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JOURNALS OF
HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

A RECORD OF COUNCILS WITH THE SENECA AND
TUSCARORA INDIANS AT BUFFALO AND
CATTARAUGUS IN THE YEARS
1838 AND 1839.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

JOURNALS OF HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

INTRODUCTION.

Henry A. S. Dearborn, the author of the following journals, was the son of Major-General Henry Dearborn of Revolutionary fame, who also served with distinction in the War of 1812; it was he who captured York, now Toronto, in the spring of 1813, and Fort George on the Niagara. His career, as a soldier and as Secretary of War, is so well known to students of American history, and so fully set forth in many books, that further details here would be superfluous. The son, Henry Alexander Scamwell Dearborn, is also far from unknown in his country's annals. Born at Exeter, N. H., March 3, 1783, he graduated from William and Mary College in 1803, studied law under William Wirt, and had practiced that profession for some years when, in 1812, he succeeded his father as Collector of the Port of Boston, and as brigadier-general of militia commanding the defences of the harbor. He was with his father for a time on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812; interesting allusions to those visits will be found in the journals which follow. In 1829 President Jackson removed him from the Boston collectorship. In the same year he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives; he was a member of the Governor's Council in 1830, and of the State Senate in 1831, in which year he was elected to Congress, serving as a Representative from Massachusetts until March, 1833. He was adjutant-general of Massachusetts, 1835-1843, when he was dismissed from office for having lent the State arms, during the Governor's absence, to the government of Rhode Island, the Dorr Rebellion being then in progress. In the years that followed Gen. Dearborn held many civic and other public offices. He was one of the origina-

tors of the plan for building Bunker Hill monument; was superintendent of a state survey for a canal from Boston to the Hudson River, and when that project was killed by the construction of the Great Western Railroad, he turned his attention to railroad interests, and was among the first to advocate the tunneling of Hoosac mountain. He was one of the originators of the plan for laying out Mount Auburn and Forest Hills cemeteries—the latter at his home city of Roxbury, Mass., of which he was mayor from 1847 till his death, July 29, 1851.

Gen. Dearborn was a voluminous writer, and although he published a number of works, he left behind several others in manuscript, including a "Life of Jesus Christ," "Life of Commodore Bainbridge," "Life of W. R. Lee, U. S. A.," a treatise on Grecian architecture, and other studies. His published works include: "Commerce of the Black Sea," with charts (3 vols., 1819); "History of Navigation and Naval Architecture" (2 vols.); "Defense of General Dearborn against the Attacks of General Hull"; "Internal Improvements and Commerce of the West," a series of letters, mostly written from Buffalo in the summer and fall of 1838 (Boston, 1839); and, besides numerous addresses and pamphlets, a "Sketch of the Life of the Apostle Eliot" (Roxbury, 1850); it was Gen. Dearborn who was chiefly instrumental in raising the monument to this devoted missionary to the Indians.

In the summer of 1838 Gen. Dearborn came to Buffalo as the Superintendent of Massachusetts—such was his official title—to be present at negotiations with the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, having in view their removal from their Western New York reservations to lands in Kansas. The history of that transaction is too long and involved to set forth fully, here; and indeed such a recital is unnecessary, for the main facts are matter of abundant record; perhaps most clearly and concisely presented in the "Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Assembly of 1888 to investigate the Indian Problem of the State." (Albany, 1889.) The treaty at Buffalo Creek, Jan. 15, 1838, provided among other things for the conveyance by the Senecas to Ogden & Fellows, of the entire Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, Cattaraugus and Alleghany reservations, for \$202,000. The Tuscaroras were to receive \$3,000, and the President was to sell the land which they owned in fee, to Ogden & Fellows, as owners of the "preëmptive right." The Senate made many amendments before ratifying this treaty, and added the important provision that it should be of no binding effect until it as amended should "be submitted and fully and fairly explained by a commissioner of the United States to each of such tribes or bands, separately

assembled in council, and they have given their full and voluntary assent thereto." It was this amended treaty that was submitted to the Senecas in council in August, 1838. The United States commissioner was Ransom H. Gillett. Massachusetts was interested because of that curious and troublesome agreement between that commonwealth and New York, in 1786, by which Massachusetts ceded to New York the "government, sovereignty and jurisdiction" over the disputed territory which is now Western New York, and New York ceded to Massachusetts "the right of preëmption of the soil of the native Indians and all other estate except of sovereignty and jurisdiction." It was this agreement which made Massachusetts a party to all negotiations with the Western New York Indians.

Commissioner Gillett, with Gen. Dearborn in behalf of Massachusetts, submitted the amended treaty to the Senecas, and it is Gen. Dearborn's journal of the events that then ensued, which in the following pages is now for the first time published. The effort was to obtain the signatures of a majority of the chiefs. Sixteen signed in council, and after the adjournment 15 more signed in different places; the irregularity of the proceedings giving rise to charges of bribery. In October Gen. Dearborn returned to Massachusetts, but was at once sent back to Buffalo to procure more signatures, enough to constitute a majority, though what that number should be was not easy to determine. The council did not reconvene, but the signatures of ten more chiefs were secured, 41 in all, the total number of chiefs being placed by the commissioner in his report at 81. President Van Buren sent the treaty to the Senate in January, 1840, with the statement in his accompanying message, that he believed improper means had been employed to procure the Senecas' signatures. However, the Senate ratified it and the President proclaimed it.

Then began a new agitation, on the part of the Senecas; the Quakers were especially active, with reports and memorials. Gov. Everett of Massachusetts and a committee of the General Assembly of that state, expressed the opinion that improper means had been brought to bear to procure the assent of the Senecas to the treaty. Finally, acting on the advice of Daniel Webster, the Society of Friends, through the Secretary of War, the Hon. John C. Spencer, brought about what is known as the compromise treaty of Buffalo Creek, concluded May 20, 1842, when the Ogden Company released and handed back to the Senecas the whole of the Alleghany reservation and the Cattaraugus reservation, and the Senecas gave up the whole of the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations, the Ogden Company retaining the preëmptive right in both tracts then surrendered by the Indians.

There can be no doubt that improper means were used, to obtain the assents of the Seneca chiefs, in the councils of 1838; but there is no question as to the uprightness and sincerity of Gen. Dearborn. As his journal repeatedly shows, he was thoroughly convinced that the only salvation of the Indian lay in his removal to the West. The journal graphically records the violent scenes which marked the negotiations. The council house on the Buffalo reservation was burned, supposedly by Indians opposed to the removal. The animated debates between the advocates for and against emigration, developed into scenes of riot and violence, so that appeal was made to the military to preserve peace. It is an important chapter in the early history of Buffalo, the story of which has remained until now for the most part untold. Gen. Dearborn's observations on the condition of Buffalo in 1838, his predictions of the great city which would grow up on the Niagara frontier, his feeling allusions to his father, and their presence on the frontier during the War of 1812; even the Indian traditions which he wrote down from the narration of Cone the young Tonawanda, all combine to give interest and historic value to the journal which he kept, but which has lain unpublished until now.

In 1877 the State of New York purchased at a public sale a number of the manuscripts of Gen. Dearborn, including several volumes of his correspondence, and his journals. They are now preserved in the manuscripts department of the State Library at Albany. The journals now made public are for the most part printed according to the orthography of the original. A few of the crude pen sketches which adorn the manuscript are given; others, of no historic significance, being omitted.

F. H. S.

JOURNALS OF

HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

I was appointed on the 6th of July 1838, as Superintendent of Massachusetts, to attend councils of the Seneca & Tuscarora Indians, in the State of New York, in conformity to Articles of agreement between Massachusetts & N. York, which were entered into at Hartford, in Connecticut on the 16th. of Dec^r 1786. The conventions were to be held, to complete a treaty, made last winter, by the U. S. for the removal of all the Indians, in the state of N. York, west of the state of Missouri, & for the sale of the reservations at Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek & Tonawanda to Ogden & Fellows,—the grantees of the preëmptive right of Massachusetts.

I kept the following journal.*

H. A. S. DEARBORN,
Hawthorn Cottage Octo 15, 1838.

MEMORANDUM OF A JOURNEY TO THE NIAGARA FRONTIER, FOR THE PURPOSE OF NEGOCIATING TREATIES WITH THE SENECA & TUSCARORA TRIBES OF INDIANS.

August 2. I left my house in Roxbury at half past two for Boston & took a seat in the Rail-Road Cars for Stoning-

* Volume One of the manuscript journals here printed has for title-page the following: "Journal of an Expedition to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, made by H. A. S. Dearborn as Superintendent of Massachusetts, In the Months of Sepr. and October. 1838." The second manuscript volume, of the same journal continued, has for title: "Journal of a Mission to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, and an Account of the Treaties held with those Tribes, in the years 1838 and 1839, for the sale of their Lands and for their Emigration West of the Mississippi River, by H. A. S. Dearborn, Superintendent of Massachusetts. Vol. II."

ton at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, where I arrived at half past 7, having traveled 78 miles in four hours. The Steam Boat being ready we pushed off immediately for New York & reached that city at seven in the morning.

August 3. Left New York in a steamboat for Albany at half past seven & arrived at seven in the evening. In passing up the Hudson several portions of the Croton Aqueduct, for supplying the city of New York with water, were visible, where the men were engaged in the construction of that magnificent & truly Roman work. Four thousand laborers, I was informed, were engaged in the excavations & masonry.

August 4. I met Thomas Ludlow Ogden Esq. of New York, one of the grantees of the preëemptive right to the lands of the Seneca & Tuscarora tribes of Indians, which belonged to Massachusetts, & we left Albany in the railroad cars for Utica 9 o'clock & arrived there at 3 in the afternoon, where we dined. The route was very interesting & beautiful. On the opposite bank of the Mohawk river runs the Erie Canal, & between the railroad & the left bank of the river is the turnpike road, thus presenting at one view four lines of communication, with a width of a few rods, in the rich & luxuriant valley of that picturesque river. The farmers were in the midst of their wheat harvest. At 4 we took passage in a Canal Boat for Syracuse, where we arrived at 6 the next morning. The canal has not a single lock in that long level of 60 miles. The night was warm, the sky clear [with a] constant change of scenery, from cultivated fields & primeval forests. We saw several little camps of Oneida Indians, during the evening where fires were kindled, for their evening repast. They are employed in cutting wood for the salt works at Syracuse. I heard the Whip-poor-will, for the first time during many years. The canal packet boat is very comfortable & I like much that mode of conveyance. We went on at the rate of about 4 to five miles an hour.

August 5. Left Syracuse, at 8 o'clock, in a car drawn by two horses, on the rail road for Auburn. Syracuse is a flourishing town, & the salt works are rapidly increasing. Coal however must soon be substituted, for fuel as wood

will be scarce, as the farms are multiplied & improved. They will be able to obtain coal from a mine, about being wrought in the northern borders of Pennsylvania, & which can be brought by a railroad, to the waters communicating with Seneca Lake & down that lake to the Erie Canal. There is also a valuable deposit of iron ore near the coal mine, which will ultimately furnish a vast quantity of cast & malleable iron, for this region of country.

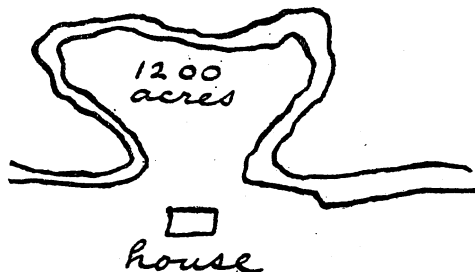
Arrived at Auburn in two hours. The most beautiful town on the route. Proceeded in a stage to Geneva on the west bank of Seneca Lake where we dined & got to Canadagua [Canandaigua] at seven.

August 6. I have passed a distance 630 miles in three days & 3 hours, & slept comfortably each night. Gad! what wonders has steam produced & what still greater are yet to be developed,—*nous verons*. Mr. Gillet the U. S. Commissioner to hold treaties with the New York Indians came from Buffalo & arrived this morning & informed me the council with the Senecas would not be held before the 16th. I dined with Mr. Gregg, who resides in Canadagua. He has a magnificent House, which cost 60,000 dollars,—a well arranged garden, green house & small park, in which there are a buck, three does & two fawns. He has 40 acres of land connected with his seat. Mr. Granger has a superb house, & there are many handsome dwellings in the town.

August 7. Mr. Fellows, one of the preëmptive owners of the Indian land, arrived from Geneva last night. He is the agent for the family of Sir William Pultney, who bought a large tract of the grantees of the preëmptive right of Mass. We left for Avon at nine, where we dined & passed the night. There are mineral springs in this town, which are beginning to be much frequented. We visited the principal one, which flows in sufficient quantity to carry a small water wheel for pumping the water into boilers & cisterns for the bathing house. They are impregnated with lime, soda, magnesia & iron. Saw Com^r Creighton at Avon, he having been there some weeks & had been nearly cured of the rheumatism, from bathing in & drinking the water.

August 8. Went on to Mr. Wadsworth's in Geneseo.

He has a tract of bottom land of 1,200 acres which is perfectly level, & of the richest quality, the soil being alluvial & at least 16 feet deep. There are groves, clumps of trees & single trees, including all those common to this state, scattered over it in just sufficient numbers to give the whole a park-like & picturesque appearance. They cover about 200 acres, but under them there is no under wood, & the whole is either in grass or under cultivation, with wheat, corn & potatoes. The river makes a detour of nine miles & approaches within one at the narrowest point. Thus:



The house is on the declivity of the river bank which rises at least 150 feet & from the piazza the whole tract is visible, & a vast region of country beyond & up & down the river. Mr. Wadsworth has 500 head of cattle which are for beef, 2,500 sheep & a dairy of 80 cows, in which is made daily a cheese of from 100 to 150 pounds. The cheese is sold chiefly at the farm at 10 cents per pound for the supply of the neighboring towns as far as Rochester.

James Wadsworth, son of the above named gentleman, has a farm of 1,500 acres a mile or two below & a new & magnificent house. We visited the Portage falls of the Genesee river on the 10th. They are 22 miles above Mr. Wadsworth's house. There are three within two miles, the 1st 70 feet, 2d 96 & 3d 75 feet perpendicular fall. The banks of the river are perpendicular & consist of horizontal strata of lime, slate & sandstone; they are over 200 feet high in many parts of the gorge. The whole descent in 3 miles is between 400 & 500 feet.

Mr. Wadsworth & his brother with six hired men & a black woman as cook moved to Geneseo in 1791.* They brought a waggon & three yoke of oxen. When they got to Utica, the late General Wadsworth, went on with the team & men by an Indian trail, cutting down trees, making bridges, and crossing the streams on rafts, while the present Mr. Wadsworth had a boat made & descended Wood creek to Oneda [Oneida] lake, then the Oswego river to Lake Ontario & coasted the lake to the north of the Genesee, with their principal effects. After transporting them above the falls at Rochester, they were transported in a boat to their new home. They found three Indian bands in the vicinity & one on their land. At that time there was no white man lived west of Utica & at that place there was only one family in a log hut. for seven years there were no settlers nearer than Geneva & it was 12 before the tide of emigration reached the Genesee river valley.

They found a man by the name of Jones† living with the Indians on their land. He was made a prisoner by the Seneca Indians in 1777, within 75 miles of Philadelphia. He was a prisoner until the peace of 1783, & having been adopted by the tribe was made a chief. He married a girl who had been captured by whom he had three sons, & one

* It was in the spring of 1790 that the Wadsworth brothers, James and William, came into the Genesee country as above described; they "located" on the present site of Geneseo, June 10, 1790.

† For the history of this "man by the name of Jones," i. e., Capt. Horatio Jones, see Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI., pp. 381-514. His first wife, Sarah Whitmore, died in June, 1792. In the summer of 1795 he married Elizabeth Starr. It was apparently in the three years' interim between these dates that he took an Indian consort, by whom he had a son, William, whose name frequently occurs in the early history of Buffalo. He lived on the Buffalo Creek reservation, and it is probably his house that is shown in a wood-cut in Stone's "Life of Red Jacket," as standing near Red Jacket's log cabin, and described as "residence of Jones, the interpreter." He was son-in-law to the wife of Red Jacket. Adequate data of Horatio Jones's Indian family are lacking. One of his descendants by his first wife, now Mrs. C. B. Gunn of Leavenworth, Kas., writes to the editor of this volume: "The descendants [by the Indian woman] have been very worthy. One girl, Lucy N. Jones of Pipestone, Minn., has written me some very readable letters. She is a great-granddaughter of Horatio Jones, as well as of Mary Jemison, the 'White Woman.' . . She is a graduate of Hampton and Haskell institutes. She is a teacher at Pipestone agency."

of them a wealthy farmer opposite Geneseo, is attending this Council with Mr. James Wadsworth. When his mother died, his father had an Indian wife, or mistress rather, by whom he had one son, who is now a chief & in the council. By a third wife, who was white, he had 12 children & died three years since a wealthy & highly respectable farmer & large land proprietor. Two of his sons by his first wife were killed in the battles of Chippawa & Lundy's Lane.

A canal is constructing up the valley of the Genesee river to the waters of the Allegheny river, thus opening a water communication from Rochester to Pittsburg. How magnificent are the internal improvements of this state, which have been made an are [? era] in progress.

Wheat is \$1.25 per bushel; from 15 to 30 bushels are raised this year to the acre.

August 11. I found Professors Renwick* & the Reved Doct. McVicon, of Columbia College at Mr. Wadsworth's. The former was on a mineralogical exploration for a company of gentlemen in New York, to find bituminous limestone, like that recently employed in France & England, which came from Switzerland, to make asphaltic pavements, roofs of houses, cisterns, &c. &c. He had discovered the material in great abundance on a stream about 20 miles southeast from Geneseo, & I saw him melt it, by the addition of about 20 per cent. of bitumen or Jew's pitch. This limestone when fractured swells often & the lime stone near Mr. Wadsworth's house is also impregnated with bitumen. This may be an important discovery to the country.

