *Joseph Moore's Journal*

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TYPE_OF_MANUSCRIPT:	Printed journal
CALL_NO:	Friends Miscellany Vol.6 No.7 (1835)
DATE:	1793
LOCATION:	Swarthmore College
AUTHOR:	Joseph Moore (ca. 1731-1793)
SUMMARY:	Quaker minister and member of Kingwood Monthly Meeting. Appointed to attend the Sandusky Treaty. Died of Yellow Fever at his home near Flemington after attending Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

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# FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 7.]

SECOND MONTH, 1835.

[VOL. VI.]

## JOSEPH MOORE'S JOURNAL

*Of a tour to Detroit, in order to attend a Treaty, proposed to be held with the Indians at Sandusky.*

In the second volume of Friends' Miscellany, was published, Jacob Lindley's Account of a Journey to attend this Treaty, with preliminary remarks and a brief history of the circumstances which led to this measure. The following Journal, while it corroborates Jacob Lindley's account, presents a view of divers interesting incidents and occurrences, not noted in that narrative. Joseph Moore was a valuable friend and minister belonging to Kingwood monthly meeting, New Jersey. The place of his residence was near Flemington.

On the 17th of 4th mo. 1793, I set out for Philadelphia, and attended the meeting for sufferings, where were divers Friends who had given up to attend the Indian treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky, on the waters of Lake Erie—having previously obtained certificates from our several monthly meetings for that purpose. The commissioners appointed by government are, general Lincoln, colonel Pickering, and Beverly Randolph. Lincoln goes by water to Albany, &c.; William Savery, Jacob Lindley, and William Hartshorne, go with him: and John Parrish, John Elliott, and myself, with Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph, go through the country by land. I have some days past, been very poorly with the ague; but am now bravely.

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30th. In the afternoon set out in company



Beverly Randolph, John Parrish, John Elliott, and Henry Cornplanter, or Obeal—got that evening to Norristown, where colonel Pickering met us. Next day we proceeded to Reading—thence to Harrisburgh and over the Broad Mountain, Mackinoy, and Tuscarora, to Sunbury—thence crossed the Susquehanna at Northumberland, a town standing in the point where the east and west branches come together. Here, leaving the commissioners behind, we, in company with Josiah Haines, proceeded to William Ellis's, and attended Muncy meeting of Friends. After which, went to Samuel Wallace's, where we met the commissioners, and were liberally and friendly entertained.

5th mo. 6th. The forepart of this day, we passed a rapid stream, called the Loyalsock—and in the afternoon we crossed another large stream, called Lychoming, seven times—lodged at James Kyle's. Next day rode forty-three miles without any entertainment on the way, except what we had with us.—Where we put up, there was no hay to be had for our horses, so we fed them with oats, and tied them up for the night—went to bed, or rather lay on the floor with our own blankets, in a very small house; but rested well. In the morning, the weather was fine and pleasant—rode to major Samuel Lindley's, crossed the Tioga twice, and the Cownisky; then to the Painted Post, crossing the Cohocton at David Fuller's. On our way here, we swam our horses over the Tioga, and went ourselves in a canoe. The country from Northumberland to this place, abounds with large streams of water, and abundance of flat land on their banks, exceedingly rich. We observed in many places, old Indian fields, with signs of the

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old corn hills. On each side of these creeks and flats, are ridges of mountains. We have now travelled according to the several distances from place to place, two hundred and forty-seven miles.

9th. Rode about thirty miles, and a little before night, got to an old Indian cabin, with fire in the middle, where we lodged. We let our horses browse awhile in the woods, then fed them with oats we had with us, and tied them up for the night.— This cabin stands on the bank of the Cohocton. The roads here are new, and of course rough, which is trying to the poor horses that are rid hard all day, and at night tied to a tree. Next day, rode thirty-six miles to Williamsburgh. Some parts of the road very rough. We passed over some of the steepest hills I ever saw travelled. But the country is new—and I have no doubt in a few years, the roads will be much improved, as there is abundance of excellent land that is settling fast in some places. Stayed this night at captain Charles Williamson's, where we were kindly entertained.

11th. This morning the commissioners despatched a messenger to Canandaigua for an interpreter; so we rested here and were finely refreshed. Set out again next day, and rode to Gilbert Berry's, on the bank of the Genesee river. Here we found about fifty Indians collected, amongst whom were some of their chiefs; Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, Little Billy, and others, to all of whom a dinner was given by the commissioners. They expressed their gladness in seeing us, and we also in seeing them. In the evening we had some weighty conversation together, wherein the commissioners imparted a little of their business concerning the treaty;



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which appeared to give general satisfaction. After which, the Indians gave our friend John Parrish a new name, which they in their language call Sutte-kutte, and signifies *plain* or *level*. This name was given by Farmer's Brother, at which there was a small shout, in their way, and they would have given us a song on the occasion; but understanding we were a plain people, not accustomed to singing, it was omitted, and nothing further followed than a little pleasantry. Near ten o'clock we all retired and rested bravely.

In the morning the Indians showed no inclination to depart while the commissioners were here. Red Jacket, at the close of one of his speeches last evening, signified, that when he was in Philadelphia, the white people had proposed a method for them to turn buffaloes into cows, deer into sheep, and bears into hogs; he thought it now a fit time for the commissioners to show them a piece of their skill; as they were now on their way to Canandaigua for some clothing, &c., and that a good buffalo would be very agreeable for provision on the way. The commissioners used some endeavours to obtain a fat cow; but as there was none to be had here, they gave them a quantity of salt beef, pork, and corn, at which they appeared satisfied.

14th. We prepared to move forward; divers other people fell in company with us from Schenectady and other places, who were going into Upper Canada. We swam our horses over the Genesee river with some difficulty, and we, with our baggage, crossed in a canoe. In the evening we put up in the woods by the side of Tonnewanta creek, where we sheltered for the night with a good fire, and tied up

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our horses as before. The following day we travelled hard, being very desirous to reach some house to lodge in. According to the account given us, we rode about fifty miles, and truly we thought them long enough. Arrived at Buffalo creek about sunset, and put up at landlord Winney's; most of us lodged on the floor and slept well; also, had plenty of grass for the horses. The country we have passed through the last two days, is Indian lands, and one continued wilderness. Much of the land appears very good, with a variety of timber, such as oak, hickory, sugar maple, elm, ash, beech, linn, pine, cherry, butternut, &c.

16th. Rode about three miles to the ferry, nearly opposite Fort Erie, most of the way along the beach of Lake Erie. Here we crossed over the outlet of the lake, a large and strong current, landed in the British dominions, and rode down the banks of the river to Charles Willson's near the great falls. The whole distance to this place is four hundred and twenty-seven miles. In the evening, walked to the brow of the bank to view the mighty cataract. Next morning went again, descended a very steep hill and walked to the rock over which the water falls, which appears tremendous indeed. There are rapids above the cataract that fall, it is said, fifty feet (and it looks likely to be so) within the distance of little more than half a mile. After satisfying our curiosity here, the commissioners went on to governor Simcoe's, at Navy Hall, sixteen miles. This is nearly opposite the garrison, which stands on a point of land in the United States. John Parrish, John Elliott, and myself, went about two miles to our

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friend William Lundy's, where we were kindly entertained, and spent most of the next day.

19th. Being first of the week, and having appointed a meeting to be held here at the eleventh hour; about the time there attended a pretty large collection of people, more than the house could contain. We thought it a favoured opportunity. After dinner we had a solid opportunity with the family and divers friends who had stayed with us. Then went about six miles to our friend John Hill's, who, with his wife, had been at the meeting. Here we were kindly entertained and lodged. In the morning, had a solid opportunity with the family, and set out for Navy Hall, a messenger having been sent to invite us to dine with the governor. He appears to be a plain man, and remarkably easy of access. At table we had the company of the commissioners, colonel Butler, majors Little, Hales, &c. The governor, when we were walking in his garden, said our coming forward at this time, did our society great honour. Toward evening we rode up the lake about two miles to landlord Peacock's, and lodged.

21st. We went up the lake twelve miles to Benjamin Paulin's and his brother Jesse's—our friend, John Parrish, having a letter from their connexions in Philadelphia. Here we were kindly entertained. In the woods we came through, we observed the greatest quantity of pigeons, I think I ever saw; they were flying up the lake, being chiefly young ones, and very fat. The people take abundance of them with clubs, poles, &c.