I left Mr. Wadsworth's hospitable mansion this morning in company with Professor Renwick, for Batavia. We passed through a luxuriant wheat country. A thunder shower in the afternoon. There is a railroad from Batavia

* James Renwick, a prominent scientist of his day, born in Liverpool in 1790, died in New York Jan. 12, 1863. He came with his parents to this country in 1794, graduated at Columbia College, and was an instructor there in natural philosophy when the War of 1812 began. He became a topographical engineer, with rank as major. From 1820 to 1853 he was professor of chemistry and physics at Columbia. In 1840 he was one of the commissioners to survey the boundary line between the United States and New Brunswick. He was the author of numerous works, among them a life of DeWitt Clinton.

to Lockport & from thence to Buffalo, & there is one to be made from Batavia to Buffalo.*

August 12. We left at half past ten for Buffalo in the stage, the road horribly bad to within eleven miles of the city when an excellent McAdamized pavement rendered the night delightful. What a grand & imposing sight, does the city & Lake Erie present from the highland which slopes down to the shore of that American Caspian. The harbor thronged with ships, brigs, schooners, steam & Coal Boats. We entered Buffalo at seven.

August 13. I went with Professor Renwick in the railroad cars. How changed the condition of the country, since I was here in July, 1813. Then there was no road to the falls save a track for teams & that generally impassable. I was obliged to go down to Fort Schlosser in a Batteau & now there is a steamboat running daily, a canal to Tonawanda, thronged with boats, a railroad & good county road. Then there were only about 30 houses in Buffalo, which were burnt down by the British the following winter & now there is a beautiful city containing at least 16,000 inhabitants, with many superb private [and] public edifices.†

* The first railroad in Erie County was a horse-car line, Buffalo to Black Rock, three miles, opened in 1834. The first steam railroad, Buffalo to Niagara Falls, was opened on Aug. 26, 1836, from Buffalo to Tonawanda, and to Niagara Falls, Nov. 5th of that year. At the date of Gen. Dearborn's visit several railroad projects were in the air, but it was not until Jan. 8, 1843, that the next line to be built, Buffalo to Attica, was opened. This was subsequently operated in connection with other lines afterwards merged in the New York Central. The first direct railroad from Buffalo to Batavia was opened in 1850.

The Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* of Aug. 28, 1838, said: "Tonawanda Railroad.—We are pleased to learn that increased facilities for the fall business are contemplated for this excellent road. Another splendid new locomotive, with greatly increased power, is to be added, making three in all; with several new passenger cars, on an improved plan, combining comfort, convenience, and greater safety against accident. The arrangements making will enable the company to carry across the road, on short notice, five hundred passengers in one train of cars! Thirty new freight cars are also to be added, which will ensure the speedy transmission of merchandise and produce. The road is now in first-rate order, allowing the cars to run through with speed not surpassed perhaps by any in the country. It is worthy of remark that during the eighteen months the road has been in operation, in which time some 50,000 passengers have been carried over it, not a single one has been injured by accident. The engineer department is filled, as we are assured, by the most able engineers, sober, careful and experienced men. Under such management, the public will be well served."

† In 1835 Buffalo's population was 15,661; in 1840, 18,234.

We went on to Goat Island & after examining all the remarkable views on the American shore, I crossed after dinner to the Canadian bank, in a small row boat, just below the Cataract. Went to the Pavilion Hotel, wrote a note to Col. Booth, commanding the troops at this position, & asked at what hour I might do myself the honor of waiting on him. He sent for me immediately. I informed him I was very anxious to see a parade of British troops, but regretted to hear that they did not turn out either that evening or the next morning. He said I should be gratified, for he would order a parade at any hour I might name the next morning. Half past 6 was agreed on & the celebrated 43d Regiment & a demi-Battalion of Artillery were drawn up, for review, & the Col. desired I should receive the salutes. He then carried them through the manual & performed many manoeuvres. They acquitted themselves admirably.

The uniform coat of the 43d. Infantry is lined in front with white woolen webbing & the skirts turned up with white, white fringe wings, white cuffs & white buttons. Caps black felt of this form:

plate in front & blue pom-
above the cap, & brass scale
straps to confine it under the
geants, having herring bone
upper arm of the coat. Sash, white & crimson, tucking 3
inches wide round the waist with crimson tassels which hang
down on the left thigh in front with a bow knot. Scabbard
& Cartridge box, black leather with white belts. White
pantaloons, & shoes that lace in front. Artillery: Blue coats
with yellow lace, Pantaloons blue with a broad red welt on
the out side.

with a brass
pon ball
covered
chin. Ser-
lace on the

Memorandum made at Niagara Falls, August 14, 1838:

1. Doct S. Says that the falls have receded, in nine years considerably.
2. The exact positions of the cataracts have been ascertained, by a trigonometrical survey, so that the gradual change or destruction of any portion can be known, with great exactness, at any time in future.
3. An officer of the British navy has made accurate

hydrographical surveys of the lakes which are being published in England.

N. B. The Doct S. above referred to is Surgeon Genl. of the British troops in Canada, who I saw but forget his name.

The upper strata of the falls are hard compact limestone, but the lower are of an argillaceous and sandy formation which easily crumbles & decomposes by the action of the falling water & continually tumbling down leaves the upper strata hanging over the abyss, until at last the whole falls down & thus the cataracts are constantly receding.

There are about 50 houses & other edifices scattered along the Canada shore opposite the falls & a village of some 30 more houses about half a mile from the falls, called Drummondsville or Lundy's Lane.

The 43d Regiment & a demi-Batⁿ. of light artillery are stationed at a camp directly opposite Goat Island, on the bank of the Niagara. Col. Booth commands. He was with Wellington in Spain & Portugal, France & Belgium & has been 35 years in the 43d. Regt. He is a tall well made & elegant officer.

After breakfast I visited the battle ground of Lundy's Lane, & then rode down to that of Chippawa, which is two miles south of the river & village of that name. Chippawa is in a state of decadence. There was [not] a single vessel or boat, or any appearance of business. I continued my ride up the bank of the Niagara to Waterloo, opposite Black Rock. The land is excellent, being a level plain about 12 feet above the water from Chippawa to the lake, but the houses are miserable & the whole appearance of the country indicates poverty, & want of enterprize. Crossed the river & took the horse power rail-road track to Buffalo.

Soon after my arrival, Genl. Potter called on me & stated that Genl. Gillet had returned from the Oneida tribe & went down to Niagara falls last evening where he learned I had gone & intended to go with me to hold a Council with the Tuscarora Indians. I took a seat in the cars at five but owing to the Locomotive having been thrown from the track the day before horses were used & the load of passengers & baggage being great I did not reach the falls until nearly ten,

when I learned that Mr. Gillet had concluded the business with the Tuscaroras & they had that day signed the treaty. I was very tired having but [been] up and in constant motion from 5 in the morning until 10 at night & besides much walking had rode 50 miles in that time. I was lulled to sleep by the roar of the mighty Cataract.

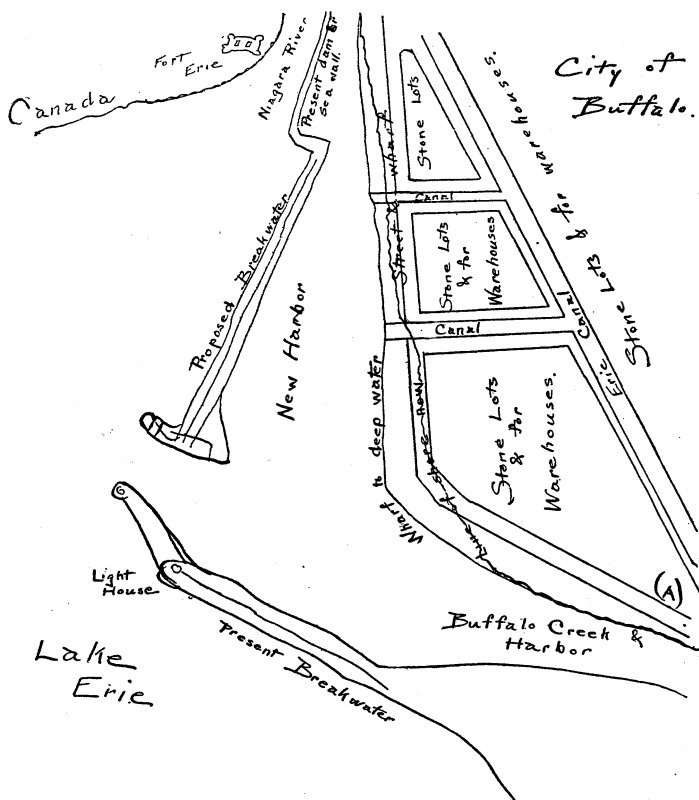
August 15. Mr. Gillet accompanied me to the Tuscarora settlement & I visited the principal chiefs to ascertain whether the Indians were generally satisfied with the sale of their land & the treaty for emigrating west of the Mississippi. They assured me that there were not over a dozen indians who were opposed to the sale & treaty.

We went back to the falls & dined & at three oclock took the rail-road car for Schlosser, where we embarked in the Steamer Red Jacket for Buffalo where we arrived at seven.

August 16. Remained in Buffalo.

August 17. I went out to Allens tavern on the Seneca Reservation of Buffalo Creek distant six miles & met the Chiefs in Council at twelve oclock, but as those from the Alleghany Reservation had not arrived it was concluded best to adjourn to Monday the 20th. A temporary Council House had been erected by Judge Stryker the Indian Agent, as those of the indians were small, distant & inconvenient.

August 18. I returned to Buffalo last evening & have walked over a large portion of the city this day. The present harbor is too small & must be extended, & I am confident it must be formed between the mouth of Buffalo Creek & the Niagara river. The creek is too narrow to subserve the purposes of a harbor, for even now it is filled up with vessels & boats of all kinds. The proposed south channel which has been commenced from the Creek to the Lake, will be difficult to enter in stormy weather & be liable to be filled up by sand, driven in to it, during gales of wind. Besides, the land, sloping to the lake & Niagara river from the main street is high, & admirably formed for building upon, while that southeast of the street is low, flat & is often overflowed. The plan I prepare is shown in the following diagram, and it will be certainly made in TEN YEARS, and SOONER COMMENCED.



August 19. Sunday. I am not well having taken cold on the 17th.

August 20. I came out to Allen's tavern on the Buffalo reservation this forenoon. The Council House was burnt down last night about one oclock, & it is supposed it was done by the Indians who are opposed to emigration.* We

* The Buffalo Commercial Advertiser of Monday, Aug. 20, 1838, said: "The new Council House in Seneca (Indian) village, about six miles east of this on the Indian Reservation, was consumed by fire, this morning. The circumstances attending the erection and destruction of this building are these, as we learned them from Mr. Allen, who keeps the tavern at the village, and built the house. It appears that a portion of the Seneca nation who are opposed to the consummation of the treaty to sell their lands, objected strenuously to the

therefore held the Council in a beautiful grove, east of the tavern. Mr. Gillet made a speech & stated the object of the meeting. I also addressed the Indians, & explained why I had been sent as Superintendent of Massachusetts. There were between 80 & 90 chiefs & principal warriors present. I wrote the Governor & sent him a copy of my speech, taken from recollection of what I said.

August 21. Met the Indians in Council.

August 24. Mr. Gillet concluded his explanations of the amended treaty & the Indians remained to deliberate on the subjects submitted.

August 25. The Indians were in Council all this day & at sunset I went into the City where I passed the night at the American Hotel, which is more richly furnished than any other in the U. S. The building was built by the notorious speculator Rathbon [Rathbun] & cost 100,000 dollars & the furniture 50,000.

August 27. Buffalo reservation. I went down to White Haven on Grand Island on the 26th, in the Red Jacket to pass the day with my friend the Hon. Stephen White on Sunday the 26th. He took me in a boat over to Tonawanda Island where he is building a Brick House. It is a beautiful spot. There are about one hundred acres in the island of level & excellent land. Some 10 acres are cleared & the rest is covered with forest trees & primitive & secondary growth. There is an Indian mound on the eastern side of the island 30 feet in diameter & 12 feet high. It has been opened & many bones, lead pipes & flintstone arrow heads found in it.

There is a Steam Saw mill on Grand Island, in which are six gangs of saws, of from 9 to 10 in each. They saw white

holding of a council in the old Council House, for the purpose of confirming the treaty as amended by the Senate. Accordingly, Mr. Allen, by the advice of the party in favor of the treaty, constructed a rude but commodious house for the holding of the proposed council, which we believe was to have been holden this present week. Between the hours of one and two this morning, the building was discovered on fire, and from the various points at which the fire was raging at the same time, there is no doubt that it was communicated by some person or persons, to several parts of the building, with the intention of destroying it. Fire was also communicated to some straw within a few feet of the barn belonging to the tavern, and much exertion was required to save the building. This is, we think, but an expression of the feeling that at present exists among that portion of the Seneca Nation, who are hostile to the proposed treaty."

oak plank chiefly & the logs are from 18 inches to five feet in diameter & from 40, & 50 to 75 feet long. Each gang of saws cuts from five to six logs a day, making from 25 to 30 according to the length & size. The plank are sent down the Canal to Albany & from thence shipped to N. York, Boston, Portland & other seaports. Many are sent to the U.'S. Navy Yard as well as keel & other timber. The Island is 10 miles long & six broad & contains about 15,000 acres.*

I returned to Buffalo on the evening of the 26th. & came out here this morning. At last after 95 days the weather changed from a continued heat yesterday morning, there having been a thunder shower the day before & this morning there is a cold rain storm. I put on a cloak for the first time, since June. The Indians have been in council all this day.

August 28. The Indians have been in council the last two days, by themselves. The Indians, by the contract with Ogden & fellows,—the representatives of the grantees of the preemptive right of Massachusetts, are to be paid 202,000 for the lands belonging to the Seneca reservations, which are as follows:—

Buf ^o Creek Res ^{ne}	49,920	acres
Cattaraugus reservation....."	21,680.	
Alleghany "	30,469.	
Tounawanda "	12,800	
<hr/>		
Acres.....	114,869	
Tuscarora Reservation	1,920	
for which 9,600 dollars is to be paid.		

Total quantity.....116,789 Acres

Amount of money to be paid to the Indians by the United States.

For a cession of the land owned by the Indians or rather granted to the N. York indians, but which grant was in fact null as they did not remove from N. York on to the land before Jany 1837, were about 600 Oneidas, & the Stock-bridgs, to wit,

* More accurately, 17,381 acres.

To the onehand Party of Oneidas.....	3,000
“ “ First Christian party of Onidas.....	30,500
	<hr/>
	33,500

which is to reimburse the indians for money expended by them & in remuneration of the services of their chiefs & agents in purchasing & securing a title to their reservation. This is by a treaty concluded with the Green Bay Indians at Washington on the 3d of Feby. 1838.

Amount to be paid to the New York Indians by the United States for the expense of removing them to their new home in the West,—for building school houses, council houses, churches, mills, black smith's shops, domestic animals, agricultural tools & instructions in the arts, agriculture & education.

400,000

433,500

expenses of exploring parties, council & missions to Washington

16,500

Add to the amount paid by Ogden & fellows for Seneca reservations

202,000

“ for Tuscarora Resn.....

9,600

Amount to be paid in money. 661,600

A tract of land 104 miles long & 27 wide granted to the Indians west of Missouri, containing 1,824,000 acres, which at $1\frac{1}{4}$ dols per acre amounts to. .2,280,000

Total amount2,941,600

The land in the Indian country cost about 100,000 dollars & the Green Bay purchase 33,500. but put the cost an value of the latter at $1\frac{1}{4}$ dollars per acre, and as 60,000 acres were reserved for the indians who reside there, & the remainder 440,000 amounts to

550,000

which deduct from the amount stated as granted by the U. S. & Ogden & Fellows of 2,957,000 dollars & it leaves 2,407,000 dollars & deducting therefrom the amount paid by Ogden &

Fellows of 211,600 & it leaves the whole amount which the U. S. gives 2,195,400, for the benefit of the Indians. & as an inducement to emigrate.

The indians receive annuities from the state of New York amounting to \$17,137.92

The annuities from the United States amounts

to the Senecas 6,000

to the Six nations 4,500

The number of Indians is as follows

Senecas at Buffalo 730 Tounawanda 440 Cattarauges

440 Alleghany 600 making..... 2,309*

Tuscaroras 273

2,582

St. Regis have in the U. S. a reservation of 10,000

acres. the fee belongs to N. York. population from

6 to 700 but in U. S. reservation only..... 350

Cayugas. There are about 130 remaining in the U.S. 130

They own no land, many years since, having sold their land & gave the Senecas 800 for permission to reside on their land.

Onondagas. They have a reservation in Onondaga

County of 6,000 acres & 300 reside on the land, &

194 reside with the Senecas for which they paid 1,500

dols. population 494

Oneidas They own 5,000 acres which is occupied by

about 620

600 reside at Green bay on land bought of the Menomones.

Total in N York....."..... 4,176

A Green Bay &c....."..... 1,309

Total New York Indians.....".... 5,485

August 29. The Indians have been in Council by themselves all day.

I walked into the wood to ascertain the kinds of trees shrubs & herbacious plants which are indigenous to this part

* Wrong, but as in original.

of the Union. I find a tree called the cucumber & a variety of the poplar not in the forests of Mas^s also the Tulip tree and a vine of the Smilax family, with berries arranged in a ball two inches in diameter. There are numerous mandrake plants. Most of the fruit is now ripe, & in that state is of a rich yellow color, with a redish brown shade on the sides, an near the stem or blossom end & delicately dotted with minute redish brown spots. The skin is thick & encloses a rich juicy pulp, which has the aroma & flavor of the pine apple. It is very agreeable & considered healthy. The plant is herbacious & perennial I believe, from an examination of the roots. It grows in rich moist lands, in the woods, & on the bottom land of the river & streams. There are many seeds in the fruit, & I have saved a number to plant in my garden; for besides the fruit, the plant is handsome, from its large leaves & white blossom. There is only one fruit on a plant. The plant is from a foot to 20 inches high. The fruit is of a flatish form, being about a third broader than it is thick. The stem is inclined from one of the broad sides to the other. [The author's rough sketches of the mandrake fruit are omitted.]