22d. The weather has been warm and dry since the time of our arrival in this country. I continue very poorly, but went three miles to our friend John

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23d. I felt much better in health, and understanding divers Friends live at a place called the Short Hills, about twelve miles off, we concluded to go there. On the way we dined at Thomas Rice's, and thence proceeded to Joshua Gillam's. We passed through some land where we saw the effects of a hurricane that was on the 1st of the 7th month last, and truly I may say, I never saw so great destruction of timber. For about two miles in width, and said to be many miles in length, there was scarce a single tree left that was not torn up by the roots, or broken off. This tract, as far as we have passed over, appears excellent land, with a variety of good timber—white and black oak, hickory, chesnut, poplar, white pine, walnut, cherry, &c. We, finding a few Friends settled in this neighbourhood, concluded to stay amongst them over first-day, and have a meeting with them. In the interval, we visited at James Crawford's, Enoch Scrigley's, and John Dorling's, where the meeting is proposed to be held.

26th. We had a considerable gathering of people that behaved orderly, among whom we had a satisfactory opportunity. In the afternoon, set out on our way to Navy Hall, and lodged at Jeremiah Moore's. Having heard of the arrival of the other Friends that came by the way of Albany, we rose early next morning, and went to our friend Benjamin Hill's, where we took breakfast—then rode to the landing, and thence to Navy Hall. Spent a little

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time at the governor's, and went back to the landing, where we met with Jacob Lindley, William Savery, and William Hartshorne, who had come on by water. Our stores were landed here, and we all dined at captain Smith's, at the mess house. In the afternoon we set up our tents on the hill, and lodged all together. This seemed very pleasant, being all in health, and they having had a favourable passage from New York to this place, and very agreeable company with general Lincoln, in their covered batteaux, two of which they propose taking up to Lake Erie.

28th. Having had a good night's rest in our tents, were in the morning all bravely. When we shall move forward from this place appears at present uncertain, as the commissioners sent off an express yesterday to Philadelphia on some important occasion, and expect to wait his return. Young Cornplanter went some days ago to his father's, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place. The Indians, we understand, are gathering from many parts to the place appointed. Some of the Mohawks are now here. We shortly expect a number of the Five Nations. Jacob Lindley being desirous to see Jeremiah Moore, we two rode there, spent the afternoon, and lodged. The weather cool and cloudy, with easterly winds. The next day was rainy. We are now within about three miles of the great cataract—the noise of which is much like the roaring of the sea in time of storm. The people gave us a particular account of their distressed situation, about four years ago, for want of bread, and their loss of cattle and horses; which was truly alarming; but through the goodness of kind Providence, they have now plenty



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30th. John Elliott came up from our camp at the landing, and we, with Jeremiah Moore and Benjamin Hill, went to the Falls, where Jacob had not been, and viewed them in a different direction from what we had done before. In this as well as many other things, the mighty works of Providence are eminently displayed, being far beyond the power of human art to form. Some of our company descended the mighty hill, by the clefts of rocks and the help of Indian ladders, to the water below, supposed one hundred and ten feet. Here they saw divers curiosities, and brought up some memorials of stone, bones, &c. We then returned to our camp, and I lodged at Benjamin Canby's.

31st. We had at our little camp, the company of captain Hendricks and several other Indians, that fed on our provisions—and a white man, lately from Pittsburg, informed that the Indians from the southward were coming on.

6th. mo. 1st. The weather wet and little business to be done—though the article provision meets with a large consumption—we being all in pretty good health, and for the most part a number of Indians and others at our camp. The commissioners are most of the time at Navy Hall with governor Simcoe. We expect to move forward in a day or two, towards Fort Erie, to take passage in a vessel for Detroit—the commissioners not likely to go from this under a week or ten days. We endeavour to fill up our time in seeing our friends. This afternoon John Parrish and John Elliott, crossed the river and went to



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an Indian settlement of about eighty families, who received them kindly.

2d, and first of the week, we held a meeting about four miles from the landing, in a large barn, of which previous notice had been given. The collection was large, and proved a solid opportunity. I hope it tended to the advancement of our religious testimony. Divers Friends came many miles to attend it. After which, William Savery and William Harts-horne returned to our camp, in order to send forward our baggage to-morrow to the upper landing above the Falls. John Parrish, Jacob Lindley, John Elliott, and myself, went to Jeremiah Moore's and dined—thence to William Lundy's and lodged. Esquire Burch was at meeting, and kept company with us thus far.

3d. Went on to esquire Burch's, where we dined. Bought three barrels of flour and sent forward to Chipaway, to be carried on with the rest of our baggage, to Fort Erie. John Parrish, John Elliott, and myself, rode up the river about seven miles and lodged at our friend Richardson's. Next morning went to Benjamin Willson's, whose wife is a near relation of mine. Benjamin went with us six miles to the Fort. Here are the king's stores, and a harbour for shipping—several topsail vessels were then lying here. We went on board the Dunmore, captain Ford, bound to Detroit. The cabin passengers besides ourselves were Robert Inne, — Newman and servant, Richard Hillery and servant, Dr. William M'Casky, John Heckewelder, and William Willson. These, with the sailors and marines (being a king's ship) and about sixty Indians of four different tribes bound to the treaty, made our whole

## Transcription

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crew about ninety. We left our horses in the care of Benjamin Willson—next day set sail and steered up the lake. We had fine pleasant weather until the 8th, when being near the islands towards the head of the lake, and dark night coming on us, we stood off and on till morning—had several squalls of rain, and short blasts of high wind, with thunder and lightning—which was somewhat alarming, as our ship had on board a large quantity of powder. But through the goodness of kind Providence we were preserved from damage.

9th, and first of the week;—fine pleasant morning with light airs of wind. The islands now appeared in sight. This day we had a small meeting in the cabin with our fellow passengers and two Indian chiefs. In the evening entered the mouth of Detroit river, and anchored till morning; when we ran up the beautiful river a northerly course, with a fair wind to Detroit. This is a small garrison town, with a variety of inhabitants. Here is much of the sound of drums and trumpets, but not much religion. The people here, as well as those on board our ship, were very respectful to us—and there was great harmony amongst ourselves. Thanks be to kind Providence for all his unmerited favours. Here we landed our small baggage, and took lodgings at Matthew Dolson's for the present.

11th. Found our accommodations comfortable and easy. We visited the commandant, colonel England, and showed him our passport from governor Simcoe, at Niagara, and are now waiting the commissioners coming forward, which we hope may be soon. From the present complexion of things, it looks likely to be some time before the treaty com-

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12th. Took a walk down the bank of the river, about three miles to a fine spring, of which there are few hereabouts. The inhabitants mostly use the river water, which is said to be very wholesome. The banks of this river for many miles above and below the town, are very thickly settled, mostly with French, who have fine orchards and meadows, and good wheat growing. Their grain is mostly manufactured by wind-mills, of which there are many in sight. The inhabitants of the town are as great a mixture, I think, as I ever knew in any one place. English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, French, Americans from different states, with black and yellow, and seldom clear of Indians of different tribes in the day time. These are all turned out by nine o'clock at night, and the gates are shut—sentries are placed constantly in various parts round the town, which is enclosed with high pickets. There is no place of worship except one Roman Catholic chapel. There are large ships employed on these waters, some of which are from one hundred to one hundred and fifty tons burden; they sail up to Michillimackinac, several hundred miles from this place, and return with abundance of peltry—the staple commodity of this country.

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land, and a number of other officers, and were friendly and liberally entertained.

14th. Took passage in a small boat, bound up the river Latrench, on the east side of Lake St. Clair, with a fair wind—passed through the lake, more than twenty miles over, and went up the river about fifteen miles, to Isaac Dolson's, where we lodged.—Next day, with some Indians in a canoe, proceeded up the river about twenty miles, to Edward Watson's, son of Thomas, of New York, an intimate acquaintance. The respect I felt for him and his connexions, induced me to take this tour to see him, and know how he fared here. He and his wife received me kindly. They are connected with the Moravian brethren, and were very civil to me. John Heckewelder, Indian interpreter and Moravian minister, was passenger with me as far as Dolson's, where he took horse and went up the river to visit his brethren at a settlement of that people. This appears to be a beautiful new country, just settling; fine wheat, corn, peas, &c. now growing, and grass in abundance;—the timber, white and black oak, cherry, hickory, black and white walnut, ash, linn, poplar, &c. I am informed it continues in that way for one hundred and fifty miles up this river—the the general course of which runs about east from its mouth, and the farther up, it is said, the better the land. The inhabitants here appear to want as much cultivation as the lands they live on. May the Lord's power so reach their hearts, as to bring them into subjection to his Divine will.

16th, and first of the week, after breakfast took leave of this family in a solid manner, and returned to Dolson's: on the way, called at several houses

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where divers were collected, being much accustomed to visit each other on first-days,—among whom I had several opportunities for religious conversation, and informing them of our principles.

17th. The boat being ready for sailing, having on board about twenty-five bushels of wheat, we got under way, and had a pleasant passage to the town, where we arrived about ten o'clock in the evening. The gates being shut, we were obliged to lodge without the pickets.

18th. Went early into the town—found all my dear friends well; they gave me an account of two public meetings held by them; one with the inhabitants of the town and soldiers, and a number of the officers, in the forenoon; and another in the country in the afternoon, both to pretty good satisfaction. Jacob Lindley, William Savery, and William Harts-horne, dined with the commandant yesterday. With respect to Indian affairs, things look dull and gloomy—the commissioners not yet come forward; so that we are here in suspense with respect to the time of the opening of the treaty, and hear many frightful stories about the conduct of the Indians; but we endeavour to keep our minds quiet, trusting in the arm of divine power for preservation, and believing we are engaged in the righteous cause of promoting peace on earth and good will to men.

19th. William Savery not very well—the rest of our company, to wit, Friends, went down the river in a small boat, about four miles, to Frederick Arnold's, where we dined—then went on foot about two miles to John Messemer's, who is of the religious society called Dunker's,—with whom and divers of his friends and neighbours we held a

## Transcription

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20th. After a solid opportunity with the family, we went on towards our boat—dined at Francis Cornwell's; the weather being wet and the wind ahead, William Hartshorne and I lodged here—the rest of our company went to Frederick Arnold's.

21st. In the afternoon, John Elliott and Jacob Lindley went on foot up the river and crossed over to the town. The others lodged here—being very kindly entertained.

22d. Set out and rowed up to the town—found William Savery and the rest of our company all well. We have frequently been visited by numbers of the Indian chiefs that were on their way to Sandusky, who mostly called us Shemucteman, or long knives, the term they use to describe the Americans of the United States; but when informed what we were, they signified they had heard of our being come, and were glad. This day, we were visited by several that had just come to town. We observed the generality of all the tribes had a remarkable thirst for rum; and when intoxicated, were very troublesome.

23d. First of the week, we held a meeting in a large sail loft in the shipyard; had a considerable gathering of the town's people, and a few soldiers, who behaved quietly. The meeting held about two hours and a half, and I believe, ended well. In the afternoon had some more Indians to visit us, of the Chipaway nation; one of whom, called a chief, was pretty clean dressed, which is not general among that nation.

## Transcription

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24th. Our landlord's boat set out for the river Rushe, with grain, to the mill. I took passage therein with William Savery. Matthew Dolson met us at the mill, and William returned with him in the evening; I stayed all night at Jacob Troxler's, a Dutchman, who served his time in Jersey. The people were as kind as it was in their power.

25th. The boat with the cargo being ready, we rowed most of the way home, being about ten miles. This river is called Rushe, which signifies *red*, and the water appears stained with something which causes it to appear with remarkable redness.

26th. John Heckewelder returned from Latrench river; with him came a number of the Moravian Indians, who adhere to the religion of that family of the brethren. We understand they suffered much in the time of the late war, and since,—having had a number of their friends killed by the white people, with the loss of most of their substance, of which they had plenty while in their peaceable habitations at Muskingum. They were now in the sixth place of their retreat, in the British government, and on good land. Our commiseration was excited by the above account, and we granted some relief to the amount of one hundred dollars, which they received thankfully.

27th. The Indians are every day here, on their way to the treaty. Twenty-eight are just arrived from Michillimackinac, some of whom I saw this morning; they were well dressed, curiously painted, and decorated with wampum, and ear and nose bobs; all young, and the handsomest I think I have as yet seen. They appeared good humoured and plea-

## Transcription

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This evening had the company of capt. John Drake, a coaster between this and Mackinaw, distant one hundred and thirty leagues—sails in a sloop of seventy or eighty tons burthen. He gave us some account of the north-west fur trade, and the manner of its being carried on by the companies concerned, who employ many hundred men, that stay many years in the country, travelling and trading with the northern Indians for peltry; an abundance of which, of the richest kind, is brought from the high northern latitudes, which nets the companies a very large profit. But among what people, or in what part of the world, except the Canadian French, could persons be found for their purpose, I know not. They are allowed a very small portion of provisions from this to the Grand Portage, at the head of Lake Superior, which is about eight hundred miles; there they are allowed about one bushel (forty-two quarts French measure) of Indian corn per man, for a year, and a little fat, which they may use at their own discretion. The corn is prepared in a curious manner at Detroit, being first boiled in strong lye, which takes off the outside hull; afterwards it is spread out and dried, then packed up for use. With this they set out, and return not until the end of the year, when a fresh

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supply of goods is taken up with canoes, &c. by many hundred men to the Portage, where they exchange commodities to a very great amount. Thus goes on the trade from year to year. The men in the north live principally on fish, and the flesh of beasts of divers kinds, without bread or salt, and when they return appear as robust and healthy, and even more so than those who live on the greatest delicacies. The principal fish in Lake Superior are the white fish and salmon trout, which are fine and delicate : we have eat of them, brought fresh from the lake to this place in six days.

We understand one M'Kenzie is now out with ten men, exploring the North-west Territory : he once attempted it before; was out more than a year, and discovered large frozen waters in the north, but, whether lakes or ocean, he knew not—supposed the latter, the water being salt.

Captain Drake, by his own account, had been several voyages to Africa, in the horrid business of fetching slaves, which he now very much condemns. He told us many curious tales ;—and is certainly a very temperate man with respect to drink, taking nothing but water—a rare instance in a seafaring man. Happy would it be for many thousands in the world, were his example followed in that respect; families would be preserved from ruin and distress, morality increase, the poor Indians be saved from many acts of violence, and the end of our creation be more fully answered by honouring God, our Creator.

28th. We are frequently visited by the officers of this place, both civil and military, who appear friendly, and treat us with much respect, often

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wishing us success in our laudable undertaking; assuring us, that nothing should be wanting that lay in their power, to render us happy and comfortable. The commandant said, that if he apprehended danger at any time, he should lay his commands on us not to depart the place. But, although we sought not the protection of military power, we were not insensible of his great good will towards us, which we were not wanting to acknowledge.

Visits from the Indians are almost every day repeated, by different tribes constantly coming in, this being the thoroughfare for all the northern Indians. It would be difficult to describe the various appearances they make, and languages they speak. It is wonderful to find the vast expense the British government is at with this people. Governor Simcoe said it cost them thirty thousand pounds per annum. Here are agents appointed, that are daily giving out large quantities of provision, &c.

29th. This day had a visit from a Wyandot chief, who appeared to have much concern respecting the approaching treaty, and mentioned the remembrance of some long and broad belts that were given out in former treaties, intended to bind us by the hands and arms, so that no small accident in future should be able to make a separation; and, notwithstanding all that had happened, they (the Wyandots) felt some of the old affection to remain, and he hoped we would find it so at the general council; but could speak for none but themselves. We assured him we had the same love and friendship for them and all others, as our forefathers had, and that our principles had always restrained us from war; and when we believed the government was disposed

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wishing us success in our laudable undertaking; assuring us, ytf that nothing should be wanting that lay in their power, to render us happy ytf and comfortable.

The commandant said, that if he apprehended danger ytf at any time, he should lay his commands on us not to depart the place. But, ytf although we sought not the protection of military power, we were not ytf insensible of his great good will towards us, which we were not wanting to ytf acknowledge. ytf Visits from the Indians are almost every day repeated, by different tribes ytf constantly coming in, , this being the thoroughfare for all the northern ytf Indians. It would be difficult to describe the various appearances ytf they make, and languages they speak. It is wonderful to find the vast ytf expense the British government is at with ytf this people. Governor Simcoe said it cost ytf them thirty thousand pounds per annum. Here are agents appointed, that are ytf daily giving out large quantities of provision, &c. ytf ytf who appeared to have much concern respecting the approaching treaty, and ytf mentioned the remembrance of some long and broad belts that were ytf given out in former treaties, intended to bind us by the hands and ytf arms, so that no small accident in future should be able to make a ytf separation; and, notwithstanding all that had happened, they (the Wyandots ) felt some of the old affection ytf to remain, and he hoped we would find it so at the general council; ytf but could speak for none but themselves. We assured him we had the same ytf love and friendship for them and all others, as our forefathers had, and ytf that our principles had always restrained us from war; and when we ytf believed the government was disposed ytf

ytf ytf

29th. ytf This day had a visit from a W



to make peace with them on principles of justice, we were made willing to leave our homes and take this long journey to endeavour to promote it, and to be present at the concluding of so good a work. He said, he knew long ago, we did not fight, but were for peace, and that, as we had come a long journey, preserved in health, it was evident the Great Spirit was pleased with our coming, and he hoped some good would be done, and that the Great Spirit would bring us home in health and safety.