The Indians smoke the bark of several shrubs & this forenoon Mr. Jones went out & brought two of them. One is a Cornus & the other a small species of the willow growing on the banks of streams, with a redish bark. They also use the cones of a dwarf kind of Sumac. These substitutes for tobacco are called Kin-a-ka-nick. The same term is common to all the northern tribes, it is said. I know it is used by the Penobscots.

All the indian tribes are divided into 9 Clans, called the Bear, Beaver, Wolf, Deer, Snipe, Turtle, Hawk, Swan. There were 9 clans, but the Buck & Doe became united into one, or rather one of them became extinct & the other assumed the name of the Deer. The clans cannot intermarry. Each clan has its own chiefs, & peculiar names, which have ever existed. When a chief dies the vacancy is filled by the clan to which the deceased belonged & other clans have no voice in the choice but all the chiefs meet to induct him into office. Most of the chiefs assume a name characteristic of

the office they hold. Indians receive a name when born & another is given when they are 16 years old a third when they are men & a 4th when 30 years old & they may then take any other name, which they may please to adopt.

Ho nart har yo ne	Wolf	Ho de swek gie a	Chicken Hawk
Har de nyr deh	Turtle	Ho de na se a	Snipe
Ho de geh ga gr	Beaver	Ho de die ok gr	Swan
Ho de jo ne gr	Bear	Ho de vigo gwie a	Deer

Sep 26. 1838. The above names of the Indian Clans, or families was given me by Cone, of the Tonawanda Reser'vation.

H. A. S. DEARBORN.

August 30. The weather has been cool since the morning of the 20th, especially the nights. I found on the edge of the woods yesterday a vine of the *Clematis*, like that common in Massachusetts N. Hampshire & Maine.*

Many of the Indian chiefs & warriors of this tribe were in the last war, & several distinguished themselves in the battle of Chippawa'; White seneca killed four Chippawa Indians in single combat, with the tomahawk'; he is now about 50 years old, & is a stout & vigorous man.

There is an old man in this tribe who calls himself a prophet. He belongs to the Pagan party & pretends to converse with angels & even with the great spirit & like Swedenberg, goes to heaven & hell when he chooses. He reports having seen several of the leading chiefs who are in favor of emigration standing in a stream of melted lead, up to their knees, as a punishment for their conduct. Alas! for human nature. In all ages & among all nations cunning, superstition & deception have rendered the influence of priests,—the self created prophets of the savage & civilized man, powerful & dominant. They have wielded the sceptre of terror over the Phareos of Egypt & the christian monarchs of Europe, & made the wild Arab as well as the armies of Greece, Rome & the Crusades subservient to their am-

* Probably the common *Clematis virginiana*. Gen. Dearborn, as the journal shows, was a student of botany and devoted to horticulture, but his botanical allusions are far from accurate.

bition & influence. The Hindoo & Turk are but the children of superstition, while the adherents of Cromwell, Luther, Calvin, & the Popes of Rome, bowed with awe before them, & became the blood-stained partizans of their creeds. God have mercy, on the long deluded & oppressed, outraged & degraded race of man. Truth, virtue, intelligence & beneficence are the natural principles of the human family, but villians have substituted, falsehood, revenge, persecution & cruelty for those heavenly qualities of the heart & mind.

Mr. Gillet informed me last evening, that he was crossing Lake Ontario, to Otronto [Toronto] in the summer of 1837, in company with a gentleman, who resides in Otronto, who stated, that the river Niagara had been seen from the streets of that city within a few months, elevated high in the air, so that the lake shore & the heights of Queenstown were as distinct as if in a vessel directly off the mouth of the river. This phenomenon is a remarkable instance of the looming often seen on the ocean, & so well understood & explained, on the laws which govern the passage of rays of light through less & more dense mediums.

Mr. Jones of Moscow on the western side of Genesee river related the following facts. On the day of the battle of Chippawa, he with three other persons, were in a pasture on the hill, which overlooks Geneseo from the west, when they heard the reports of cannon & the rattle of small arms, in the direction of Niagara Falls for more than an hour & concluded there was a battle near that point on the frontier. The next day the news of the victory of Chippawa reached them. The distance in a straght line must be 54 miles. I heard the roar of the falls last evening, which are 24 miles from this place, & the roar of the sea on the shore of Lake Erie, distant 4 miles. It was clear & cool, with a little breeze.

The bed of Buffalo Creek is slate stone where the bridge crosses it, & I found it strongly impregnated with bitumen, as is most of the slate & lime stone in this region.

The two parties of the Indians, for emigration & remaing on their reservation, chose, in council, this forenoon committees of six chiefs, on each side, who retired into the woods

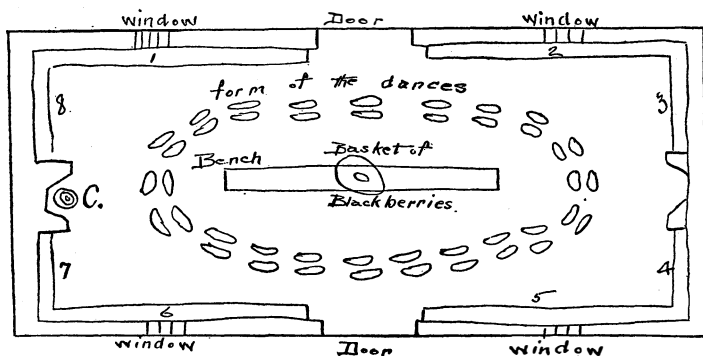
to discuss the subject & make report of the result of their deliberations. The Indian conference did not report to their several parties until late in the afternoon, & the council adjourned to 10 o'clock to morrow.

August 31. The night was cool, rendering a fire comfortable, but this morning the sky is clear & the weather mild.

I attended an Indian dance at the Onondaga Council House last evening, which is on the right bank of the Creek & two miles above. At half past nine a chief haranged the assembly, announced the presence of the U. S. Commissioner & the Superintendent of Massachusetts,—directed what dances were to be performed & the order of their succession. I was informed that the warriors were preparing in a neighboring hut & at ten, the drum & Indian war-whoop gave notice of their approach, & in a few moments they rushed into the Council House with a terrific yell. They were entirely naked save a small strip of red or plad cloth round the loins. Their faces were painted various colours, & their heads ornamented with feathers & trinkets. Each had a war club tomahawk or some other weapon in the hand. The[y] danced several different measures & after each, the presiding chief complimented them in a short speech. A squaw dance followed, which was began by two, dancing round a long bench, others joined, until some 30 were up all having their blankets on, when they began, but threw them off after dancing a little while. Their under dress was a petticoat & calico gown made like a hunting frock. When the squaw dance ended, there was one commenced by two men, and continued until at least 40 were up, and then followed another dance, in which the males & females united. They sang during the whole of the dancing. We left at 12 o'clock.

There is neither wine or spirit allowed in the council house at these dances, but there was a large caldron boiling in one of the fire places, in which was meat, vegetables & flower, which formed a kind of soup. When the dance began with the men generally, a squaw put a basket of blackberries on a bench round which they danced & each from time to time taking out a handful, & eating them as they

danced. This is the plan of the Council House, which is 60 by 20 feet.



1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 seats. The women sat at one end & the men at the other, except the war dance, all the others were in a circle as above delineated. C. Caldron.

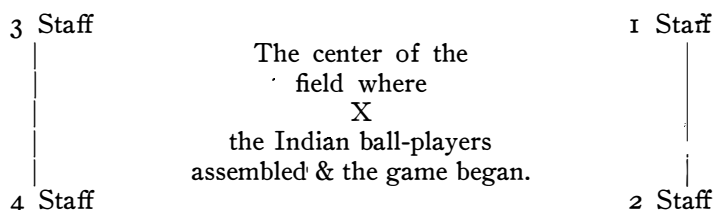
The Indian Council was opened at 12 & Mr. Gillet explained various portions of the treaty & stated many facts in relation to the land which has been appropriated for the New York Indians. It adjourned at half past one to eleven o'clock tomorrow. An English gentleman & lady were present & Miss Cliften, the distinguished actress; she is a magnificent lady,—an imperial beauty. The form & figure one of the Juno size & her whole appearance superb.

I received from my friend the Hon. Stephen White a number of the *Mast's Historical Society's* publications, containing Genl. Lincoln's Journal of his tour to the Miami river in 1793 as one of the Commissioners of the U. S. to negotiate a treaty of peace with the North Western Tribes of Indians; and appended to it is an engraving of a sketch, made by a British officer, of a council held on Buffalo Creek with the Senecas. I shew it to Blue Eyes & White Seneca & Capt. Strong, distinguished chiefs now here, & they at once recognized the figure to the right of the Indian orator, who is sitting down, with a pipe in his hand as the celebrated Warrior & eminent Chief Farmer's Brother & the orator as Corn Planter. Farmer's brother they informed me, com-

manded the Seneca warriors in the battles of Black Rock Chippawa & Lundy's Lane. He was then between 75 & 80 years of age. He died in 1815, or 1816. His memory is held in high veneration.*

Mr. Jones father,—who is now present, from Genesee river, was the Interpreter at the Councils held on the Miama.

September 1. I attended an Indian game of ball this afternoon, in which the young men evinced great activity & skill. There was a large collection of people including a large portion of the Indians on this reservation,—men women & children and many of the citizens of Buffalo. The young men who took the field, were generally naked, with a red sash round their waist, & red ornaments on their arms & heads. There were six on each side & the field for the exploit contained about ten acres. The object of the opposing parties was to get the ball past two tall staffs,—1 & 2, set up opposite others, 3 & 4 on two sides of the field thus?



The spectators were arranged on the sides of the field. The bats used were five feet to $5\frac{1}{2}$ long. the lower end is bent so as to make the width at least eight inches. From the end of the bent portion a cord of deerskin extends to with 18 inches of the upper end of the bat & others are drawn parallel to it & confined in holes, pierced through the inner side of the bat, which is cut into an obtuse edge for that purpose, & other cords are interlaced forming a net work of a close & elastic character. [Crude sketch of lacrosse stick, omitted.]

The ball is not touched by the hand but is taken up on the bat, or caught in it, when the person who has thus got

* Farmer's Brother died March 2, 1815, and is now buried in Forest Lawn cemetery, Buffalo. See Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. V., pp. 227-228. The sketch referred to is reproduced in Vol. VI., opposite p. 497.

[it] runs toward the two staffs, for the purpose of throwing it beyond them. The other party pursues & if he finds that [he] will overtake him & either knock the ball from the bat or intercept his course he suddenly turns round & with a violent motion throws the ball over his head to the rear. The game is up when either party has put the ball five times past the opponents staffs. The Indians were naked except a red sash round the loins, & ornaments on their head & arms. It is the most elegant game of ball which can be performed and admirably calculated to exhibit the rapid, various and athletic movements of the young men. When the game is played the whole tribe attends, for it is as honored an exhibition as was those of Olympia among the Greeks.

Sunday Sept. 2. I went to the Mission meeting house this forenoon. The services were opened by Seneca White, a Seneca Chief, who made a prayer in the language of his tribe, a Hymn was then sung by four young indian men & four white women. Mr. Wright the Missionary delivered a sermon, on temperance & virtue; when he concluded an other Hymn was sung & Joseph Isaacs a Cayuga Chief closed the services with a prayer.

I went to the house of the minister & he gave me the Gospel of Luke translated into the Seneca language by T. S. Harris, & a school book of stories.* Mr. Wright informed me that there was nearly half of this band who had been considered christians, but he did not think that there were so many now, & that the pagan party was increasing. When the religious services commenced there were only 13 indians in the church, but as they came in during the whole service, there were 62 when it ended.

This mission has been established twelve years & Mr. Wright has been here six, & after all the commendable efforts to improve the spiritual & temporal condition of the Indians, the result has been unsatisfactory. The Indians instead of becoming christians, more moral, industrious sober & correct in their habits have deteriorated in all those

* The record of the Rev. Asher Wright's work among the Senecas and that of the Rev. Thompson S. Harris, will be found fully set forth in Vol. VI. of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications.

particulars & their condition is deplorable. There is no probability of their continuance as a people, unless they remove west & adopt the industrious habits of the whites, as farmers & mechanics. All the attempts which have been made to civilize the indians have failed, because they were begun, with the policy of first christenizing them. The Indians must be induced to till the land, own it in fee & severalty, become mechanics & learn to read & write, become acquainted with the simple rules of arithmetic & other branches of intelligence taught in our primary schools, before religion should be the subject of consideration. First teach the arts of civilization & christianity will naturally follow in their march of refinement.

They are here generally idle & too many of them intemperate & dissolute in their manners, both male & female. They are licentious, & adhere with great pertinacity to the vagabond life of the savage. They do not raise sufficient provisions for their support & a few white people have leased their farms & cut their timber for boards, shingles & other purposes & keep little taverns which tend to increase the misery of this degraded & fast perishing nation. They have excellent tracts of land, but it is nearly all in a state of nature, & the Indians are too lazy to either clear it up an [?or] cultivate such as has for ages been divested of trees & fit for tillage.

Returning from church with Mr. Gillet we were thrown out of the waggon, but, praise be to God, neither of us were injured materially.

Sep 3. There was a frost last night which produced ice. The potatoes, squash, bean & other vines were killed; most of the corn is ripe, but even that which is not has not been injured so much as to endanger its becoming mature. We have had fires for these three days past.

The Council convened at twelve & was not concluded until three oclock. I wrote a letter of 8 pages to my wife. I have written some twelve or fourteen since I left home, & many of them were of eight pages. This evening is cloudless, calm & cold. The moon will be full to morrow evening; but she now throws a splendor over the earth. The frost last

night, reminds me of an old saying in New England, that if there is not a frost at the September full of the moon, there will be none until the October full. Why should there be frosts at the full, rather than at any other age of the moon? Philosophy does not explain it, & is there truth in the general belief, that, frosts, in the autumn, do not happen before the Sep^r or October full of the moon.

Sep 4. There was no frost last night, & the day has been cloudless, warm & pleasant.

The council opened at twelve & adjourned at half past three. Mr. Gillet closed his explanations, & I made a speech, confirming the facts stated by Mr. Gillet, in relation to the provisions of the treaty,—the instructions of the government,—the character of the land in the tract appropriated for the Indians as represented by the persons who had explored it,—the manner in which the Indians had been treated in New England & the other old Atlantic states, & the disastrous results;—for notwithstanding the efforts to ameliorate & improve their condition, nearly the whole of them were extinct, as nations, & the few broken fragments, of once powerful tribes in Mas. & Maine, are in a miserable state & are annually diminishing in number & sinking in morals & all that is commendable in character & conduct. I also stated what was the limited & peculiar title of the indians to the land they now occupy. Big Kettle & Johnson made speeches & the former, who is the leading chief opposed to the treaty, but was answered by White Seneca in a very able & eloquent manner.

I took a walk with Mr. Gillet towards sunset & went to the residence of Capt. Pollard one of the oldest & most respectable chiefs. He lives on the left bank of the Creek a mile below the bridge, of the Buffalo road. We returned by a foot path through the woods. The land is excellent & the scenery beautiful, on the margins of the rivers & stream which waters this reservation. The interval, or bottom land is almost exclusively the only portion cultivated by the Indians.

Sep. 5. The moon rose full & in magnificence last evening, & the sun has wheeled up this morning over the forest,

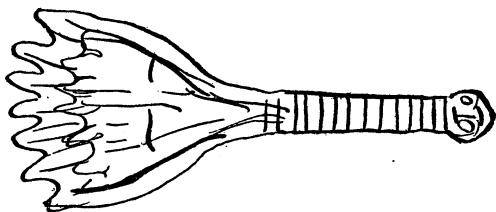
into a clear & calm atmosphere, indicating a superb day. This is truly, lovely autumnal weather. The Council was opened at 12 oclock & speeches were made in opposition to the treaty, by Little Johnson, Seneca White & Stephenson of the Buffalo reservation, & Jimmy Johnson of Tonnawanda, Innis Halftown, of Alleghany, & Israel Jemison of Cataraugus & George Bennet of Cataraugus spoke in favor of the Treaty. At the request of Big Kettle, the Council was adjourned to friday, to give the Indians an opportunity of celebrating their Corn Feast, or thanksgiving to the Great Spirit, for his bounteous dispensations. Mr. Gillet & myself were invited to attend & we accepted, with grateful acknowledgments for the honor thus done us. I have copied the treaty, written letters & in this journal 48 pages since yesterday morning,—having got up at 5 each of the two mornings & performed all the labor before dinner of the two days.

Evening. I took a path, which led into the woods, half an hour before sundown, & walked for an hour. I found an abundance of blackberries & but the grandure of the forest, the large & lofty oaks, maples, beeches, Tulip trees, Hemlocks & hickories, and the numerous beautiful shrubs, & plants, of this fertile soil were the inducements for wandering, through the primitive wilderness. The silence,—the umbragious solemnity,—the aroma so peculiar to the wild-wood scenery,—the associations which were brought to the mind,—these regions having been, for centuries & still are, the residence of the natives of this glorious country & all, & each roused & excited the imagination, & created a deep & all absorbing interest for the physical & moral objects which were united within the scope of immediate observation & afforded so much of reality, & so many thoughts for reflection, wonder and, admiration. that I luxuriated in the scenery. Here were the hunting grounds & battle fields of the warlike tribes of the Six Nations. To these distant & dark forests how many captives of the scattered population of the early colonists were compelled to submit to the horrors, privations, & cruelties of the savages. How many children's tears have been poured out upon this soil, & how much of parental blood, while, for years, they sighed with

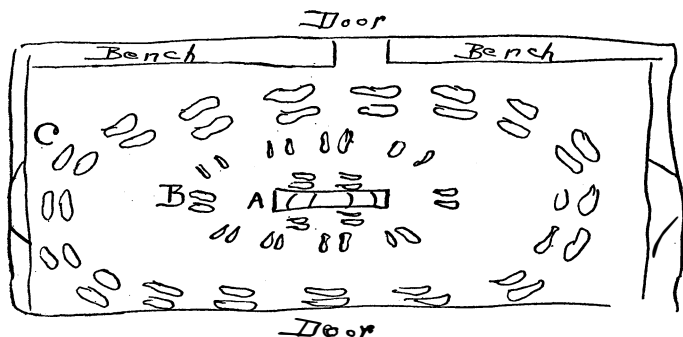
hopeless longings to be returned to their own dearly loved home, on the borders of the ocean, or in some secluded village, which contained their numerous fond & dear relatives & friends, but whose bright faces they never again were to behold. The white mans will soon possess the whole land, & the Indian no longer be known save in the far climes of the west.

Sep. 6. An other bright, bland, & beautiful morning. Such clear & mild & sunny autumnal days have a peculiar loveliness. They call up the recollections of my boyhood, when at the like season, & during such delightful weather, I was either floating on the placid waters of the Kennebeck, with my angling rod traversing the woods with my gun, or actively & ardently engaged in other of those infinite occupations, which, in the juvenile period of life, occupy our whole time. & attention. our numerous plans for each succeeding day fill up, in their execution, every moment, from early morn, until tired, we retire to rest, with the setting sun,—or by the bright stars, or more resplendent light of the admired moon the amusements, and constantly varying shouts, in the forest & on the water are prolonged far, into the night. How delightful are the reminiscencies of boy-hood.

Evening. I went to the little falls of Buffalo Creek in the morning, distant five miles to witness the Corn Feast of the Pagan portion of the tribe. There were about three hundred Indians assembled, of whom over an hundred were females from 14 years of age to the oldest matrons. Big Kettle appeared to fill the office of High Priest & the ceremonies commenced at eleven oclock by a dance in the forenoon in the Council house. There was a bench in the centre, on which two men sat facing each other having a turtle shell, to which a handle was formed by the neck & head being skinned & stuffed & secured by wooden splints to the shell. Dry Corn was put in the shell, which thus constituted a large kind of rattle, of this appearance?



The men sang & beat time on the bench with the rattles, striking them, on the edge. Big Kettle & an other principal Chief commenced the dance & were joined in succession by other men, until 30 were in the ring, while an interior circle of 20 women, was at the same time formed,—two of the oldest beginning. The men followed each other, as in a march, but the women moved sideways, without taking their feet from the floor, by sliding the heels and toes alternately, & beating time with their hands keeping their elbows at their sides, but without uttering a sound, & they looked down on the bench & musicians in a grave & modest manner, while the men sang threw themselves into the most violent attitudes, turned round frequently, & ever & anon uttered the most clamorous yells.



A, bench; B, circle of women dancers; C, men dancers.

The dance was kept up for more than an hour, & when it was concluded Big Kettle made a long speech, which was a kind of religious & moral lecture. He gave an account of their religious customs & beliefs & the importance of their being kept up, & urged upon the audience the necessity of virtue, of sobriety, truth & honesty, attention to wives & all the moral obligations & duties to insure the favor of the Great Spirit & the inheritance of a state of perpetual happiness in an other world, after death.

When sufficient time had been allowed for rest, another dance was commenced, but a horn with pebles in it & a

drum were substituted for the turtle shell rattles, as instruments of music. The rattle is formed of the frustrum of an oxhorn about 8 inches long, with wooden heads of a semi-spherical shape in each end & a handle in the smaller end, seven or eight inches long. The drum, is a cask of the ten-gallon size, with a sheep skin made into a parchment stretched over one end & is beaten with a little stick a foot long with the end cut into a ball, an inch in diameter. The musicians sing during the whole dance, & the tune is often changed, as well as the time from slow to fast,—& the reverse. In this second dance the women followed each other like the men, but their motions were quietly executed & they looked down, with a serious face, while the men as before sang shouted & threw themselves into every possible attitude & gesticulated violently. When the dance was concluded, Big Kettle again haranged them for half an hour, in relation to the religious rites & duties & then sang a song, while walking round the bench alone & the others joined in the chorus, besides keeping time by a loud utterance of hip, hip hip. After Big Kettle concluded, all the other principal men, in succession made a short speech & sang a song walking once or twice round the bench. These songs are such as they expect to sing in heaven when they meet their friends there. They think all but murderers & a few very bad people will ultimately reach heaven, & live happily, having nothing to do but hunt, eat, sing & enjoy themselves, very much in the manner of the believers of Mahomet.

Another short dance & a speech from Big Kettle & a Tonawanda chief concluded these ceremonies, when there was another dance, in which the women & men united as in the first dance. When this was over, corn cooked in various ways, & made into succatash with beans, squashes & other vegetables, and three large brass kettles containing soup made of three deer were placed in the middle of the Council House, & distributed by five squaws, to other squaws into baskets & tin kettles, which were carried out, by the squaws of the different families to their husbands & children, who were scattered in groups on the grass; but many of the squaws whose families were not present carried the soup &

other provisions home, as I passed many thus laden five miles from the little falls. I rode home on horseback through the wood, in company, with some twenty Indian men & women, who were about equally divided into equestrians & pedestrians. There was only a foot path & that very crooked crossed by wind falls, filled with roots & interrupted by streams & mudholes; still the ride was very interesting, through five miles of the primitive forest, in company with the aborigines of the country.

Sep. 7. The Council met at 12 & was in session until after four. There was a very animated debate between the chiefs of emigration & opposition parties. Strong, Bennet & White Seneca advocated emigration & an assent to the amended treaty. Jemison of Cataraugus & Hudson replied, & then there were rejoinders by Bennet & White Seneca, when Big Kettle made a speech against the treaty. After some remarks from Mr. Gillet the council adjourned. I rode out a few miles on horseback just before sunset for exercise.

The following traditions were related to me by Cone, a very intelligent young Indian of the Tonnawanda band.

TRADITION OF THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT ON BUFFALO CREEK.

There was a powerful tribe whose village was near the Niagara Falls, on the Canada side. For several years the corn crops failed from drought, and frosts, & an epidemic prevailed, which swept off many of the Indians. One day a girl went into the little cave above the falls to bathe, when a rattlesnake attacked her & in her effort to escape, she was carried down the rapids, & precipitated into the abyss below the cataract. To her astonishment she was uninjured & found herself in a cavern, under the falls, in the presence of the God of Thunder & Lightning, who there created the mist, which ascending into the heavens, formed clouds, from whence the lightnings are launched. He told the girl that the God of Starvation, or Famine, had his residence also, under the falls, & had caused the failure of the crops of corn, as he was a very bad & wicked god; and there was also an immense water serpent under his command which lived in the

niagara river & lake Erie;—this serpent came down often into the little bay, at the mouth of the stream, which falls into the river just above the falls, to cleanse himself of the filth which accumulated on his skin, & that the water was thus poisoned in that little bay; which being the place where the indians supplied themselves with water for drinking & cooking they were made sick & died. Now said the Thunder & Lightning God, go home to your tribe & tell them to pack up all their property & procede in their bark canoes from the mouth of Chippewa river up the Niagara to Buffalo creek, & form a settlement, where the stream is separated into two branches, & they will raise good crops & enjoy perfect health. The God of Starvation will send the large Water Serpent after you, for the purpose of defiling the water of the creek; but I will follow him in a dark cloud, & when he has advanced a few miles up the creek, I will hurl a thunderbolt at him, & slay him. The Indians made the removal, as recommended, & saw the huge serpent following their canoes; but when they got to the place where they were to land, they heard a thunder clap & saw a flash of lightning strike the monster when he floundered turned round & lashed the water with his tail with great violence, & fled down the Creek, which was rendered bloody from the wound made in the serpent, & he was so large that in turning round he scooped out a deep & broad basin, in the creek, which exists at this day. After the indians had landed & got their temporary camps made, the girl informed them, that they must send a deputation down to their old town, near the falls, & they would then ascertain the truth of the promises of the thunder God, for he had instructed her to communicate that intelligence. A deputation departed forthwith in their canoes, & when they reached the little bay they found the immense water serpent dead & in a state of putrefaction,—& on going into the village, they saw a pole 40 feet high, erected in front of the Council House, from which was suspended the thigh & legs of the God of Starvation, which were so emaciated & lean, that they appeared only skin & bones. It was so large that although secured by the upper end of the thigh to the top of the pole, the foot touched the ground. Having

thus ascertained that the God of Starvation & his great water snake were both dead, they returned & reported the remarkable facts to the nation; & ever after the indians enjoyed good health & had fine crops of corn.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SEVEN STARS.

Many years ago, the Indians had so much neglected all their religious rites & ceremonies, that even dancing was discontinued, when seven of the most elegant & active young men formed themselves into a corps for the purpose of re-establishing the old dances. One of them was the singer & the others dancers. They went from house to house, all through the nation, & invited the men & women to join them in dancing, an amusement & form of worship which was so acceptable to the great spirit; but not an individual could be induced to participate in the recreation. At last the people saw them gradually ascending to the skies, from the green in front of the Council House, singing & dancing as they went up; & when it was discovered their young friends were leaving this world, they called upon [them] to return in the most urgent & affecting manner, and were so afflicted at the idea of their loss that they wept & implored them in the most urgent & endearing terms to come back & they would all join them in the dance; but the seven young men paid no attention to the supplications of their relatives & countrymen, & still kept dancing, singing & ascending until they dwindled into the appearance of bright stars, where they have ever since continued to dance & sing, as may be seen by the constant twinkling motion of six of the number which are the dancers & the fixed light of the seventh who is the singer. Since that calamitous event, which was considered a judgment of the Great Spirit for the wickedness of the tribe in omitting to honor him by dances, they have ever since been religiously kept up.

As was stated, in the account of the dance I witnessed in the Onondaga Council House, these recreations are formal religious rites, over which some of the principal chiefs always preside.

Sep 8. The weather has been clear, calm, bright, sunny & cloudless since the frost of the 3d. The days hot even, but the nights a little cool. I began a letter to my wife yesterday & wrote five pages. There are numerous Black-Walnut trees on the banks of Buffalo Creek. I gathered seven of the nuts this morning, which I intend to carry home & plant, as the tree is not indigenous in New England. As an ornamental & timber tree it is highly appreciated. In cabinet work it is handsomer than the Rose-wood & I like it for furniture better than Mahogany.

The council met at 12 & there was a debate principally among the chiefs until after four. Mr. Gillet explained several subjects on which there was a misunderstanding among the opposition party.

At five I went over to the Onondaga Council House to witness a game of ball, played by twelve young men of the tribe. One of them, called David Tall Chief, is a young Apollo in form, with a beautiful countenance & eyes as large, lustrous & soft in expression as an Italian lady. He is but 20 years old & is as rapid in running & as adroit in the game as a Grecian athlete.

This has been a very hot day. There were numerous carriages from Buffalo on the ball ground, & many of the Indians of all ages & of both sexes.

I went into an Indian hut, on the hill above the Council House, from curiosity, to see the interior & the inmates, & how they lived. There was a rough kind of portico covered with bark in front of the house, in which a blanket was suspended like a hammock, where an infant was sleeping. There were three women & one man in the only room of which the hut consisted. One was the widow of the celebrated chief Red Jacket,—who is over 90 years of age, another the wife of Isaacs, the proprietor, & the third his mother-in-law. The last was lying on a bunk or broad bench, in a corner, with a blanket under her as a bed & a sheet over her, in a high fever. She was groaning in great agony, every breath she drew; I took hold of her hand, & it was very hot, with the other she touched her head & murmured in Indian to me. The tones of distress although in

an unknown tongue were painful to hear. Her daughter said she had been sick three weeks, was suffering from severe pain, in her head.

I asked if there had been a physician to see her & she said yes an Indian Doctor. I immediately went down to the ball play-green & found Doctor Wilcox who resides in Buffalo, & is in attendance with the council daily, he having been west, with the exploring party, as physician to the Indian population, & has had considerable practice among the Indians of this reservation. He went back with me & found that she had been afflicted with the fever & ague & now there was a high billious fever. He said she could be cured, and directed Isaacs, her son-in-law, to come to him in Buffalo to-morrow morning & he would give him calomel &c. for cathartics & emetics. I gave the sick woman two dollars to purchase little necessities to render her comfortable for which she appeared most grateful & reaching out her hand & taking mine, repeated often, "Tankee, Tankee," while tears came into her eyes. Doct. Wilcox told her who I was & she again repeated tankee, tankee. I shall see that the poor woman is well taken care of. Mr. Allen sent her some flowers. She is about 60 years old, tall, of a very large size, and has a chest & form like an Amizon. How much these miserable people suffer from poverty & hedelessness. They have no idea of providing for the future.

Sunday. Sep 9. I went to an Indian dance last night, a number of us having given the Indians 36 dollars to purchase provisions for the entertainment & reward the ball-players. I only stoped to see the men dance, for the Council House was very crowded & the night was extremely warm. There were at least 200 men & women, in & about the House. The women dressed in their best apparel. Red Jacket's widow was present & appeared as interested as any other person. She attends the Council almost daily.

The pleasant weather continues, but the change of colour in the foliage of the forest trees from the effects of the frost on the 3d. is becoming apparent. The maples give their bright yellow & scarlet tints & the leaves of the sumacks have assumed a deep crimson. The picturesque scenery of au-

tumn & the gorgeous display of colours, which the trees present, has begun.

Cone, the young Tonnawanda Indian has related several other traditions derived from his Grand father, who was called *Black Face*,—which I have listened to with interest. They are as follows :

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

The earth was originally very small & there were neither sun moon or stars. The only light by which it was illumed was produced by the white blossoms of a beautiful tree which periodically rouse up out of a deep pit or well, & then sunk down again, like the rising & sitting of the sun. In the water at the bottom of this profound abyss were all kinds of amphibeous annimals. There was a woman, who was near the period of her confinement, the man who lived with her in a moment of anger threw her into the pit, & as she descended, all the animals below became alarmed from her peculiarly delicate & perilous situation, & called upon her to remain suspended in her discent which they had the magical power to effect until they could prepare a dry spot of earth for her reception & convenient residence, until she was delivered of the children, which they had ascertained were to be produced. The animals then consulted how mud was to be obtained from below the water in which they lived, for forming a dry spot of ground,—when a duck offered to dive down and bring it up; but after being under the water for a long time it rose to the surface dead, then several other animals made the experiment with equally as unfortunate results. At last a musk-rat dove down, & to the dismay of all the assembled animals he rose to the surface lifeless; but on examining his paws a very little mud was discovered adhering to his fore feet. This was to be carefully deposited on the back of some animal, where it could dry & increase in quantity. The Sea Serpent, immediately offered his services, but the other animals observed that he being carnivorous, furious & cruel, the woman & her children would be in danger of their lives, if exposed upon his back. The Turtle then came forward & observed, that he was of a peaceable &

quiet disposition & should be very happy to render assistance & protection to the beautiful woman. His offer was accepted with applause, & the little particles of mud were carefully collected from the feet of the musk rat & laid on his broad & flat back. It immediately began to increase in bulk & so rapidly, that this immense earth was soon produced, & became covered with grass, flowers & trees, & watered by numerous rivers & streams, when the woman was invited to descend & occupy the most beautiful arbor in a grove, situated by the side of a cool & refreshing fountain or little lake.

In a few days the woman was delivered of two sons, one in a natural manner & the other forced himself into the world through her ribs. As they grew up one was good & amiable in his disposition & the other wicked & vicious in his habits; The former used to amuse himself in making little figures of all the animals, such as the mammoth buffalo, bear, elk, deer, wild turkies, partridges, rabbits, & all the other kinds which could be useful to the indians, for food & clothing. These he breathed upon & they instantly assumed the size in which they have ever appeared & run off into the woods.

One day the bad son asked the other to go a hunting with him, & it was agreed that each would go out for a whole day & the one who brought home the most game should have command of the universe. The wicked son went first & when he came back at night, he did not bring a single animal, for the good son had driven them all into the dark abyss, where they were secure from attack. The next day he went out & killed an abundance of game, of all the various kinds, which he had created, and he became the Great & Good Spirit, or God, & the other the evil spirit or the devil, who in revenge created snakes, toads, frogs & all the reptiles & venomous animals, & is always trying to do injury to the indians, & render them vicious, immoral and hateful,—while the other is their protector & friend, so long as they pay honor to him by adhering to his just precepts & laws & evince their respect & gratitude, by feasts & dances & are honest & correct in all their conduct, & will after their

death, go & live with the great Spirit, above the skies, where there will be a perpetual summer, with abundant game, fruits & food of all kinds, and they will have nothing to do but hunt, sing & dance & amuse themselves, in every way that is most agreeable for ever.*

Black Face, Mr. Cone's Grandfather died last summer at the age of 120. He was in good health, had all his mental faculties entire, was able to walk several miles; but riding in a waggon with a little boy he was upset & fractured his skull which occasioned his death, in a few days. He was a warrior, but not a chief. He was married to a second wife who was but 30 years of age when he was over a 100 & at the time of his death his youngest child was but 7 years of age. He worked up to the day of [receiving the] wound making white oak pipe stones & could fell the trees & split out 90 a day. Mr. Cone said there was no doubt of his being the father of four children which he had by his last wife. A remarkable instance of vigorous old age.