We had a visit also this morning from Abram, an Indian chief, Katharine his wife, and their daughters, richly clad, with plates of silver, &c.

The introduction of distilled spirits among the people appears to have been their ruin. The frauds, in consequence of it, imposed upon them, taking in the ravages and depredations of war made amongst themselves, with multiplied murders and thefts, seems to have prevented their being a wealthy people. The contrary with many is sorrowfully their situation, I fear to our condemnation; yet the history of Indian barbarity, and breach of faith to white people, and to one another, which we have heard related since we came here, would be shocking to recite, and is almost at times ready to stagger the faith of their best friends. One of the Moravian missionaries signified his sense, that if peace should be concluded, it would not last long, until they were further chastised. John Parrish asked, by what means? Did he mean the sword? He was answered, yes. This sentiment, from one of those who make profession of the peaceable principles of the gospel, was really discouraging.

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We often hear many frightful things suggested; as, that we shall be either killed, or kept as hostages at the ensuing council. This, with the accounts of the Indian warriors in time past, frequently passing with numbers of scalps and their disconsolate prisoners, seemed dreadful; yet we are not discouraged from pursuing our first prospect; believing he that put us forth, will go before us, if we are not wanting on our part.

It must be said to the honour of British humanity, and in commendation of this government of Upper Canada, and its truly respectable and generous officers, that they have interfered to the relief of great numbers of persons, and obtained their redemption at a great price; divers of whom that we met with appeared as the outcasts of Europe; some of them, as colonel England and other officers told us, hardly had manners or gratitude to acknowledge the kindness, though in some instances it cost one hundred pounds. But in the case of a real American, they never grudged it.

30th. First of the week. This morning we were visited by a principal man of the Wyandots, called the Blind Chief, with his nephew, grand, and great grandson; with whom we had some friendly conversation. He told us eight of their principal men were gone on to the council. We held meetings fore and afternoon in the king's sail loft, to a good degree of satisfaction; being largely attended by the citizens, officers, and soldiers, who behaved quietly.

7th mo. 1st. Took breakfast with captain Elliot, Indian commissioner. After which, went to the burial of Isidore Shone at the Roman chapel. He was an old Indian interpreter, supposed to have shorten-

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ed his days by the immoderate use of strong drink. On this occasion there was a good deal of form and ceremony, in their way.

2d. Yesterday arrived the ship Ottoway, captain Cowan, from Fort Erie. He brought about eighty Indians—more than sixty were landed at the Miami rapids, with colonel Butler; eighteen of the Oneidas were on board here. It was said Butler was fearful they might be hurt by some other Indians that were there, on account of some dislike they had to one of their chiefs, who had given his interest in favour of the Americans, in such a manner as to create jealousies amongst them. They, notwithstanding apprehend themselves quite safe in the British lines, where the tribes of all the nations from east, west, north, and south, are daily supplied with provisions, &c. And we hear nothing but wishes for peace among the people every where.

This day we crossed the river in our landlord's boat, with himself, wife, &c. to his farm, where we regaled ourselves with fine ripe cherries, and towards evening returned. The weather very warm, and for many days past it has been very wet—but through divine favour we are all preserved in good health.

3d. We had a visit from colonel England, who is constantly manifesting his regard in a very respectful manner. He invited us to walk with him to his garden, and some of our company went. We had also the company, at our lodgings, of a young Shawnee chief, neatly and richly dressed in Indian style; he stayed and dined with us, behaving with decency at table. But we sometimes find great difficulty in conversing with the Indians, in such man-

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ner as we wish, on account of our interpreter's sentiments and prospects differing in some respects so widely from ours.

4th. I was this day very poorly with a fever.—We were visited by fourteen of the Indians that came in the Ottoway, with one Shawnee, who finding our doctor M'Caskey had been with St. Clair's army at the time of the defeat, told him, "you're my friend, though you ran away from me once."

The commissioners are not yet arrived—we are still in suspense, and weary of our long detention here—though we are well supplied with provisions, &c., and decently treated by our respectable landlord and landlady, as well as by the inhabitants in general, being often invited to dine, &c. In the evening I felt better and slept pretty well.

5th. We are much confined within the narrow limits of this small garrisoned town, where, the streets being narrow, there is a want of air. A favourable opportunity presenting for a small tour on the water, we, except William Savery and William Hartshorne, went in a boat, provided by our friend William Baker, up the river about nine miles, to Nathan Williams's, where we were kindly received, and dined. His place is situate at the entrance of Lake St. Clair. While here, Nathan gave us an account, that in digging a cave for a root house, they found, about six feet below the surface of the ground, large quantities of human bones, that must have been for a long time there: and at another place on the bank of the lake, it being washed away when the lake was high, there were seen great numbers of the same kind, which they gathered up and buried. The Indians said they must have been

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from people a great while ago that they knew nothing of. There is also near this lake, as we are informed, the appearance of old forts, curiously made in ancient time, where pieces of earthenware are often found, though large trees are now standing in the entrenchments, of which the present Indians can give no account. We seem pretty generally led to believe, from various circumstances, that the natives of this land must be the descendants of old Jacob, and are of the scattered tribes, who probably found their way here through Russia, and crossed over the narrow strait from Kamschatka to the west side of America. Be all this as it may, we find them here in great numbers, at present a savage, barbarous people when at war, and more particularly when intoxicated with strong drink, which has been introduced by the white people that suppose themselves by far their superiors in religious and natural understanding. Happy would it have been for them and us, had we used those superior talents, in mercy conferred upon us, more to the honour of God, by following the example of our holy leader, Christ Jesus, who said he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. May all Christendom more and more labour to experience a renovation of heart and mind, submitting and conforming to the will of heaven in all our conduct, consistent with the design of our creation. Then might we have reason to hope for a blessing on our labours, tending to stop the effusion of human blood, and the establishment of Christ's kingdom on the mountain of love and holiness, where the lion and the lamb might lie down together, there being nothing to make us afraid.

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The aforesaid Indian, notwithstanding his sensibility and calmness, about two hours after, returned much intoxicated with rum—behaved very rudely, and drew a stroke with his tomahawk at one Sylvester Ash, an interpreter, who had long resided with

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6th. The weather is now dry and warm—the wheat it fast ripening, of which there is an appearance of very fine crops. Vegetables are plenty, such as new potatoes, peas, beans, &c. The sloop *Felicity* just arrived from the Miamies, confirms the account of the Indian deputation being gone to meet the commissioners at Niagara, accompanied by colonel Butler and Simon Girty. The schooner *Nancy* also just arrived from Michillimackinac, with peltry—made her passage to this place in seventeen days—distance three hundred and ninety miles.

7th. First of the week. We held a meeting in the forenoon in the old sail loft: it was to good satisfaction, being large and solid. In the afternoon we went about five miles to the river Rushe—held a meeting with the inhabitants there and several who went with us from the town. This also we thought was comfortable and edifying.

8th. The weather hot and sultry—a heavy thunder shower. We have no account from the commissioners—hope they may come on with the Indian deputies, if any thing is likely to be done. This is truly a trying scene to us, to be kept in this expensive place so long in suspense; yet hope it may not be altogether in vain. We think we have done the

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10th. The sloop Detroit, bound to Mackinaw, arrived from Fort Erie in eight days. We were in hopes of letters, but were disappointed. However we understand the commissioners, with a number of Indians, are coming in the Dunmore which was nearly ready to sail, and may be soon expected, if not met with by the Chipaway, and detained by the chiefs who were to have a conference with them previous to their coming forward to the treaty.

11th. Had the company of several Indians—one of whom, David Canada, speaks good English, and interprets well. His father was a white man. He has been in Europe—appears friendly to the American interest, and says he will go with us to the treaty.

12th. We all went over the river to our landlord's farm, where we dined on provision we took with us. Spent most of the day there and in visiting some neighbours. Returned in the evening.

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The sloop Sagonay is just arrived from Fort Erie. The Dunmore was waiting for a wind, when the deputation of Indians arrived—and the commissioners returned to Navy Hall to have a conference. This is an additional disappointment, and further trial of our faith and patience.

13th. The weather fair and pleasant—the people very busy in hay-making, and some beginning their wheat harvest. In the afternoon the sloop Speedwell arrived from Fort Erie, by which we had letters from our friends at home, and one from the commissioners, informing of their return to Navy Hall; but that they expect to come forward in a few days.