He stated that when a boy the main body of the Senecas lived on the bank of the Genesee river where is now the town of Avon. He related to his grandson that when 16 years old, all the north western Indians of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin & upper Canada, combined in a plan for their extermination & came into their country with an immense army, & so confident were they of victory, that many of the warriors & chiefs brought their wives & children with them, to participate in the plunder & enjoy the fruits of their great and decisive anticipated victory.

The Senecas got intelligence of the advance of the vast western army of invasion when it reached the Cattaraugus Creek & made the requisite arrangements for defence. Their whole military force was assembled on the stream, which runs into Genesee river between Avon & Geneseo. When the enemy arrived at the Genesee river, the water was so

* This legend resembles in many details the account of "The Foundation of the Great Island," etc., in David Cusick's "Ancient History of the Six Nations," first published in 1825. In both forms—as given by Cusick and by Cone—it suggests the so-called Mosaic account of creation; the twin sons, one good and one evil, parallel the strife of Cain and Abel. The initial warfare between the powers of light and darkness, between good and evil, is the basis of fundamental traditions of many peoples.

high that they could not ford it & were compelled to construct a temporary bridge, which from the great number of men was soon completed, & the whole of the army crossed near Mount Morris, & advanced down the right bank to within a few hundred yards of the stream on which the Senecas were encamped. The former were armed entirely with bows & arrows & war clubs, while nearly the whole number of Senecas had muskets, which they had procured from the French & English colonies. On the approach of the hostile army the Senecas descended into the stream & were secreted under the opposite bank, which was at least ten feet high. The army of invasion formed their line of battle parallel to & within 40 yards of the bank. one of the Senecas disguised like a bear, crawled up the bank, & advanced toward the line of the Western Indians, in the cautious manner of the animal whose skin he had assumed, & when within 20 yards gave the war-whoop, at which signal the Senecas rose above the bank & threw in a tremendous fire; the slaughter was immense, but the Western Indians, fought desperately, for, after finding that they could not cope with the Senecas by the use of their bows & arrows, they dropped them & rushed to the conflict with the war club. The battle was long & obstinately contested, when the Western Indians gave way & fled toward Mount Morris, but to their dismay the bridge had been destroyed by a party of the Senecas, who were sent for that purpose, as soon as the action commenced. There the slaughter was renewed & the whole of the hostile army was killed, except a very few who escaped by swimming.

The Squaws & children fled up the river during the retreat of their friends & being unable to find subsistence they sent a deputation into the Camp of the Senecas claiming their hospitality & protection, & offering to continue as a part of that tribe, if they were kindly received. These terms were accepted & the women & children never returned to their native country, but were mingled with the Senecas, which occasioned the marked variety of races which are perceptible in the tribe even at this time. There had been a similar invasion from the west a half a century before, but

so signally disastrous had been this campaign, that no other was ever attempted & the Senecas have since been held in great terror by the North Western tribes. They, in fact had never been conquered until in the campaign of General Sullivan, when they were defeated in the great battle fought at Freetown [Newtown, near Elmira], & all their towns & corn fields were destroyed, & they were driven to the Niagara frontier, where they were chiefly dependent upon the British garrison for food, during the winter.

September 10. The same delightful weather still continues. I went, with Mr. Gillet to Jack Berry's town,—yesterday being sunday—which is north east from this settlement & distant four miles, to witness a game of ball between seven of the best players among the pagans, in that part of the reservation & the same number of the young christians from this village. The field was extensive, including at least thirty acres. The young men were all stripped naked except a short white or calico hunting shirt, which was confined round the loins by a red sash ornamented with beads, & they had similar ones round their heads, to which were added feathers, and they wore short red sashes on their arms, above the elbow. It was a beautiful exhibition of activity, fleetness, skill & adroitness of motion. The game was six & after an hour & a half of great exertion on both sides the Christian party won, the other side only counting two. Two of the christian party got wounded in the first & second games & their places were supplied by others who came on to the ground for that purpose. Before the game commenced, an old chief addressed the fourteen young men when assembled in the centre of the field for commencing the game. He stated the laws of the game & reminded them that it was expected, they would not intentionally injure each other, or get in a passion, if a blow was accidentally given, & by no means to fight; for it was disgraceful to quarrel when they met for amusement, & they must bear in mind that not only all their friends & the chiefs of the nation were present & several distinguished white men, who would closely watch their conduct. The squaws did not come into the field, but were scattered in little groups along the edge

of the woods & behind the fences. They however, took great interest in the spot, for many of them had walked from four to six miles to witness it & the game did not end until dark. The men were very much excited those belonging to the two parties of Pagan & Christians, were constantly calling on the young men by name to stop, strike, or propel the ball to the opposite goal, & when it was driven between the two staffs, a loud & hilarious shout rent the air from friends of the victorious side.

I have now seen a large portion of this reservation & there is not a more excellent tract of land in this section of the state. It is quite level, there being large tracts of bottom land, & the remainder is gently undulating. If it was occupied by good white farmers it would become a beautiful region of country'; & the various sinuous branches of the Buffalo Creek afforded many sites for mills, while the forest trees, of gigantic growth, which are scattered on their bank give a picturesque & most pleasing aspect to the scenery. This reservation will be the garden of the City of Buffalo. It will furnish the vegetables, fruit, hay, beef, pork, butter, milk, mutton, poultry, & other articles of food, besides furnishing sites for various manufactories. In 25 years the whole tract will be worth at least 100 dollars per acre. & there will be two or three large villages upon it, if the Indians conclude to remove west'; & if they do not, their wretchedness & degredation will be lamentable & pitiable.

The Council was in session from 12 until after sunset. Mr. Gillet addressed the Chiefs for three hours in the ratification of mistakes made by some of the chiefs in debate & in illustration of former treaties, the kind of title which the Indians had to their lands & the nature of the stipulations in the amended treaty, for their benefit &c. &c. During his speech, there were many white men, who were actively engaged in about the council house, in conversation with the Indians, & several of the most active of the latter, who are opposed to emigration, often went out & were seen in conversation with individuals, who have been in daily attendance, and have made strenuous efforts to induce the Indians not to assent to the treaty. They are men, who either trade

with the indians, to whom the latter are indebted, have mills on the reservation, purchase bark, boards, timber, shingles & wood, and have a canal of some miles out through the reservation to supply mills & factories with water from Buffalo Creek, or persons who are attempting to influence the indians, not to remove with the hope of being hired to be silent or take the opposite side of the question.

When Mr. Gillet set down Big Kettle & Pierce stated that he talked too much & that they & their party had made up their minds not to go & did not wish to hear anything more on the subject & that unless the council was immediately brought to a close they should go home. A man by the name of Grovner,* brother-in-law to [blank in original] who cut the cannals & his mills & a factory upon it, got up & gave notice that he should address the Indians the next afternoon after the council [He] rose & contradict[ed] what he called the false statements & misrepresentations, which had been made by Mr. Gillet. The excitement among the spectators & the Indians was very great, at this time, when Mr. Gillet rose & informed the Indians, that no man, save the U. S. Commissioner & Agent, the Superintendent of Massachusetts & the Chiefs of the Council, had a right to speak in that house, or should he permit it, & went into a full defence of his conduct, as an officer of the government & of his private character, against the false insinuations of Grovner.

I then rose & made a speech. I informed the Indians of the position I held, stated what were rights of Massachusetts under the articles of the agreement with the State of New York. That the council was like a diplomatic Congress, three distinct states or nations being there present to negotiate treaties, in conformity to the Constitution & laws of the U.S. & the states of New York & Mass & that no person other than the parties named had any right to speak in the Council House to the Indians, while the Council was in session or at any other time. That the questions to be con-

* The allusion is apparently to one of the Grosvenors, and his brother-in-law Reuben B. Heacock. The latter was foremost in organizing the Hydraulic Company, that utilized the waters of Buffalo Creek for milling purposes. Reuben B. Heacock died Apr. 7, 1854, aged 65.

sidered, were, not such in any manner or form, as authorized any person, not officially present to take a part in the deliberations, & that who ever attempted so to do so was committing a gross violation of the laws of nations. & the Constitution & laws of the Union, & those of the states of Mas. & New York as well as presumptuously interfering with the rights & business of others, which to say the least was a gross violation of the principles of justice, as well as of that comity & decency of deportment which the customs of society have established for the regulation of the conduct of gentlemen.

I informed the audience that by the 9th. article of the agreement with New York Massachusetts had the right & would if necessary exercise the power of surrounding the Council House with armed forces, to protect the persons there engaged in deliberations in relation to the Indians & the land on which they reside. I stated that I had accepted the appointment under which I appeared, with the intention of faithfully discharging my duties to the state & Indians. That the very object of my being present was to see that the indians were not imposed upon, by any false or erroneous statements, & that full & ample justice was done them; & if the U. S. Commissioners made any assertion which was not in accordance with treaty stipulations, or the nature of the promises, and engagements of the government, or the character of the land, climate &c. of the west offered as a new residence for the Indians, I should endeavor to have all the subjects clearly presented & understood, so far as it was in my power to accomplish that object. That during my whole life I had felt a deep interest, for the Indians & was most solicitous that their condition should be ameliorated, and that their future destinies might be prosperous & happy; that I had taken pains to investigate their title to the lands in this state, the nature of the provisions of the treaty then under consideration & the character of the country, which was offered in the Indian Territory, was as capable of appreciating the terms & conditions of the treaty, as any of the persons who volunteered their services to enlighten the chiefs, whether actuated by disinterested motives, or other

considerations. I observed that I was determined to maintain the rights of Massachusetts & firmly & faithfully & fearlessly discharge my duty, let the consequences be what they may to me personally; that neither the glare of the tomahawk, or the crack of the rifle would deter me from acting in the manner which the occasion required.

This is but a brief sketch of the remarks I made, & the Indians & spectators retired quietly. I learned afterwards, that, save three or four interested men, all the persons present approved of the conduct of Mr. Gillet & myself as did nearly the whole of the Chiefs, & that no other effort will be made to disturb the Council.

September 11. There was a third attempt last night by two men, to set fire to the council house. One of the two men who guard it saw a person near the south eastern corner, & fired upon him, a charge of bird shot, he ran & was pursued to a fence, where a second discharge of shot was given, as the watchman had a double barreled gun. As the fugitive was getting over the fence, he was seized by the collar, when he struck the watchman with a club & escaped into a corn field before the other watchman got up to aid in taking the incendiary, the other man ran from under some trees near where the first named stood. It is overcast this morning & a storm of rain appears to be threatened. Sent a letter to my wife yesterday of eight pages.

THE SENECA MOUNTAIN TOWN.

Mr. Cone, the Tonawanda Indian informs me, that there was a tradition among the Senecas, that their nation was at one period established in a large village on a high hill, with a spacious broad flat top, near the southern end of Seneca Lake; & to more effectually defend their commanding position, the sides of the hill were cleared of all the trees & shrubs, so that an enemy could not advance without being exposed to view & attack; and to render the defence still more complete, large logs were collected on the summit to be rolled down upon any force that might attempt to ascend the height.

After many years of a prosperous & peaceful occupation

of this hill, an enormous serpent came out of the lake & so vast was his size & length that he was enabled to entirely surround its base, so as to preclude a passage, to the foot for the purpose of hunting & to the lake for taking fish. The mouth of the serpent was open fronting the top of the hill & so large was it that the indians considered it a passage or kind of gateway through which they could pass & thus effect their escape & many ran into it & thus perished. The distress at length became so great for the want of provisions, that it was found the whole tribe would die of hunger. when one night a young man dreamed, that if he made a bow of hickory and an arrow of willow, which was to be tipped with hair from the private parts of his sister, instead of feathers, he could slay the monster & having procured the prescribed materials, he shot the arrow into his body which however only barely went through the skin; but as he moved from the pain the wound occasioned it worked gradually in until it pierced his heart, when he soon died in violent convulsions, & the blood which issued from his mouth was so great that it formed a large pond in which the snake putrified and there is now a morass covered with trees, in which it is believed his bones may be discovered.

For the mountain residence of the Senecas, & from whence they date the origin of their nation, their original name was Jo-no-do-wan or Great Mountain, but it ultimately was changed to Non-do-wan-gan which is the present Indian name of the Tribe.

The whole of the six nations until some years after the white people came to Canada & New York, were but one tribe, and were called the Jo-no-do-wans. Their chief settlements were in the valley of the Genesee river & the principal town in Avon. Annually after the squaws had planted the corn, the greatest portion of the tribe, went out to the various large lakes to fish & hunt, until the corn was ripe. During this period the small pox was introduced into the town & so fatal were its ravages, that nearly the whole of those, who remained at home perished, and when a few of the Indians who had been absent returned in September, they found only two or three men & women, & as many chil-

dren alive, while the dead were festering unburied in the houses & streets & fields. The spectacle was so appalling that they immediately went back & gave notice to the several bands of the calamitous event, & such was the terror produced from the ravages of this new & destructive disease that each of [the] bands determined to establish towns where they had encamped during the fishing & hunting season. These were on Seneca, Cayuga, & Oneida lakes, Mohawk river & Onondaga valley, and they at last became distinct & independent nations. but united as the six nations for their common safety & defence. When the white people began to trade with them, they called each tribe the name of the lakes rivers & valleys where they chiefly resided, but the tribes have each a name entirely different from those, by which they are known to each other.*

The council met at twelve & adjourned at two, in consequence of the sudden & severe illness of Mr. Strong the Interpreter's father, who is a Chief from Cattaraugus. Mr. Gillet made a speech for the purpose of correcting various errors which some of the chiefs had committed as to facts & principles. Mr. Gillet here stated to the Chiefs, that he had the written opinion of Mr. Harris & Mr. Mand of the Indian Bureau in the War Department as to the effect which the non assent to the amendments of the treaty would have, & that if they refused to ratify it, the contracts for the sale of their reservations would be binding upon them, & that they would thus be deprived of their lands here without having secured others in the west.

I then rose & observed that it was the opinion of the Governor of Massachusetts, that as the contract for the sale of the reservations to Ogden & fellows was made simultaneously, they were under the peculiar circumstances, in which the negotiations were conducted, to be considered as dependent on each other & as one transaction; that the Indians would not have consented to the sale of all their lands

* There are certain resemblances between this tradition, as related by Cone, and "The Origin of the Kingdom of the Five Nations," in David Cusick's "Ancient History of the Six Nations," first published in 1825; but here, as elsewhere in his journals, Gen. Dearborn's spelling of Indian words is independent of all authorities.

in the state of New York, if they had not at the same time obtained others in the west, & if from any cause the treaty was not completely ratified, either by an assent of the Chiefs to the amendmends of the Senate, or a recession of the Senate from the amendments & the original treaty ratified by that body, in the manner, which, it had been represented, had been done on other occasions, they would be without a home, which was not contemplated, by the Indians, at the time the two arrangements were made. The Governor did not undertake to decide that his construction of the treaty & contracts was correct, for that was a subject for great consideration & must ultimately depend on a judicial decision, of the courts of the United States.

Mr. Gillet then proceeded, & stated that the chiefs now knew the opinions of the officers of the general government & of the Governor of Mas. & they were to decide, as to whether it was safe or not, to act on the belief of the correctness of either view of the subject? but in the event the treaty was not assented to now, or hereafter ratified by the Senate, as originally executed, & it should be decided by the courts, that the contracts for the sale of their lands were valid, notwithstanding, the responsibility of the chiefs, who signed the treaty & contracts, & now should refuse to assent to the amendments would be very great? for they will have negotiated for the sale of the whole of their lands here, & refused or neglected to provide a home in the Indian Territory, for their future & permanent residence, & thus leave the whole nation without any place of residence, or the means of support.

Evening. There was a meeting of the chiefs who are opposed to the treaty, in the Council House after the adjournment of the council, and the questions under consideration were discussed. There was also a meeting of a number of the opposition chiefs yesterday morning at the house of Billy Jones one of the chiefs who lives on this reservation near the church, and were addressed by [blank in original] who attempted to induce a belief that all the statements which had been made by Mr. Gillet were false or deceptive & erroneous, as is reported by persons who were present.

Such conduct is infamous, for the motive is, to retain the advantages which the individuals, who are urging the Indians not to ratify the treaty, now enjoy, from the mills they have built or occupy on the reservations, & the lumber & bark which they obtain therefrom. The objects for which they are seeking, are selfish, & they are willing to deceive & thus prevent the indians from embracing the liberal & munificent offers of the government. Such baseness is unparalleled in my intercourse with man-kind. Assuming to be the special friends of the Indians, these poor, ignorant & prejudiced people are deluded and made to distrust the U. S. Commissioners & myself,—the national government even, who have no other aim or desire than to do the greatest possible benefit to the miserable remnant of a tribe which is fast sinking into the most degraded condition & must soon become extinct, if they do not remove to the west.

I took a walk with Mr. Gillet half an hour before sunset up the bank of the creek to see Mr. Strong the sick chief & then crossed the creek & went to Gruses house on the hill, southwest from the onondaga Council House; he being a chief & also sick. We walked about three miles.

I have read, since I have been here *Oliver Twist* & *Nicholas Nickleby* by Boz. alias Charles Dickens author of the *Pick-Wick Papers* &c. the 5th vol. of the 3d series of the *Massachusetts historical Society* & *Homeward Bound* by Cooper author of the *Spy*, *Pilot*, *Red Rover* &c. and "*La Levitiene de Montfermeil*, by Ch. Paul De Kock.

A TRADITION OF THE CHIEF DOCTOR OF THE SENECA, AS TO
THE MEDICINE HE USES FOR WOUNDS, BRUISES & ALL
VULNERARY PURPOSES, RELATED TO ME BY CONE.

It was the custom long before the Revolutionary War, for parties of from twenty, fifty & a hundred Indians to make excursions into Ohio for the purpose of signalizing their valor, by killing small parties of their enemies, & plundering the exposed settlements. In one of these expeditions, the party was unexpectedly overtaken, during its return, by a large body of warriors when a bloody engagement ensued, in which many of the Senecas were slain. One of the scouts

on his return to the nation gave the following account of himself. As he was retreating before the victorious band which had slain & defeated his corps he was knocked down as he supposed by a war-club'; but soon after came to his senses, & finding many of his dead companions scattered near him, & neither friend or enemy in sight, he took the route which he presumed they had pursued home, & overtook them the next day'; but to his great astonishment, no one replied to his salutations or appeared to notice or even see him; and after in vain attempting to enter into conversation, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their cold neglect, he concluded to return to his village, which he reached the third [day] but to his utter surprise neither his wife children or friends spoke to him or took the least notice of what he said or did. He was in despair & went from house to house, to see if no one would recognize, know, or speak to him, but he was entirely disregarded & did not seem to be perceived.

In deep affliction for his neglected & painful situation he determined to return to the battle ground where so many of his companions, were slain & be united with them in death, & on arriving at the place of the action there were many dead indians all of whom had been scalped, while wandering among the slain he discovered a corps, which seemed to so much resemble himself, that he began at last to believe it was his own body & that it was only his spirit which had been with his own party family & friends, which was the reason they could not see him. Scarcely had he come to this conclusion, when his spirit again entered his body. Not long after he heard the most delightful songs, but was incapable of moving or opening his eyes'; There appeared to be numerous voices & the singing was the most curious & interesting he had ever listened to. The sound, however, did not appear to be like that proceeding from human lips, so infinitely different were they in tone & compass, & yet more sweet and harmonious. At last he was enabled to open his eyes, but could not speak or move. He was astonished to find, that the music he heard, was made by all the kinds of birds & other animals of the forest from the smallest wren

to the eagle, from the little striped squirrel to the deer & bear, which had formed a circle around him, some being on the ground & others sitting on the trees, or flying about in the air.

Suddenly they all ceased singing & there was a consultation, as to the expediency of restoring him to life by the means of a most remarkable & powerful medicine which was described; to this the wolf and catamount objected, for, they observed, he will become a hunter & we shall all be subject to be killed by his hand,—no, replied the turtle dove, he will become a peaceful benefactor of his nation & hereafter devote his time, to medicine & be enabled to render assistance to the wounded & sick, in a manner more successful than was ever known before, for he will hear the names of the ingredients which we intend to use in the liquid for curing his wound & restoring him to life & perfect health, As all the other animals except the wolf & the catamount concurred in the generous opinion of the turtle dove, it was determined, that some of their number should prepare the medicine, while one of the birds, should go in search of his scalp, which had been taken & carried off by one of the indians who had attacked & defeated his war party. The crane immediately volunteered his services, for the latter duty, as he was swift of wing & could scent flesh & blood a greater distance than any other bird, & was accordingly dispatched in pursuit of the victorious band. During his absence the dead indian heard those, who were preparing the medicine, name over the various articles, which were combined in a fine powder & put into one of those curious leaves, which is called Adams cup.

The Crane soon returned with the scalp, which he found suspended on the top of the chimney of the hut in which the chief lived who had taken it, where it had been placed, to be dried & smoked, according to the Indian custom, that it may be preserved as a trophy of valor. The scalp was first soaked soft in a spring of pure water, and then being carefully sprinkled with the liquid medicine it was applied to the head, which had also been bathed for some time with the same wonderful specific. In a short time the Indian was

enabled to sit up, but was so feeble from loss of blood & the want of food that he could not speak, when the wolf was dispatched, for venison, & it was not long before he returned with a quarter of a fawn, that he had slain. The birds & other animals then all disappeared, after having sang a peculiar kind of song which was indispensable to render the operation of the medicine complete, & restore the patient to perfect health.

As soon as the Indian was left alone, he found his strength so much increased, that he was able to get up, & having kindled a fire, broiled small pieces of the venison, which he eat with a greedy appetite, & then laid down & went to sleep. When he awoke he found himself perfectly well & strong & set off on his return home. On his arrival he related the miraculous circumstances of his death & restoration to life. Having determined to attempt the preparation of the medicine by which he had been cured, he set off on a hunt to procure the ingredients. They were small portions of the brains of a certain number of birds & other animals, & one kernal of corn from an ear which was to be found growing alone on a single stalk in the midst of the forest, an a seed from a little rough skin squash, which also was to be procured from a vine that was to be discovered in the wilderness, far from any settlement. The brains of the different annimals were obtained in a few days, but he traversed the wilderness six months in search of the corn & squash.

At last one night after he had eaten his supper, & lied down to sleep, he was roused by the song which he heard at the time he was raised from the dead. It was bright moonlight night & the notes came swelling on the gentle breeze through the vast forest in the most melodious & enchanting manner; but he was directed in one of the verses not to move from his camp until morning. The singing continued until day-light. As soon as the sun rose he set off in the direction from whence the sounds of the song came and found the desired stalk of corn growing within a small circle of level ground in which there was not a weed, or a spear of grass, & it appeared as clear as if it had been smoothed by a

rake, all around the circle for a considerable distance were the tracks or marks made by the birds & other animals which had been there assembled, during the night. Having taken the single ear of corn which grew upon the isolated stalk the Indian returned to his village. One kernel of the corn when finely pulverized was sufficient to impart the sanitary & healing virtues, with which it had been endowed by the Great Spirit to a large quantity of the other ingredients. The Indian who was so fortunate as to obtain this invaluable medicine, soon became the most distinguished Doctor of the tribe, from the great cures he effected of wounds received in battle & in other modes, as well as cases of extraordinary pains & diseases. & ever since it has been continued to be administered by one man in the tribe to whom the right & power of preparing it has been transmitted.*

At present this Indian is John Tuky & resides on the Cataraugus reservation. He has several agents in each of the four reservations who are supplied with the medicine in the form of a very fine powder, a minute portion of which is put into a vessel of water with which the wound, or part of the body in pain is bathed & the remainder is drank by the patient. In ten days from the time of its application, a dance is held at the house of the injured or sick person, by the agents, who administer the medicine. & the ceremony is closed by a feast which is kept up all night, which is given to them, by the friends of the patient. One application of the medicine only is made & is considered infallible.

The kernals of the ear of corn having been all used up about sixty years since, the Doctor whose special privilege it was to prepare the medicine, went in search of another, an one of the equally efficacious squashes. After a search of many months in the mountainous wilderness of the Alleghanies, he found, a squash vine growing by itself, & the seeds of that have been nearly all used, so that there is great anxiety lest another ear of the sacred corn or one of the squashes should not be found.

* There is nothing resembling this legend in Cusick's "Six Nations." None of the "Legends of the Iroquois" attributed to "The Cornplanter" and published by William W. Canfield in 1902 correspond with it; nor has it been found elsewhere by the editor of this volume.

Alas poor human nature. The credulity of man will never cease. The marvelous always is imposing & quacks flourish in our largest cities.

Mr. Cone three years since had an affection of one of his eyes which was very painful. After being attended by a physician for some time without relief recourse was had, by his parents to the Great Indian Doctor of Cattaraugus. His shirt was sent for the Doctor to sleep upon & he was able the next day to state how long he had suffered, & that the inflammation was caused by a portion of spider's web getting into the eye when he was walking in the woods; the cause of the disease, however Mr. Cone did not know. The sacred medicine was administered & he was relieved soon after from much of the pain he had suffered. In ten days the dance was performed in his room, in time the inflammation subsided, but the eye perished.

The Council met at half past 12 & adjourned at 4. Pierce of Cattaraugus read some extracts from a congressional speech as to the second removal of the Cherokees, Mr. Gillet & myself explained that transaction & I gave an account of Mr. Jefferson's friendly disposition & policy in relation to the Indians;—the advancement made by the Cherokees in civilization;—the invention of an alphabet by "Sagquai-ga, the establishment of a printing office & the publication of a newspaper & books in the Cherokee language & that alphabet, & the improvements made in agriculture, & the mechanic arts, & the introduction of wheels & looms for spinning & weaving"; thus illustrating the practicability of the amelioration of the degraded condition of the indians. Jimerson & Black-Kettle spoke, & complained that the Commissioner & myself unnecessarily prolonged the Council, to which I replied. Mr. Strong the interpreter made a few remarks in reply to Pierce. Just before sunset I went with Mr. Gillet into the forest & we walked two miles for exercise. There was a Corn Feast at Jack Berry's town this day & a dance in the evening.

Sep 14. A superb morning. Mr. Cone informed me yesterday that the Indians were very superstitious, especially the pagan portion of the tribe.

There are now two great prophets, in the tribe, one residing on the Tonnawanda reservation by the name of Hanne-yat-hoo, & the other Ne-an-wis-tan-an on this. The former states that there are four angels which are annually sent to him by the great spirit, whose special duty it is to take charge of the Seneca Indians, & that they inform him of what errors the Indians fall into, the vices they indulge in & the crimes they commit & what it is necessary for them to do to please the great spirit, & prevent the calamities which will befall the nation unless there is a reformation in conduct. He has recently told the Tonnawanda indians, that a terrible sickness was coming from the rising sun, which would exterminate them unless they had a great feast & dance & all took a particular kind of medicine, which he had been instructed how to prepare. This has been done & the indians are now safe from the disastrous evils, with which they were threatened. An easy & cheap mode of being saved from the ravages of a sweeping pestilence. These self made Prophets are cunning men & ever have been in all ages & nations; they either put off the evil so far, that no one dreads the ills prognosticated,—or bring it so near that their *own power* is made *manifest*, in arresting the wrath of the almighty:—The one gives a mysterious & awful dignity to their character & the other insures confidence in their supernatural powers. Man is thus taxed, by the cunning & lazy, and reverence is paid to rascals, who should be lashed into labor for their support, instead of being permitted to roam about the country to alarm the weak & foolish & live on their industry. Since the days of the Phareos, prophets have gulled the people, both civilized & savage; even the christians have ever & anon remarkable prophets among all the various sects. from the Pope down to the meanest villain who calls himself a missionary to the lost sinners. Why then should not the poor indian, the ignorant savage have the consolation of prophets, to threaten them with all the horrors of famine pestilence & war, & then give joy to the affrighted wretches, by the power of averting the wrath of God. It is a delightful kind of moral shower bath,—the dark of terror & then the exhilarating flow of comfort when

the shock is over. Little children are we'; to be alarmed & quieted, by a nursery tale. God forgive all villains & fools & save us from their rascality & errors.

The illustrious prophet of this reservation, [blank in original]* dreams like the patriarchs of old & sees visions. Since the question of emigrating to the west has been agitated in the tribe, & very recently this learned pagan, reports that he went to hell, in one of his spiritual nocturnal excursions. He passed over an immense prairie & at the distant end beheld an enormous stone edifice, without doors or windows, but the guide, who accompanied him,—being a special messenger from the Great Sp[irit] knocked against the wall & instantly an opening was made, from which issued a blaze that ascended hundreds of feet above the roofs, & he beheld within huge potash kettles, filled with boiling oil & molten lead, & there were the wicked rising & falling & tumbling over in the bubbling fluids, & ever & anon as the heads of some were thrown above the top of kettles they gave a horrid yell & down they plunged again. There he was told would be punished all the chiefs who advocated emigration. But the Indian Hell, among all the tribes, has this advantage, over that, which most of our pious & merciful clergymen have so liberally contrived for the christian disciples,—there is a term to all the awful punishments inflicted on even the most hardened sinner, the offences being atoned for by a shorter or longer boil, according to their greater or less heinous character'; & finally all go to heaven & hunt & dance & eat & enjoy themselves in the vast prairies & forests of the Great Spirit's dominions except witches & for them they have imitated the justness & intelligence of the most civilized nations of christians, & leave them simmering in hell for all eternity. But still there is a good chance for them,—for as the offence is imaginary, & no positive evil is actually done, the Great Spirit may allow them to take the great

* It is not clear who filled the rôle of prophet among the Senecas at this date. Handsome Lake, founder of what is known as the Pagan belief now observed by most non-Christians of the Six Nations, died at Onondaga in 1815. His grandson Sase-he-wa, otherwise known as James (oftener as "Jimmy") Johnson, also a prophet, died about 1830.

Peace Path to Heaven, without even a halt at the inconvenient half way house of hell.

Evening. The Council met at half past 12 & Bennet, a chief from the Cattaraugus reservation, commenced a speech in reply to personal charges made against him the day before, by I. Jimmenson. He had got through with his defence & was proceeding in remarks that were perfectly correct & unobjectionable having no offensive import on the conduct of the chiefs who signed the treaty & the contracts for the sale of the land at the Council last winter, when he was rudely interrupted by an insolent & ill-mannered young chief by the name of Pierce.* Bennet observed that those chiefs who had agreed in the sale of the land & now refused to assent to the amended treaty, were in fact depriving the indians of their home here & preventing them from obtaining that which was so generously offered by the national government. Pierce charged him with stating falsehoods, & when called to order by the Commissioner & directed to be seated, that he could answer Bennet when he had finished his speech, he insolently replied that he would not sit down & that he would interrupt him or the commissioners either when he chose; that he was not to be put down. I then observed that the commissioner presided in the council & that in conformity to the rules for the government of all deliberative bodies, no one was to be interrupted in debate, in the rude & unwarrantable manner he had attempted, & that if he did not sit down & be silent he would be put out of the council.

* This was possibly Maris B. Pierce, a Seneca chief of good education, who had attended Dartmouth College, and a speaker and writer of no little force. Some days before this outbreak, on Tuesday evening, Aug. 28, 1838, he gave a public address in the Baptist Church of Buffalo. The *Commercial Advertiser's* report of it said "The main object seemed to be to show that the operation of the late treaty with the Senecas, if it be carried into effect, would be injurious to their improvement as a people, and decidedly opposed to their pecuniary interests. Upon this topic he dwelt with much earnestness, and at considerable length." The address was published in pamphlet form in Philadelphia in 1839, with the following title "Address on the present condition and prospects of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of North America, with particular reference to the Seneca Nation. Delivered at Buffalo, New York, by M. B. Pierce, a chief of the Seneca Nation, and a member of Dartmouth College." Pierce was one of the most ardent opponents of the proposed removal of his people. Fisher Pierce, a Seneca from Cattaraugus, was active in the councils of his people at this time, and it may have been he, and not Maris, who was guilty of the disturbance.

Mr. Gillet then called on the old chief Captain Pollard, who had attended all the Councils since that held by Col. Pickering at Canadagua, to state what was the practice as to the mode of conducting the debates. I. Jimenson then got up & in a passionate tone said Capt. Pollard should not speak & Big Kettle arose & in a furious manner, began to abuse the Commissioner & me, when Jimenson bound from his seat & rushed upon the venerable Pollard who was standing near the table at which we were sitting & pushed him toward his seat in a wrathful manner. Col. White a gentleman from Chataque county who sat near, started up & took hold of Capt. Pollard, to prevent him from falling & at the same time seized Jimenson. Black Kettle then ran towards White & took hold of him while Jimenson took Mr. Strong the interpreter by the throat, & crushed him down upon the table on which he was leaning in front of me. The war whoop was then given by the partisans of those rash & desperate chiefs & the whole rushed forward to where the Commissioner & I sat & their leaders were in a furious manner using the most threatening language; Mr. Gillet & myself rose & attempted to restore order, & after considerable difficulty they took their seats, when we both addressed them on the disgraceful impropriety of their conduct. We then consulted as to the propriety of the course to be pursued & concluded to adjourn the council until monday & in the meantime procure the aid of the civil authority, & if necessary a military force to call on Col Crane of the U. S. Army who commanded at Buffalo. This determination was announced by the Interpreter & the council adjourned to monday at eleven oclock.

When we got to our lodging, we called in the Indian Agent, Judge Stryker, & consulted what it was expedient to do in such an unprecedented conjuncture of affairs; & it was determined that the High Sheriff of the County should be requested to attend with a sufficient number of deputies & constables to preserve order in the Council & protect us from outrage & insult & to request Col. Crane who commanded the U. S. troops at Buffalo to inform us, whether, in the event a military force should be required, he would send out

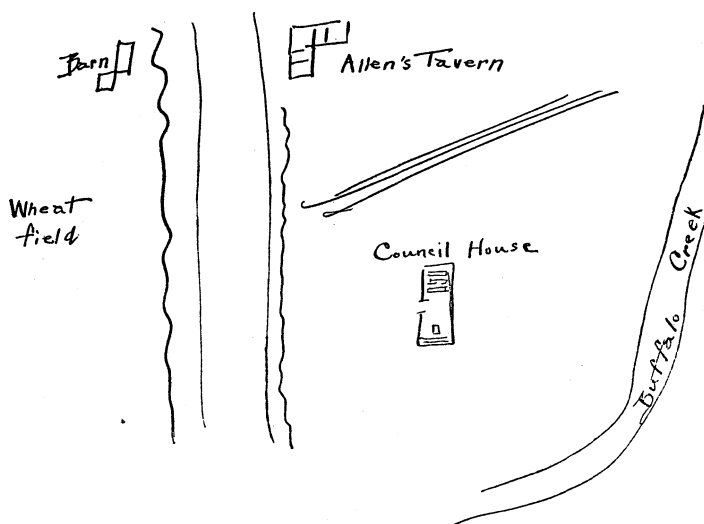
a company, to be encamped in the vicinity, for the purpose of supporting the civil officers should it be required, and that Mr. Strong should go into Buffalo to make complaint before a magistrate against Jimenson for an assault & have him arrested & bound over to keep the peace. These measures were carried into effect forthwith. Strong went to the city & fortunately the sheriff soon after arrived & he promptly promised to be here on monday, with a civil power sufficient to maintain order, if possible & I wrote to Col. Crane to ascertain whether he would cooperate, if requested by Mr. Gillet & myself.