14th. First of the week. For some days I have felt rather dull and heavy—my spirits low. I feel the importance of our embassy with much weight.—The dark conversation frequently heard respecting war, is truly distressing and discouraging. I am frequently led to recur back to the first principles from whence the concern took its rise; and have, as yet, no cause to doubt of its propriety, although many discouraging prospects are frequently thrown in our way. We are comfortably preserved in unity one with another in the main cause we are engaged in, hoping we shall not be shaken from the right ground by the enemies of peace,—of which there are many.

This day we had another meeting in the usual place, which was large and solid.

15th. Had an interview with captain Elliot, who had just returned from the Rapids, where the Indians are collected; but nothing further has transpired. He appears somewhat reserved; and our anxious state of suspense still continues. We are apprehen-

## Transcription

ytf The sloop Sagonay is just arrived from Fortytfe Erie .

The Dunmore was waiting for a wind, when the ytf deputation of Indians arrived — and the commissioners returned to ytf Navy Hall to have a conference.

This ytf is an additional disappointment, and further trial of our faith and ytf patience. ytf ytf ytf very busy in hay-making, and ytf some beginning their wheat harvest. In the afternoon the sloopytf Speedwell arrived from Fort Erie , by ytf which we had letters from our friends at home, and one from theytf commissioners, informing of their return to Navy ytf Hall ; but that they expect to come forward in a few days. ytf

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15th. ytf Had an interview with captain Elliot, who



sive the Indian embassy to the commissioners may prevent the proposed treaty. We wrote a letter to colonel McKee, and an epistle to the Indians, to be forwarded the first opportunity.

Here we observe a species of Indian slaves called Pawnees, or Punins,—who are captives taken by the Chipaways from the Suse, or Pawnee nations. It is sorrowful to think that a nation so famed for liberty, should hold them, and a number of the African race, in a state of bondage during life. The government here, we understand, has made some essay towards their enlargement, which, it is hoped, will, in time, amount to a total abolition.

16th. Had a solid opportunity with captain Elliot, deputy agent for Indian affairs, and again expressed our anxious desires to him, that a solid peace might take place; we also queried if it would be proper for us, or any of our company, to visit the Indians in their present council at the Rapids, where he was now about to return. He told us, he thought in the present state of things, it would not be eligible to move that way. He gave us to understand, that the Indians were generally acquainted with our being here, and our views towards them; and hoped on the return of the Indian embassy, some way would open for our relief. For the present, we concluded to forward the letters to M'Kee and the Indians, by Elliot, and as our having a personal interview with the Indians appeared doubtful, we forwarded Friends' Address to them, to be read by M'Kee in case we should fail of an opportunity ourselves.

17th. The people are very busy in their harvest, having good crops: but in some places the grain is

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injured by a kind of smut, supposed to be occasioned by much wet and rapid growth.

We have lately heard of the arrival of a number of Creeks and Cherokee Indians, in the neighbourhood of the Indian council—we fear, with views not friendly to a peaceable accommodation of matters with the Western Indians—as we hear hostilities between them and the whites have been renewed to the southward. These accounts are alarming and discouraging. The commissioners are not yet come. We wait as patiently as we can, until we hear further from them.

18th. This morning had an interview with captain Wellbank, who came with the detachment of Cherokee and Creek Indians from the southern territory, he says, more than a thousand miles, and that they were ninety days on their journey. His principal business seemed to be with colonel England, who gave immediate orders for the sloop Felicity to sail with him on board, to Fort Erie, on his way to governor Simcoe. We suppose they have some matters of importance, as colonel England a few days ago assured us the Felicity was detained on purpose to take us to Sandusky, or Fort Erie, as was most eligible, on the shortest notice, which looked kind and friendly to our purpose.

19th. The weather fair and pleasant, and through Divine favour, we are all in health; but are still in great suspense, with respect to the event of this intended treaty, which every day looks more and more discouraging. Yet we think we have been in the line of our duty in coming forward and labouring thus far; and hope our being here may be of some use on divers accounts. Some of our compa-

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ny walked yesterday to the spring about three miles below the town, where they had a satisfactory opportunity with some Oneida Indians that were encamped there. They seem jointly concerned with us for the accomplishment of peace. This day we were all together in the arbour in the colonel's garden, looking over some writings on Indian affairs. To this place we frequently resort, as it is retired and pleasant—being indulged with this privilege by invitation from the colonel soon after our arrival here.

20th. The harbour is now clear of shipping.—We are anxiously waiting the arrival of the Dunmore, by which we expect the commissioners, or to hear from them, hoping our detention here will be shortly closed by our going on to Sandusky, or returning to Fort Erie on our way home: till which we desire humbly to submit to the wise Disposer of events.

21st. First of the week. We held a meeting in the sail loft at the tenth hour, which was a favoured time, it being large and solid. Soon after our return, we heard of the arrival of the Dunmore at the mouth of the river, by a passenger who came in her, and that the commissioners are on board, expecting to go forward soon to Sandusky. In the afternoon we had another comfortable meeting, crowned as we thought, with the Master's good presence. And now it looks likely to be a parting one,—the people behaved with remarkable quietness—manifesting much respect to us. I believe there are a few tender-hearted ones in this place that will remember us, and I hope we shall not forget them;—though it is sorrowful to behold the power and influence that

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22d. John Parrish, John Elliott, and myself, paid a visit to the Roman Catholic priest, who appeared to take it kind. We also had a short interview with the commandant, who has manifested much respect to us during our long stay here, and now told us, that nothing should be wanting that lay in his power to make our way easy.

23d and 24th. We now began to prepare for leaving Detroit. The commandant visited us at our quarters, and informed us he proposed going with us in the Dunmore to see the commissioners. It seemed very pleasant to find that respect which it is hoped may tend to strengthen the unity between them.— We should have been glad to see the commissioners here, but understanding neither they nor any others from a foreign state under military characters, are admitted within the limits of this garrison, which includes the town that consists of about one hundred houses; under which consideration we think it cause of thankfulness for the indulgence, remarkable attention, and kind treatment we have met with

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22d. ytf ytf John Parrish, Johnny Elliott, and



during our six weeks stay in this place. This evening, paid a short visit at commissary Rinold's, who, with his wife and sensible daughter, appear to have as much solidity, uprightness, and vital religion, as any in the place. There are a few others we highly esteem, and towards whom we now feel a near affection on taking our solemn farewell.

25th. Took leave of most of our acquaintances in town and went on board the Dunmore, in which were colonel England and several other officers; fell down to the mouth of the river, about eighteen miles, and landed at captain Elliot's, whose house the commissioners had taken, being large and convenient for their purpose. We were truly glad to see them, and they us. Here the vessel is ordered to lay until we are ready to go forward to Sandusky, which depends on the time the Indians say they are ready. It was pleasant to behold the friendship apparent between the colonel with the other British officers, and our commissioners. This place is very agreeable; there being a large farm, with fields well stored with grain, standing in shock—supposed to be about one thousand bushels; a large new barn eighty feet long and about thirty-six wide; round the house a beautiful green, on which we encamped with fourteen tents, large and small, containing our little company and the commissioners' train, with some British officers who designed to go with us to the grand treaty. The commissioners gave us the substance of what passed between them and the Indian deputies at Niagara: all which appeared encouraging, and favourable towards an accommodation. We dined and supped all together, and slept quiet and well in our tents.

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26th. Spent the day very agreeably together, having one general table. At night we had a great rain and heavy thunder; our tents not as well fortified as might have been. Towards day some of us got very wet by the water coming in; but through Divine favour we were preserved.

27th. A fine morning. Having an opportunity to go to Detroit in a small boat with Gotlieb Sensiman, a Moravian minister from Latrench river, and three Indians of their family, we embraced it. William Savery and myself took our passage in order to do some business for the commissioners, and a little for ourselves. The wind was ahead and we had to row all the way. Went to our old quarters.

28th. First of the week. I felt weary with yesterday's hard rowing, and almost ready to give out the prospect of a meeting. But towards evening, at about an hour's notice, we met at the old sail loft with many of the inhabitants, who appeared glad of the opportunity, and it was satisfactory to ourselves.

29th. The colonel's boat going down the river to our camp, with captains Freeman and Broadhead, we were invited to return with them; but our business not being completed, I concluded to stay, and take my passage in the schooner Nancy, bound to Fort Erie, and William Savery went with the officers.