At dusk Seneca White & Little Johnson called as a deputation from the opposition chiefs, who had conducted in such an infamous manner, to state that they intended to meet on monday, at the Council House in Jack Berry's town, for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of the refractory chiefs. Mr. Gillet informed them he expected they would meet to morrow, in the Council House here, with all the other chiefs to deliberate on a transaction so disgraceful to the nation; that it was no party question, but one which involved the reputation of all the chiefs, & that they were bound in honor to themselves & the Seneca tribe, to meet in open council & make a proper example of the lawless & desperate chiefs, who had so grossly insulted the Commissioner & Superintendent of Masses, & the government of the United States & that which the latter represented. They appeared much ashamed of the conduct of their party & said they would report, what had been said to them. Thus the affair stands this evening. I wrote the Governor this forenoon, before this disgraceful transaction was consummated.

Sep. 15. A glorious morning. There was a splendid exhibition of the aurora borealis last evening at nine o'clock, extending from the N. E. to the S. W. & reaching the zenith, the coruscations were vivid from a dark space near the horizon, & shot up in collums of great width & brightness. In the eastern section there was a blood red tint, reaching from the top of the dark space half way to the zenith & extending for several degrees, like the reflection of a distant fire. In the south west, were horizontal flashes which came out in waves

towards the east & preceded the aurora as it advanced towards the zenith'; it resembled the winking light which the heat-lightning, as it is called, presents,—the reflection of a distant thunder shower'; but evidently was caused in the manner as the common auroras which illumine our northern nightly skies. I concluded a letter to my dear wife this morning of 8 pages, closely written over margins & all. I was a little oppressed night before last from eating cabbage; but by fasting on tea yesterday, I am pretty well this morning.

Situation of the Council House*:



The Council House is in a beautiful grove on the bank of the Buffalo Creek, containing about seven acres. I have noticed the following variety of trees some of which are at least 90 feet high & four feet through at the butt'. Slipery

* On the location of the Seneca and Onondaga council houses, see Henry R. Howland's paper on "The Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI., pp. 127-128. Gen. Dearborn's rough sketch herewith is the only drawing or diagram known which shows the relative positions of the river, the highway and the buildings indicated thereon.

Elm, Weeping Elm, Button Wood, Basswood, Black Walnut, Butternut, Hickory, Rock Maple, White Maple, Tulip tree Wild native apple, Hawthorn & numerous shrubs & herbaceous flowers. There are three hundred or more trees in the grove, which render it a most picturesque & interesting place, with the groups of Indians laying under the trees, with each a little fire kindled in an old stump, or a dead log, or a little pile of dry bark & roots, to light their pipes'; & among them white men & women walking about.

Afternoon, there being no Council this day, I have written the Governor a letter of 8 pages & Mr. Bigelow Secretary of State one of three pages. I walked from 12 to quarter past one, in the forest, north of the Buffalo road. I am reading in the vol. of State Papers, the documents in relation to the Indians of this state. The written speeches of Cornplanter to Genl. Washington in 1790 are elegant & superior to any other indian communication I ever read. I found in the written speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town & Big Tree sent to General Washington Dec 29. 1790 that they called him the Town-Destroyer, & in reading Procters Journal, to Buffalo Creek, to hold a treaty with the Senecas, Washington was called by the Indians The Great Chief, Ho-non-da-ga-ni-us. This evening I asked Cone, my young Tonnawanda friend, what was the meaning of that name, & he said it was, Town Destroyer'; but that it now meant President of the United States whoever the individual was, & had been thus used, through all the administrations, since Washingtons. Thus we see how a name given to designate a man, at last designates the office he held, who ever might be occupent.

The reason for the name, was this. Genl. Sullivan, in his expedition against the Indians of New York, during the Revolution, was ordered to burn all the towns & destroy all the corn, which was fully done, & the whole of the indian settlements, to Genesee river, were laid waste. Washington being Commander in Chief & then the head of the nation, the Indians, in the true Grecian & Roman style, gave him the significant name of Ho-non-da-ga-ni-us or Town Destroyer.

I received a letter from Col. Crane this evening, inform-

ing me that Genl Macomb* had arrived at Buffalo, & that he had laid my letter of yesterday before him, and that he was authorized to inform me that a military force would be sent here whenever requested'; so that now we have the most ample means to maintain order & compel the Indians to conduct with propriety.

There has been a warrant issued & the Sheriff has been out here to arrest Jimenson, but he has either secreted himself or fled to Cattaraugus where he lives. There are many threats of violence from Big-Kettle & other chiefs'; but I do not apprehend the least difficulty in future in the Council. The power which it will be known we have at our command will insure tranquility. There is no more wise & safe mode of conducting, on all occasions than to be prepared to vindicate, defend & maintain any position which it is necessary to assume, & leave it not [to] the uncertainty of events. To be ready for, is the sure way to prevent difficulties. Peace is the prize of efficient power to command it.

Sep. 16. There was a frost for the second time this season last night & the ground is white this morning, with the hoary messenger of stern Winter.

Corn-Planter states, in his written speech to Washington of 1790, that, if he is determined to crush the indians, one chief has said, "he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, & sleep with his fathers, in peace." I asked Cone what root was alluded to, & he informed it was of a plant, that grew on moist land, resembling the Skunk Cabbage, was sweet to the taste & that a small handful produced death. It tasted & smelt like the parsnip. He knew it well & had tasted of it. It was pleasant to eat. The effect was violent spasms, the head & body was drawn back with strong convulsions, as in the lock-jaw. He said he had known of several suicides from eating it. & was the only mode of self destruction among the Indians. Doct. Wilcox informed me two women at Cattaraugus had eaten the "*fatal root*," within two years, & died, one from disappointed love. Cone states

* Major General Alexander Macomb, one of the successful generals of the War of 1812, was at this time (1838) commander-in-chief of the U. S. Army, which rank he held from 1835 till his death in 1841. He arrived in Buffalo, from Detroit, Sept. 12, 1838.

that love unrequited was a common cause of suicide. He confirms, what several other persons both Indians & white men,—that the Indians are very licentious. There is no courtship or form of marriage & that either party may leave the other when they please & take another wife or husband the next hour. The girls are generally married at from 14 to 17 years of age. They have little chastity among them, either among the married women or girls. The females are amorous & as often seek the men, as the latter them. It is a mere brute passion which brings the man & woman together. The men never notice the females in public, they neither accompany them to feasts & dances, speak to them there or wait upon them home. He thinks there are not ten chaste females in the whole Seneca nation, above 13 years of age.

The idling of these people & their brutal intemperance is disgusting & inexcusable. Cone thinks that more than three quarters of the time of the men is taken up in feasts, dances, useless councils & other amusements, & in fact I am satisfied that but few ever work & most of them not one day in ten. As to improving their condition it is preposterous in their present settlement. They have no honor, pride, honesty, or dignity left. They unite all the vices of the Indians to those of the lowest & basest of the whites. Chiefs are in this Council who are ragged & filthy as beyond the meanest beggars among the whites. There are not a dozen men in the nation who do not get drunk, whenever they can obtain spirit. The women work on the land & make bead work, brooms, baskets & other articles for sale & pick berries which they carry to market. They are generally well dressed. Human nature can not appear more despicable than here & as to their being allowed to remain in this position & condition is out of the question. Humanity, more than policy demands that they should be placed in a position where they can be improved & the national government is bound to exercise its power firmly yet beneficently. They should be compelled to work, abandon all their idle ceremonies, be sober & receive instruction in the mechanical & agricultural arts, & taught to read & write. Let them be pagans until they have been made industrious & sober & then they will become Christians.

No white people should be allowed to reside among them for any purpose, except as agents & instructors, under the direction of the government of the United States.

We compell the idle & intemperate to work, by confining them in alms houses, or in the tillage of lands connected with the alms-houses establishments. Why should these barbarians be allowed to wander about the country & be the pitiable vagrants of our towns. We are holding a treaty, with some 80 Indians, three quarters of whom, are ragged, filthy, ignorant, lazy, drunken, & worthless wretches,—more degraded & debased than the vicious inmates of our most thronged poor houses,—for most of them, when sober, are sensible & capable of reason, & have some education; but these vagabonds, are as stupid as they are ignorant & base in character & conduct. It is a ridiculous mockery of sovereignty,—a contemptable show of respect & gravity, to be treatyng with men, who are incapable of comprehending the simplest statement; & who should be made to do, what the intelligence & kindness of the government, have deemed indispensable, for their comfort & moral elevation. How preposterous is it for such characters to be talking about their ancient rights their independence & customs. They are reduced to the lowest possible state of vice, & grovling dissipation & shameful idleness & appeal to the white people to leave them in a condition where they can indulge in all their debased & degrading habits, and ultimately to become the miserable and disgusting applicants for the means of subsistance,—begging not for food & rayment merely, but the means of getting beastly drunk & wallowing in the filth of our high-ways. Is it justice mercy, humanity, or christian like to leave a race of men thus depraved to themselves, to be a foul blot on the face of society,—a constant spectacle of misery which is as deleterious upon the habits of the whole people, with whom they comingle, as it is revolting to humanity & fatal to themselves. The georgian knot must be cut & the laws & power of the nation substituted for this sham exercise of diplomatic authority & respectful treatment towards a people, who are incapable of managing their own affairs & providing for their own means of subsistance. They are to be treated

as children, by a kind & merciful & generous parent, be compelled to so conduct as to merit consideration esteem, respect & honor.

I walked on the bank of the Creek for an hour or more after breakfast, & went up it nearly two miles, on the immediate shore or first bank. The water is very low being only a few inches deep any where. The whole would pass through a space 6 feet wide & three inches deep. The strata of slate stone which forms the bottom, is broken by nearly parallel fractures or seams, into lamina from 2 to 6 feet wide, which run from N. E. to S. W. & occasionally, there is a seam, which cuts the others obliquely,—their course being nearly east & west. There are small boulders on the shore, or flint & lime-stone, united in veins, as if moulten & run together. The day is magnificent, & my thoughts are far off, with my dear family, on the shore of the ocean. I hope soon to be able to be on my journey home.

I walked with Mr. Gillet over to the Onondaga Council House, at four oclock where there has been a corn feast & dance all day. We remained about half an hour. our object in going was to convince the indians that threats would not intimidate, for it was reported to us that Big-Kettle had said he would tomahawk the Commissioner the first he met him. I went to see the aged sick woman, for whom I provided a doctor. She is fast recovering & sits up part of the day. She was glad to see me. I gave her a dollar to purchase biscuit & other articles of food. We got back by sunset.

The dress of the squaws is as follows? A blue broad-cloth peticoat, with a border of white beads worked round the bottom from an inch to five inches wide or a strip of bead work up the front 2 to 3 inches in width. This is of one piece of cloth, united in front, & without a pleat. To confine it, there is a strong deer skin string tied round the wast just above the hips. They step into the peticoat & draw it up so as to be just above the ankles at the bottom, the belt is slipped up, & a fold being made in the top of the peticoat, on each hip, behind it is held tight round the waist & the belt then slipped down over it, & the portion above the belt, rolled

over it, which keeps this neat & rich garment in place. The leggings are of blue, green, or red broad cloth. They are about nine inches in diameter, made in the form of cylinder, & confined by a garter below the knee. The bottom of them touch the instep & are ornamented with beads like the petticoat. The gown or upper garment is usually of calico made like a hunting shirt, dropping down to the hips, united in front with brooches & frequently a row round the neck & down the sleeves, over the whole is worn either a white blanket like a mantle or a piece of blue black or brown broadcloth which is put over the head & held by the hands so drawn over the chest as to cover the body & leaving only the face exposed. The most able & tasty wear broad cloth mantles when at a dance, or on a visit to the city. They are two yards square, & never hemmed, or ornamented,—or is the list taken off. The hair is invariably parted in the middle & carried back & united in a knot to which broad & long black ribbands are suspended, falling down as low as the hips; or the hair is simply tied near the head & hangs down loose. Earrings & all of silver are universal. I saw but one ordinary pair among all the women; the brooches are also silver & their rings save in a few instances gold was seen. The mocasins are deer skin ornamented with beads & porcupines quills.

The process of dressing the deer-skin is very simple & peculiar to the Indians. The skin when taken from the deer, is carefully deprived of every particle of flesh, & then stretched between poles, vertically. The Hunter put up round his camp upright poles ten or twelve feet high & sufficiently far enough apart to allow the skin to be stretched to its greatest width, & others are lashed horizontally to them,—one at the bottom near the ground & the other sufficiently high to admit the skin to be extended its whole length. Bass wood bark is prepared in strips & one of them is made to pass all round the skin in holes cut near the edge, so as to form loops about one or two inches apart; to these loops other strings are fastened & passing round the vertical & horizontal poles, the skin is expanded to its greatest possible extent & surface. They remain thus exposed to the open air

for two or three months. When they are dressed they are soaked in water, & having a beam fixed obliquely, like that used by currier[s] the skin is, in portions put on it, flesh side down & the hair & outer cuticle, or grain as it is called scraped off with a steel or iron tool, some ten inches or more long, fixed in a wooden handle so as to form a scraper; the edge like that of a skate iron, is ground to sharp corners.

The heads of the deer having been brought to the camp, the skulls are cracked open & the brains taken out, & boiled in water, so as to deprive them of all fibre & fat, & then put on to pieces of bark which are laid up on poles in the camp to dry; this substance is then scraped off into a box, or some other vessel & kept for use, in curing & preparing the deer skin leather. When used it is put into a cloth, & tied up, & that is plunged into hot water, & squeezed & worked by the hand until all the substance of the brains, which is sufficiently soluble passes through which gives the water a milky appearance. In this the skin is soaked & rubbed for a considerable time, which makes the skin swell & become soft, when dry it is rubbed, until the whole of it appears pliable & thoroughly impregnated with the brains. It is then sewed up into a cylinder length ways & closed at the top. A hole about 18 inches deep & a foot in diameter is then dug in the ground, & sticks stuck into the earth around it, as high as the skin, which is drawn over them like an inverted bag, & the lower end spreading out on the ground for two or three inches is covered with earth so as to make it close. In the hole a smoke is made of Hemlock or other bark, which is kept up, until the skin is thoroughly impregnated with the smoke, & assumes a rich Yellowish colour, then it is taken off & again rubbed in the hands, when the leather is fit for use.

Sep. 17. A clear bright, calm & lovely morn & day. The Council met at twelve. when Mr. Gillet announced that in consequence of his being summoned with the Superintendent of Mas. to attend the Police Court in Buffalo, as witnesses in the case of Strong & Jimenson, the council was adjourned to the 18th at 11 o'clock. I went to the city in the afternoon with Mr. Gillet to attend the police court, as a witness in the case of the assault of Israel Jimenson on Stronge & not-

withstanding the testimony was full & clear, for the facts, (as I have narrated them,) were proved by five witnesses it was decided that there was no cause of action. The judge of the Police Court is an ignorant, uncultivated & rough man, who has no idea of decency of conduct, or the respect due to the laws & the judicial & other tribunals, of the country.* There was an appeal in this instance, on the recommendation of the commissioner & myself to the civil authority, with the fullest confidence that ample protection would be extended to us, as well as such a judgment, rendered as would have induced all present, to have gone away with a proper regard for the judiciary, & the necessity of so conducting, as would exempt them from merited rebuke & punishment; but he dismissed the auditory of whites & indians, with the evident impression that outrage, & indecorum may be committed, in the council, with impunity, & showing that now it was indispensably necessary to call in a military force for our protection, as well as to enable the"Commissioner of the United States to discharge his duty, in conformity to the laws & his positive instructions. How utterly inefficient, in fact, have our civil tribunals proved to be in cases of the heinous character of that which have been so impotently adjudicated. A court commits a man to prison, for even an insulting word to the bench,—or the slightest disturbance the Parliament of Great Britain sends to the tower, or expels, a member who violates the rules of the house. Congress summarily punishes any interruption of its proceedings, or insult offered to its members or officers;—& here, a council, in which is the agent, & Commissioner of the national government, the representative of a state, & those of a nation, is rudely interrupted & broken up in the most shameful, insulting & disgraceful manner, & the interpreter, who is also an officer of the nation, assaulted, and yet we are all treated by a magistrate of a city, to whom a proper appeal is made for redress, as if we were a pack of drunken street brawlers. I do not

* The *Commercial Advertiser* of concurrent dates contains no mention of this case. The police justice was James L. Barton. The office, or court-room where this case was tried, was over the west end of the old Terrace Market, on the Terrace near Pearl Street. The Mayor's office at that time was in the same building.

believe that there is a judge of any court of the U. S. or any superior court of a state, that would not have promptly bound over the offender for trial, & pronounced such a opinion, as would have made all present fully sensible of the necessity of order being maintained, from the certainty of plenary punishment being visited on all offenders who were guilty of such a breach of decorum. So much for our boasted judiciary.—So much for that mistaken policy, which places vulgar & ignorant men in positions, where talent, education & personal merit, should be considered as the indispensable qualifications of the incumbents. Justice is represented as *blind*, & here the propriety of that curious & remarkable mode of distinguishing that goddess by the ancients has been fully illustrated.

Sep. 18. Still day clear & warm. I have gathered apples of the wild native crab tree, on this creek & taken out the seed to carry home & plant, & collected seed of the indigenous *Clamatis* & bulbs of the Indian Turnip. & seeds of five other wild plants whose names I do not know. & minerals, of this section of the country.