30th. I went on board the schooner, and near night landed at our camp, where I was informed a deputation of Indians from the Rapids had been here, and held a conference with the commissioners. They appeared uneasy with what had passed at Niagara, asserting that nothing short of Ohio river being the line, would satisfy them; they requested the com-

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missioners' answer to-morrow, on that head, and retired over the river. This unexpected change looked again discouraging; believing our worthy commissioners had nothing but upright views in their proceedings, consistent with the trust reposed in them by the government of the United States. Though what their views are, is yet unknown to us; but we hope, and expect, they will be generous and liberal, evincing to the world that the present proceedings and designs of the United States are founded on reason, equity, and justice. And so far as this may be the case, we hope the Lord may be on our side, in this our trying situation.

31st. In the afternoon the Indians came over, and being seated on the beautiful green in the shade of some trees, the commissioners came forth with their speech in writing, which was interpreted by Thomas Jones, from the Genesee, in the Seneca language. In it was contained many candid and generous proposals; but not coming up so fully to their demands as they seemed to wish, they declined to make any reply at present. But having the paper given to them, said they would consider it maturely, and return an answer to-morrow. On which the council broke up, and the Indians returned again to Whitewood Island, opposite to our camp. Among these were the chiefs of ten different nations, who appeared in council solid and sober.

8th mo. 1st. The Indian deputies returned in the morning early, and being seated, the Wyandot chief called Carry-all-about, whose name signifies King of all the western nations up the Lakes,—made a short speech, importing, "That many treaties had been held at different places from time to time, wherein

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you say lands have been purchased; but would acknowledge no legal and permanent conveyance since the treaty at Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago. So that the lands on this side the Ohio are ours, and the lands on the other side are yours.— And you may go home and tell Washington what we say. We understand all you said to us very well, and we expect you understand us.” Simon Girty was their interpreter. After rising up and stepping off a few yards, they found a mistake in expression, and recalled their words, desiring the commissioners would stay where they are, till they could go to the council and return with an answer, which, if favoured with wind and weather, may be accomplished in about five days. We had some desire to go with them to the Rapids, as captain Elliot, captain Thomas M’Kee, and others were going to the council. But this was not approbated; and as our letters sent by captain Elliot had not been forwarded by him on account of his meeting the commissioners here, who thought proper to detain them, concluding we should have an opportunity shortly to see them ourselves,—after opening and reading them, and adding a short postscript, we were encouraged to send them forward, though at a late stage.

2d. Towards evening, several of us in company with our good old general, took a walk up the river about a mile, and drank tea at James Colwell’s. The result of this great business is cause of much close exercise at times—our minds being made sensible that nothing but supernatural wisdom will do for us to lean to.

3d. The sloop Detroit came to, here, on her way

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ytf



to Fort Erie, from Michillimackinac, loaded with peltry, having on board three hundred and thirty-three packs, the greatest part supposed to be worth twenty guineas each. So great is the fur trade in this country, that it is almost beyond description. In the afternoon, John Elliott and myself took a walk to Simon Girty's, and from thence about half a mile further down the lake, where we saw some plain traces of one of the very old forts, among the many that are in divers parts of this country, of which the present Indians can give no account from tradition or otherwise.

4th. First of the week. We held a small meeting at Simon Girty's, we hope to profit:—himself gone to the Indian council with the deputies that were here from the Rapids. William Savery and myself being comrades in a small tent, our bedding got a good deal wet with the great rain that fell to-day, and having no opportunity for drying, we slept on them as they were. In the morning, felt well, which is an additional cause of thankfulness for the many favours we have received.

5th. We have frequent visits from the town,—and this day came James Abbot, William Bow, and ——— Sportsman, in a small sail boat. Our friend John Parrish, paid a visit to the Wyandot Indian town about four miles from our camp. This night was the most general complaint of the musketoes I have yet heard since our encamping here. Most of us got little sleep either in the house, tents, or on ship board. Towards day the weather grew colder—wind N. W. which caused an increase of musketoes in our tents.

6th. One of the servants of captain Elliot, called

## Transcription

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One of the servants of captain Elliot, called



Toby, a Pawnee slave, who has lain near a year in a consumption, died about two o'clock this afternoon. I was with him for about an hour before he departed, and speaking with him about fifteen minutes before he breathed his last, found he was sensible of death being upon him. He said he understood all I said to him, and was glad he was noticed in his last moments. I think I never saw before so hasty a burial. His coffin was made immediately, and his interment took place about sunset, in a grave near by on the bank of the river, attended by about twenty people, whites, blacks, and Indians. This was the end of poor Toby.

7th. I was at captain William Colwell's, and towards evening walked to Simon Girty's. At night the wind came strong from the south, with much rain. William and I got a little wet again, but are preserved in health.

8th. Two Indians came from the Rapids, by whom we received letters from captain Hendricks, a chief of the Five Nations, announcing his opinion there will be peace. This was pleasant, indeed, and we sat up this evening, conversing with the commissioners till past eleven o'clock. Slept well, being clear of musketoes.

9th. William Savery and myself dined on board the ship that rides nearly opposite our camp. This evening came in several more Indians from the Rapids, whose reports agree in substance with captain Hendricks' letters. They were treated with a glass a piece, and encamped near by; but a canoe coming from Detroit with rum, they were made very noisy. This, with the musketoes, caused little sleep.

10th. Great looking out for the boat's return from

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11th. First of the week. No arrival from the Rapids to alleviate our strong desires and anxiety to see the Indians. With some difficulty we got to Grose Isle, where we held a meeting with some of its inhabitants and divers from the main, to a good degree of satisfaction. This morning, Jasper Parrish, who had been express to Philadelphia, the second time, arrived in the ship Ottoway, from Fort Erie, by whom we received many letters from home.

12th. Our anxiety and great suspense still continue. William Savery and Jasper Parrish both poorly. At night our rest was much disturbed by the musketoos. We have frequent visits from small parties of Indians, who sometimes find means to get too much rum, and are then troublesome; otherwise they are quiet and civil. Fresh provisions are plenty here; but rate very high. Sheep from four to six dollars, not large.

13th. No remarkable occurrence. We are still looking earnestly for the boats from the great Indian council.

14th. This day we had the company of captain Wellbank, who returned some days ago from Niagara. He gave the commissioners much the same

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account we received from him at Detroit the 18th ultimo.

15th. Felt dull and heavy in body and mind.— We have a Wyandot Indian, who stays much with us. He often goes out to hunt, and brings in plenty of ducks, &c. for which he gets well paid. He appears to be a sensible man, speaks many languages in the Indian tongue and some English. Two men came from the other side of the river, and informed the boats were coming from the council to invite us to the treaty.

16th. In the afternoon came two young Indian men, (Wyandots) they looked wild and afraid; one of them was introduced to general Lincoln, and handed him a message in writing, from the great council, informing, that the several treaties at Fort M'Intosh, Miami, Muskingum, &c., where lands had been ceded by two or three nations only, were not valid, as they had no right to cede lands. And as for the large sums of money proposed to be given for their country, they did not want it, and a great many of them did not know the use of it: therefore desired it might be applied with the proposed salary, to the indemnification of the settlers north of the Ohio. And as they supposed they were mostly poor people, or they would not have settled on disputed lands, they now proposed that government should give the money to them. It would be a sufficient compensation to those settlers, and might induce them to move quietly somewhere else, out of the Indian country—and make the Ohio the boundary: for it was their land. And signified, as the land to the westward was filled up, they had nowhere to repair to, and were now determined to lay

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ful manœuvre, on one side or the other. It was somewhat extraordinary to hear general Lincoln express, that they had received just such an answer as he could have wished. What his meaning was, is unknown. Friends slept in their tents as heretofore, I believe with little fear.

17th. We were hurried on board soon after breakfast, with the remainder of our baggage. Two runners were despatched by the commissioners to the Six Nations, the object unknown to us. About eleven o'clock, we were all on board, and stood down the river into the lake. My mind felt sorrowful and very heavy, reflecting on the important subject of our journey; but I could see nothing material omitted on our part, to give uneasiness: so I endeavoured to rest quiet, leaving the event to Him who judgeth righteously. In this part of the world, but little morality, law, or religion, appears to govern the people, though the climate is blessed with health and there is plenty of the good things of this life; nothing being wanting but industry and thankful hearts.

18th. First of the week. We came to anchor among a cluster of islands in the west end of the lake; of which there is said to be about thirty, great and small. Some of them produce abundance of red cedar, much used in ship building—there are also rackoons and many other wild animals on them. We stood out into the open lake with pleasant weather. Had a season of solid retirement in the cabin, with a few of our fellow passengers, to a good degree of satisfaction and comfort; though held in much contempt by others, who supposed themselves wise and good enough already.

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19th. Light head wind. We have thirty-one passengers on board, besides the ship's crew and marines. Provisions plenty—poultry, sheep, hogs—and two bears belonging to captain Bunbury.

19th. We passed the mouth of Cayahoga river, and in sight of the Looming-hills on the south shore, land claimed and held by the Delaware Indians.—The light and trivial conversation on board, accompanied with such a degree of profanity in language and behaviour one to another, at times, was truly distressing, though otherwise we were as comfortably accommodated as the nature of our situation would admit.

22d. We anchored at Fort Erie.—23d. Rainy, no goods or baggage could be landed, as the lake was rough, which caused a great surf. 24th. Morning fair and calm—a great stir, hoisting out casks, trunks, &c. The commissioners preparing to set forward, some by water, others by land. William Savery and William Hartshorne, are to go with general Lincoln, by Ontario. Jacob Lindley is provided with a horse by the commissioners, and goes by land; so that we are all busily engaged fixing our baggage each in his own way, clearing off all expenses for passage, &c. And truly we may say, by this time, we became pretty much stript of the contents of our purses, and a great deal of our stock of provisions, &c. John Elliott and John Parrish went on shore in the afternoon, to get to some Friend's house. Jacob Lindley and myself went in the evening to the house of Benjamin Willson, who had been on board with us all the afternoon. I felt myself in some measure, like one let out of prison. Here we were kindly treated and lodged; proposing to visit a

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number of Friends and friendly people, in and about this neighbourhood, before we set out for home; which seemed annexed to my concern in coming forth to this country, to attend the proposed treaty with the Indians.

25th. First of the week. We held a public meeting, and visited a few families—towards evening, got to Asa Schooley's, where John Parrish came to us. Here we lodged.

26th. John Elliott came to us this morning—so that we are now all together again. We went to John Herrit's, son-in-law to Asa Schooley, had a sitting there and returned to Asa's—there had a solid opportunity with his family and the family of John Cutler, together;—after which, went to Daniel Pound's and lodged.

27th. We held a public meeting at Joseph Haven's, which was large and favoured; at the close, we had a select opportunity with such as profess with Friends, a number of them being members, to whom some interesting matters of advice were communicated. Upon the whole, we thought it a very solid and profitable opportunity, many hearts being tendered; for whom, in their lonely situation, we were brought into near sympathy. We parted from them in much love. John Parrish and myself went to Ezekiel Dennis's, up the side of Lake Erie about six miles, to point Ebino, where we were kindly entertained and lodged. I think when the meeting was select as above mentioned, there was in the whole, young and old, about forty—many decent looking young people, with innocent countenances, were present; on account of whom I felt much concern for their religious and school education.

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28th. Set out and rode up the beautiful beach on the lake shore, about ten miles, to what is called the *Sugar Loaf*, a point of land extending out in the lake, with a remarkable round hill, at a distance resembling a sugar loaf. Here we visited seven families, and returned in the evening to our friend Asa Schooley's.

29th. With divers other Friends, we went about twelve miles to esquire Powell's, where we had a large public meeting of Friends and others, to much satisfaction to ourselves, and I believe it was so to the auditory. They behaved quiet, and with becoming decency. After which many Friends took leave of us in much love and tenderness, and departed to their several homes. We dined with the squire, being freely and liberally entertained. Afterwards I rode about four miles to the fort, and went on board the Dunmore on a small errand, with our friend William Lundy, who having heard of our being here, came about twenty miles to see us, and was at the meeting to-day. In the evening went to our friend Benjamin Willson's—leaving the other Friends at Powell's. John Elliott had been very poorly with the ague and fever—am fearful he will hardly be able to ride very soon, which is now a great trial to us, being very desirous to move towards home.—Having had the two public meetings above mentioned, and visited most of the families and Friends in this country, to wit, Asa Schooley, Joseph Havens, Obadiah Dennis, Abraham Webster, John Cutler, John Hill, Benjamin Hill, Jeremiah Moore, (Abraham Laing, and Benjamin Canby, single men) John Taylor, Joshua Gillam, Joseph Marsh, Adam Burwell, Daniel Pound, William Lundy, Thomas Rice,

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Having had the two public meetings above



James Crawford, Enoch Scrigley, Samuel Taylor, Ezekiel Dennis, and several others.

30th. We now began to prepare to leave this part of the country. This morning the other Friends came to me at Benjamin Willson's. Jasper Parrish we hear is very poorly at the landing, not able to return. We felt loth to leave him, but understanding general Chapin, with whom he has his home, is expected to be here in about a week, we were the more easy to leave him.

31st. John Elliott now bravely, though weak, seems very willing to move forward. We waited this morning for Abraham Laing, a young man who is going to the States, and is very desirous of our company. Then went to Powell's, and thence to Windecker's, the ferryman, where Abraham Laing came to us—we crossed over and went three miles to Cornelius Winney's, at Buffalo creek. Here we stayed, as there is no house between this and the Genesee, which is called seventy-five miles.

9th mo. 1st. First-day. Set out early for Genesee—rode about forty miles; night came on, and we halted by the side of a small brook, and began to make preparation for a shelter, but a cloud came on with heavy thunder and rain. We made out to get a fire kindled, which was a comfort to us; but we got very wet. The wind being high, several trees fell near us, which was somewhat alarming. The gust held about two hours, and then cleared up with bright star-light the remainder of the night. We all lay before the fire, in the best manner we could, in our wet situation, got some sleep, but were somewhat afflicted with the musketoes. On the whole, we thought ourselves much favoured.

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2d. We were up early, looked out for our horses, put on our kettle, and made a good dish of chocolate, wherein our friend John Parrish, was principal director—then set out and rode about thirty-five miles to the Genesee river, which we crossed by fording, and put up at John Gilbert Berry's, where we were comfortably entertained.

3d. After writing letters to general Chapin at Canandaigua, captain Bunbury at Niagara, and captain Hendricks, a chief among the Five Nations, we rode sixteen miles to James Miller's, superintendent of Williamsburgh farm, where we put up for the night, there being no place for lodging short of forty miles further. Among the many Indians resorting about Berry's, we saw a woman, said to be a hundred years old. In conversation with her, and admiring her grey hair, she assigned as a reason for her long life, that she was always kind and good, and against all quarrels; therefore God had spared her to see the sun a long time; pointing up to it.

4th. This morning we took a wrong road and had to return, by which we lost about ten miles, so that we were not able to reach Bath, and lodged at the same old Indian cabin we were at in going up in the spring, eleven miles short of the place we aimed at. We struck up a fire and slept pretty comfortably.

5th. We rode to Bath, and late in the evening got to colonel Lindley's, where we put up, having rode about forty miles.

6th. We were up early, proposing to reach the Block-house, distant about forty miles, but having our young friend Abraham Laing in company, with a poor little horse that tired on the way, our pro-

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tain Hendricks,  
a chiefytf among the Five Nations , we  
rode sixteenytf miles to James Miller's, superintendent  
ytf of Williamsburgh farm , where we put up forytf the  
night, there being no place for lodging short of for-  
ty milesytf further. Among the many Indians resort-  
ing about Berry's, we saw a woman, said to be a  
hundred years old. Inytf conversation with her, and  
admiring her grey hair, she assigned as a reasonytf for  
her long life, that she was always kind and good,  
and against allytf quarrels; therefore God had spared  
her to see the sun a long time; pointingytf up to it. ytf                      ytf ytf                      4th. ytf This morning we took a  
had to return, by which we lost aboutytf ten miles, so  
that we were not able to reach Bath , and lodged at  
the same old Indian cabin we were atytf in going up  
in the spring, eleven miles short of the place we  
aimedytf at. We struck up a fire and slept pretty com-  
fortably. ytf                      ytf ytf                      5th. ytf We rode to Bath , and late in the eveningytf got  
to colonel Lindley's, where we putytf up, having rode  
about forty miles. ytf                      ytf ytf                      6th. ytf We were up early, proposing to reach the  
ytf Block-house , distant about forty miles, butytf having  
our young friend Abraham Laing> inytf company, with  
a poor little horse that tired on the way, our pro-  
ytf



gress was retarded, so that we were benighted in very dark thick woods, and were obliged to alight. There, tying up our horses to the trees, with much difficulty we kindled a fire, and lay on the ground, which, with our clothes, were wet with rain. We kept up our fire, got a little sleep, wishing for day, and were glad when it appeared. We left Abraham Laing with his tired horse about eight miles back, where there is a small cabin in the woods.

7th. Mounted our horses before sun-rise, and rode two miles to the Block-house, where we took breakfast, and gave our horses as much oats as we thought would be useful. Being thus refreshed, we set out, leaving Abraham Laing to come on as well as he could, in hopes that he may overtake us at Muncy. We rode seventeen miles to James Kyle's, and dined—thence fourteen miles to our friend Samuel Harris's, at Loyalsock, where John Parrish and myself lodged, leaving Jacob Lindley and John Elliott five miles back to get their horses shod.—Here we heard of great sickness in Philadelphia.

8th. First of the week. After breakfast, Jacob Lindley and John Elliott came up, and we went to Muncy meeting. Here we met with a number of our dear friends. This seemed very pleasant, and we had a solid, favoured time together. After which we went to our friend Samuel Wallace's and dined, then disposed of ourselves in several places to lodge. I went to Henry Parker's. We all felt a little of the effects of lying in the damp woods in our wet clothes, and hard travelling for two days past, with rough roads, and crossing many creeks; one called Trout run, we crossed thirty times, and Lycoming creek seven times—with several large mountains,

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one of which was a part of the Alleghany. The sickness in Philadelphia confirmed in every place.

9th. Not feeling quite clear of this neighbourhood, we held another meeting at Muncy meeting house, which was larger than yesterday, and much favoured. After dinner, went back six miles to Samuel Harris's, over the very large and rapid creek called Loyalsock. Here we had a large and satisfactory meeting. Most of our company returned, but I stayed here.

10th. Our friend S. H., an ancient man, has lain poorly for some time, and not likely to continue long. He seems quiet and calm, and told me this morning, he felt bravely refreshed, and much satisfied with the meeting, and the company of his friends. I took a solemn leave of him and the family, and proceeded to Wallace's. We then all set out together, and rode to William Ellis's, where we settled the running accounts we had among ourselves. Our friend Jacob Lindley concluded here to leave us, and proceed home by way of Harrisburgh. We then went on, having Joseph Carpenter for a guide, eighteen miles toward Catawissa, and put up at our friend John Eves's, at Fishing creek, where we were kindly entertained.

11th. Here we had a meeting with a few Friends and divers of their neighbours, in a school house, to a good degree of satisfaction and comfort. Set out in company with Isaac James, brother to John, in Philadelphia, and rode about twelve miles to Cattawissa, crossing the north-east branch of the Susquehanna, and put up at our friend John Lloyd's. Here is a small town of about thirty buildings. I lodged at James Watson's, John Parrish at John Lloyd's,

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poorly, John Elliott stopped about eight miles short of this, at John Willson's.

12th. John Elliott came to us this morning. On his way he called to see an ancient Friend, now in the ninety-seventh year of her age. We had no public meeting here, but visited most of the families of Friends in town, wherein our friend John Parrish had good service, and was much favoured. In the afternoon we rode about nine miles to Roaring creek. This part of the country is hilly and mountainous,—the vallies interspersed with good farms. Many Friends are settled hereabouts. Lodged at Moses Starr's.

13th. Rode twenty-six miles to Cold Run, and put up at Samuel Webb's, having crossed the Little Mountain, Mahony, Broad, Locust, and Tuscarora mountains. Great part of the way very rough and stony.

14th. Set out and rode seven miles to Richard Stephens's—thence to Harkerstown. We here met with our friend Mordecai Lee, who had heard of our coming, and came to meet us. We went home with him.

15th. First of the week. Joseph Wright, living in one part of the house with his family, has lately been afflicted with the bloody flux, by which he had lost three children. Divers Friends came here to see us, viz. John Starr, Thomas Wright, Levi Pilkington, &c. We all attended their meeting at Maiden creek—and after dinner proceeded nine miles to Reading, where we put up at Samuel Jackson's.—The sickness, and distress in consequence thereof, we still hear confirmed, and much talked of, as still raging to a great degree in Philadelphia—which, I

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expect will be a trying circumstance to many friends in the country, in getting to our ensuing Yearly Meeting. May the good hand be near to help us.

18th. Samuel Wallace, from Muncy, called to see us. He left the city yesterday, and confirms the accounts of the sickness and mortality to be quite equal to what we have heard—and that the principal nurses for the sick, and buriers of the dead, are the blacks, of whom it is said, very few or none have yet taken the disorder. After breakfast we set out and rode twenty-three miles to Joseph Potts's, where we lodged. Here we again heard much of the distressed situation of Philadelphia. Our friend John Elliott left John Parrish and myself here, proposing to ride into town this evening to his family.

19th. I have been these two days past, poorly with a cold, and very hoarse; but through favour, this morning, feel some better. John Parrish was taken in a carriage by a friend, proposing to go to Darby, where he understands his wife was gone, intending to go by John Field's, who with many others are out of town. At the same time I set out with my friend Joseph Potts, and rode nine miles to Germantown. Called at Henry Drinker's, who with his family were here. From thence went with Henry to John Pemberton's, who was here also with his family. Having heard that Beverly Randolph was at his cousin Edmund Randolph's, the attorney general of the United States, about three miles from this, and being desirous to see him, towards evening, John Pemberton, Henry Drinker and myself went there in John's carriage. We were glad to see each other again, and after spending about an hour and a half together in free conversation, returned to

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Germantown, where I lodged at my friend John Johnson's.

20th. The weather dry and warm—thought to be rather unfavourable to the sick in the city, where deaths and burials are frequent through the day.—Here I met with my friend Sarah Lundy, who is on her way to the Yearly Meeting, and a proposed visit to the Southern States. Also, again met with my dear friend, William Savery, who came in last evening, his wife being here, and having taken lodgings at Caspar Haines's. We were all together at their preparative meeting, where divers weighty testimonies were delivered by Sarah Lundy and others; and solemn supplication by William Savery. Wm. Hartshorne returned home from New York, well.

21st. This being the day for opening our select Yearly Meeting, it was exceedingly trying to many Friends, on account of the prevailing and mortal disorder raging in the city, where it is said from a hundred to a hundred and fifty of a day, have been taken to their graves. I was much exercised in mind on that account, being yet poorly with my cold, which I now apprehend to be what is commonly called the influenza;—however, on the whole, I thought I felt most easy to go forward, and rode into Philadelphia, attended the meeting at Fourth street, which was a solid, favoured time, though very small. There were some Friends from every Quarter, though many of the representatives were absent. I think from one meeting there was but one answered. The number on the women's side of the house, in the whole, twenty-four. I dined at Thomas Wistar's, and towards evening returned to

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Germantown, feeling myself very poorly with great debility. While in the city, I had occasion to pass by Friends' burial ground, the Potter's field, and several others. The prospect was awful and alarming, to behold the many new graves, and others digging, with the hearses standing, and some coming and going—most of which were attended by the black people, whom it is said the disorder has not reached. This is a token of mercy, mixed with judgment, both to them and the whites, they being the principal nurses and carriers of the dead. I am hardly able to describe my feelings on the present occasion, believing it to be all in wisdom, and hoping it may have a tendency to bring the lofty from their seats, and beget greater humility than has of latter time appeared in that highly favoured city.

22nd. First of the week. The weather much the same as many days past. I felt very weak and poorly; did not go out to meeting, but kept in my quarters, where I was very kindly and tenderly treated, wanting for nothing the house could afford to make me comfortable. John Johnson and his wife Rachel, appear to be tender-hearted, sympathising friends, blessed with a plenty of the good things of this life, and an open disposition to communicate freely to those that are in need. May the Lord reward them, as good stewards of the manifold favours received.

23rd. This day our general Yearly Meeting begins, at ten o'clock in the morning. I much desired to be there; but remaining poorly, concluded to lay by another day for rest. I think I now feel the effects of hard riding through the wilderness, and lying on the damp ground; being stiffened, with soreness in my bones. John Elliott, I hear, has been

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24th. The weather dry and warm, the roads very dusty. This morning felt better. Leaving my horse here, I rode into town with my friend John Johnson, in a chair—attended two sittings of our Yearly Meeting, which was much smaller than usual. Our friend Nicholas Waln, was again chosen clerk for the present year; and the business went on in much brotherly love and concord—a good degree of solemnity and weight attending. I lodged at Thomas Hough's.

25th. The weather much the same. I continue tolerable well in health; but weak and some cough. Attended the meeting as yesterday. Dined at N. Waln's, and lodged at John James's.

26th, and fifth of the week. The meeting assembled again at nine o'clock, and the business concluded before twelve, in solemn quiet, and, I believe, to the satisfaction of all present. After which, I dined with my friend David Bacon, and returned to Germantown with my kind friend, John Johnson, who had also attended all the sittings of this Yearly Meeting. The sickness in town continues as heretofore. Divers friends in the city are paying constant attention to the sick—providing necessaries, nurses, coffins, and carriers of the dead. At which I felt glad, and hope they will be rewarded for their labours in so great and charitable a work.

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