From what I have seen on this Indian reservation & the remarks of the most intelligent chiefs, as well as the information of persons who have either lived long in the midst of indians or traveled through the north western & south western tribes & visited those which have removed to the Indian Territory, west of Missouri & Kansas,—I am perfectly satisfied that the efforts for amelioration & improvement must be commenced with the females; from immemorial & universal custom they have done all the labor, of tilling the land & manufacturing all the articles of clothing & managing the domestic & economical concerns of the family. The men from pride & long habit are averse to work, their only excitement to action being that produced by war & hunting. Let there be sufficient cattle & ploughs provided to break up 10 to 20 acres of the land for each family & hoes rakes, shovels &c furnished to till it by the women; have primary schools for the girls & boys, to teach all to read & write & common arithmatick, persons to instruct the former to spin & weave, & give encouragement in the way of premiums to

the mothers for each son when 12 years old & even younger, who shall regularly work on the land or at some mechanical trade, & when 16 allow the sons half of the premium. This will in one generation make all the Indians good farmers, & introduce all the useful mechanical arts & bring them up to such a state of independence, intelligence & habits of industry, as will insure a progressive march in moral excellence & refinement. The land as I have before observed must be first divided & each have its own tract in severalty & to be sold, divided, or inherited as with the whites. And what is of vast & indispensable importance there must be a simple national government established, at the head of which there should be an able & good man, as Governor General, a Legislative body like Congress, of deputies or representatives of each tribe elected for that purpose by land owners only. Also a constitutional government for each tribe like our state governments & the office of chiefs abolished,—the Chief magistrate & other officers to be chosen, or appointed & the representatives to be in number proportioned to the size of the tribe but never to exceed a 100 Such general & tribe governments will in coöperation with the other means for amelioration & amelioration bring these barbarians out of the degraded state in which they have so long & now remain. Induce them to abolish all their ridiculous war, corn, dog & other feasts & dances, & introduce the musick & dances of the whites. Act in fact as Peter I of Russia did to civilize & aggrandize the barbarians of his empire. Finally absolutely prohibit the introduction of ardent spirit, at all events & allow not a white person to reside within their tribes, except such as are officers of the U. S. & allow no traders but native indians. Do this & the work of civilization will be certain rapid & successful, in the most complete & satisfactory manner.

I have read this morning the Annual Report from the War Department, on Indian Affairs. It contains much interesting intelligence, & the facts stated by Robert Simerwell, a teacher on the Osage river among the Pottawatamies, in relation to a New System of instruction, is very remarkable

& must effect a rapid change in the character of the indians, from the facility it offers of learning them to read.

He states that "adults, even the old as well as the youth can learn to read in the course of a few days. Several instances have occurred of adults, previously ignorant of letters, learning to read, with three or four days study. In this system english types are used to save the expense of founding others, but not for the purpose of spelling, which is usually unnecessary"; or compounded sounds which never vary their uses. These sounds in most of the Indian languages, are eight or ten, some of which but not all, are what, upon the principle of spelling are termed vowel sounds. Not more than twenty three characters, have yet been found necessary in writing any Indian language the use of these can be learned, as soon as the names of twenty three letters of the English alphabet. As soon as the learner has acquired a knowledge of the use of the characters, he can read."*

"This system has been applied to eight Indian languages, with a success exceeding expectation."

Here is a discovery, worthy of the highest commendation, & as wonderful, as it is destined to be useful. It will produce a change, in the condition of the Indians, as great as was ever effected in the human race;—if the government zealously, & liberally provides & directs the means of its application, to the great purposes of intellectual improvement, agricultural industry & the inculcation of a practical knowledge of the mechanical arts. It will I trust, claim the profound consideration of the national executive & legislature, as well as of all the philanthropists of the Republic. A grand & generous effort should be made to reclaim & exalt the long long degraded savages of this continent. It should be attempted to arrest the decadence of the already diminished natives, & a thorough experiment made to render them equal in all respects to the white population, both in moral advancement & physical comfort.

The Council met at twelve. Mr. Gillet addressed the chiefs on the impropriety of the conduct of several of them, on friday the 14th., & stated that he was happy to learn, that

* 25th Cong. 2d sess. Sen. Doc. I, p. 570.

there had been a determination entered into among them, to maintain order. After some general remarks on the importance of perfect freedom in debate, for the purpose of a full, firm & manly discussion of the subjects under consideration, & that arguments should be refuted, by arguments, instead of being opposed by rudeness & violence, he called on all the chiefs to use their influence to restore & maintain the character of the Seneca Nation, for propriety of conduct, on such grave & interesting occasions.

Mr. Harris then addressed the council in vindication of the charges made against him by Jimenson on the 13th. for entertaining an opinion on the question of emigration, different from that which he professed several years since, & then stated the reasons why he considered [it] expedient for the nation to accept the liberal offer of the government. He made a very able & manly speech.

After Harris resumed his seat, the Commissioner stated, that Bennet, who was prevented from concluding his speech by the disturbances on the 14th. wished to have an opportunity of doing so but that he had been obliged to go home to Catteraugus, & had not yet returned, he should therefore adjourn the Council until eleven oclock to morrow. He also observed that, he hoped very soon to be able to present the treaty, for the signatures of those who approved the amendments.

There was an annular eclipse of the sun this day. It commenced at 2h. 46m. 58s. & continued until 5. 23. 00. It was a grand spectacle. The weather had been cloudy until just as the eclipse began when the clouds became so thin & scattered as to give a perfect view of the wonderful phenomenon. The eclipse was *annular* here, at Detroit, Harrisburgh, Penn. Norfolk, Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Richmond, Rochester in this state, Toronto in Canada, Trenton, N. Jersey, Petersburg, Wheeling, Washington & New York. The entire eclipse passed over the territory of the Hudson Bay Company, the western part of upper Canada & Lake Superior, the N. E. part of Wisconsin, & the state of Michigan, & over portions of New York Penn^a Maryland, & Virginia. There will not be a total eclipse in New England

or the middle states, during the remainder of this century, or in any other part of the Union until August 7th. 1869.

Sep 19. The heavens are wrapt in clouds & after an unusual long continuance of dry & warm weather there is an appearance of a rain storm. The council did not meet until two oclock, in consequence of the arrival of the agent to make arrangements for the payment of the Indian annuities, & three chiefs of the Wyandots nation, with whom the commissioner of the United States was engaged. We adjourned between four & five.

The fact that a military force was at the disposal of the Commissioner, being made known to the Indians & their bad advisors & instigators, to disorderly conduct, has had the desired effect, & the Council has proceeded since in a perfectly orderly manner. The knowledge, that there is at our command, efficient means to prevent disturbances, has been sufficient to give security without their actual presence.

This has not been the most *agreeable* tour of duty which I have had occasion to perform; but still it has been interesting & instructive, in many respects. It has afforded me an opportunity, to become well acquainted, with the actual condition of the indians in this state, & to behold some of the dark shadows of the human character, which are not often exposed to view, in the quiet walks of life. Then, the developments of the natural resources of our vast western regions, & the mighty influence, which intelligence, industry & enterprise have had, & are continuing to have, on all the branches of national industry, are full of subjects for profound consideration, especially when contrasted with the condition of the nations, who are in the midst of this momentous moral & physical revolution, without having been participants, in the benefits which their white brethren are enjoying. Man is in vigorous action on the shores of these inland seas. He is advancing in all the arts of civilization, on a scale of grandure, with strides more wonderful & consequences more glorious, than in any other period of his existance. The anticipations of the future prosperity, wealth, population & improvements, which are to be developed within half a century, cannot be too extravagant, for the reality, will outstrip,

the calculations of genius & the sanguine hopes of the patriot.

From this point, this position, the American Hercules has gone forth, to achieve more wonderful exploits than those of the son of Alcmena. He went forth to *destroy*, but this republican adventurer to *create*. Indeed, to have a just & adequate conception of our flourishing country & the rapidity of its advancement, it is necessary to be on one of those magnificent highways, over which the armies of emigration & the products of our own agriculture manufactories commerce, forests & mines are thronging to an extent, that fills the spectator, with astonishment, gladness & pride. On these great lakes, rivers canals & railroads water & steam are displaying their grandest energies, by the combined influence of science & the arts. There is besides another aspect, which is scarcely less worthy of notice, in which we are to be gratified, when looking out upon these western regions. It is the immensity of the natural features of the country,—grandure, sublimity & beauty. They are a boundless & exhaustive magazine, for furnishing subjects, on which the imagination may luxuriate, sentiment find materials for its fullest action, & the whole mind themes for deep contemplation.

And to all these are to be added the historical reminiscences, connected with the remains of fortifications, whose foundations mark the date of the first settlement of the shores of the St. Lawrence, Ontario, Niagara & Erie. Here are the battlefields of the Indian French & British colonial wars, that of the revolution, & the last, in which this nation has been involved, with a foreign power. Besides, there are the botanical zoological, & geological branches of inquiry, which present numerous objects, to the curious investigator, of the vegetable, animal & mineral realms. From all of which, if a few ideas are gathered up, I shall be amply compensated, for whatever of trouble & annoyance I may have experienced.

The three Wyandots, have been on to Washington to negotiate a treaty for the sale of the right of possession to their lands in Ohio & to remove to the Indian territory in the

west. One of them has resided four years in that new home of the indians with the Seneca band which moved there from Ohio. He went on purpose to view the country, & recently returned so much pleased with it that the tribe has determined to go. The Wyandots reside on the Sandusky river about 40 miles above the town of that name. There are only 500 of them left, & their reservation is equal to that of the Senecas in this state, it being 110,000 acres. They attend the council this day & two of them made speeches to the indians advising them by all means to sign the treaty & go west. The interpreter's name is Lane, who reported in Seneca what the Wyandots said & Strong our interpreter gave it to us in English. Lane informed me he was the first white man born west of Utica. He had his birth in Buffalo in 1786, when there was only one other house besides his father's. and that belonged to a Negro who kept a little shop to trade with the Seneca Indians.*

Col. Jones brought me in this evening the "fatal root" which the Indians eat & the whole plant attached; it is called the wild parsnip & the seeds resemble those of the

* This statement is probably true, although it has been claimed that the first white male child born in Buffalo was Aldrich Wells, born here in 1797. In the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society is a daguerreotype of an aged man; preserved with it is the following record: "Daguerreotype of Ezekiel Lane, who died in Buffalo in 1848, aged 102 years. In 1796 there were but four buildings on the present site of Buffalo. Of these, the first was built by Mr. Lane and his father-in-law Martin Middaugh. It was a double log house on or near Exchange Street, a little east of Washington Street. This house was occupied by Judge Barker in 1807 or 1808. Middaugh died in the winter of 1822 at an extreme old age." The picture of Lane, taken after his death, was deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society, by the Young Men's Association, in April, 1865. Newspaper notices printed at the time state that he died on April 6, 1848, that he was the first white resident of Buffalo, and erected the first house here, in 1784. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and fought at the battle of the Minnisink, in 1779. For the last twenty years of his life he was a member of the Methodist church, and his funeral was held on Sunday, April 9th, from the Swan-street Methodist church. The Buffalo City Directory for 1844 has this entry: "Lane, Ezekiel, 1st settler 99 years old 6 s side buff creek." The earlier directories do not mention him, probably because they listed only people who were in business. If, as appears, Ezekiel Lane was born in 1745 or '46, he was about 93 years old at the time of the councils on Buffalo Creek attended by Gen. Dearborn. The Lane who then acted as interpreter, said he was born at Buffalo in 1786 which would have made him 52 years old at the time of the council, and fixes his birth at about two years after Ezekiel Lane settled here. Inferentially, he was a son of the first settler, though the present editor finds nothing to prove it.

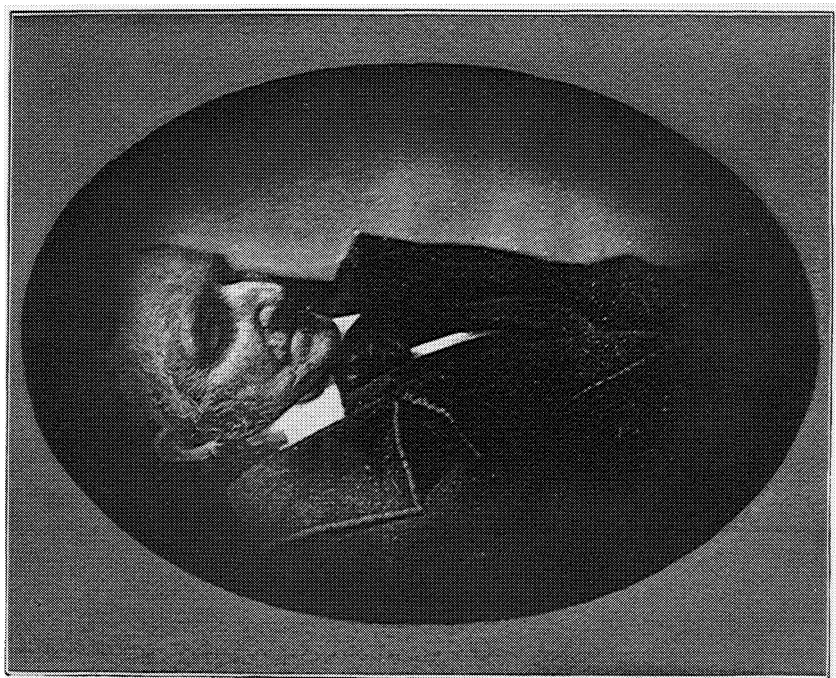
parsley or rather more the coriander. The root is composed of several tubers, which grow in the manner & are in the shape of those of the Dahlia, but not so large. There are five or six tubers to each plant. It is biennial. The tubers are round & smooth; skin light yellow. The flesh of the root is white & tastes—for I chewed a piece of it, sweet & delicate, something like that of a parsnip. Mr. Cone & Mr. Jones had seen Indian women who had eaten it, in the agonies of death. Two tubers of the size of those drawn on the opposite page [sketch omitted]; several Indians told me, this evening, would kill the stoutest man, in half an hour. It brings on violent spasms & they appear delirious. They are convulsed, & the head & back drawn back as in cases of the lock-jaw. Women, from love & jealousy, often become victims to this "*fatal root*." The death scene is horrible, so excruciating are the spasms.

This has been a cloudy & cool day, but it cleared up at dusk, & the night is cold. I have had a fire in my room all the day & evening.

Sep 20. A clear & beautiful morning. I have written the Governor a letter of eight pages this day. I find on special inquiry of the indians that they have as much beard as the whites, but that it is pulled out, from time to time as it appears which is a painful operation & that now all those who have adopted the dress & habits of the whites shave. The men & women have as much hair on their private parts, —& which is never eradicated, as the white men & women.

The females are remarkably cleanly in their persons, as they bathe or wash themselves all over, several times a week. —custom & pride of purity of their bodies, makes this a fixed & uniform custom. Several white men, who have been born & lived in the midst of the indians, & been on the most familiar & intimate terms with the females, assure me that they are as modest in language & conduct in private, as they are conspicuously & admirably so in public:—that they are gay, full of wit & pleasantries—talkative & remarkably agreeable in all respects, & in their love attachments ardent, faithful, kind & indefatigable in their exertions to please. They are in no fear of their husbands & feel & act on a per-

fect equality with them; advise them in all their conduct in the mightiest matters & have immense influence, for they may leave them when they chose & when not treated kindly invariably do so. This induces the husbands to treat their wives well. The latter have certain duties & labor to perform growing out of their peculiar condition as a people & their habits & customs of all time. The men were often & long absent from home, either in campaigns or on their hunts, which devolved the charge of the household on the wife. She was of necessity obliged to plant & gather the corn & vegetables; make all the clothing, lay up & cook the various articles of food. These duties are not arbitrarily imposed & exacted, but are peculiar, & considered as belonging to the females as not only indispensable to the comfort & existence of themselves & children, but proper in all respects, & they, therefore, cheerfully perform them. The descent is through the females & the children belong to the mother, who takes them with her, if she separates from her husband & provides for them. He has nothing to do with them after. In fact the wife is more useful & important to the husband than he is to her. She lives with him from love. For she can obtain her own means of support better than he can. It is his interest therefore to so conduct as to retain her affections. As mothers they are affectionate, careful, kind & laborious in their care of their little children. They carry them with them, when nursing every where; they are never separated. they take them to the dances, dance with them in their arms, carry them on their backs to town, & I never saw so many fat & healthy babes among the white women, as I have here with the Indian. The little girls of three & six years old are many of them beautifully clad like their mothers, & their dresses covered with brooches. I have not seen an unkind look or word between the females, or between them & the men. The latter merely do not attend to them in public & the females do not expect it. Their ways are not like ours & they are content & happy in the position they occupy. Equals & quite as independent as the men in all that is general as to both, & each separately forming his or her duties as things proper & indispensable for the



EZEKIEL LANE, FIRST WHITE RESIDENT OF BUFFALO.

FROM A DAGUERRETYPE TAKEN AFTER HIS DEATH, IN 1848. SEE PAGE 110, NOTE.

interest & happiness of themselves in their several domestic private & common relations.

Persons who have attended the Council & in or out of it, have endeavored to induce the Indians not to emigrate are, Rev. A. Wright Missionary, residing on the reservation, John Lay, Step. Grovner [Grosvenor], Seth Grovner, R. B. Heacock & Son. Charles Norton, Charles R. Gold Atty, besides many others. Lay claims a debt of 2,500, which is the reason of his opposition. Hecock, has the canal for his mills &c. Grovner is brother-in-law to Hecock. Mr. Jones gave a written statement to Mr. Gillet in which he states that he heard Norton say if the Ogden company would give Stephen Grovner 2,000 all opposition on the part of the above named most active partizans of Heacock, Norton & the Grovners.—[would cease]

The following described minerals were presented to me by Doct. Henry P. Wilcox, of Irving Chautauqua county N. York. No. 1. Magnetic Iron Ore from the Hot Springs of Arkansaw, about 100 miles S. W. from Little Rock, between the Arkansaw & Red Rivers, scattered in boulders of from small pieces not more than half an inch to two feet in diameter. The soil a coarse gravelly clay, & moist. No. 2 Prairie Salt, from near the margin of the Salt branch of the Arkansaw, & about 250 west of Fort Gibson. The Prairie is a mile & a half long $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide & covered entirely with the salt from six inches to a foot thick. The Indians for a vast region supply themselves with it. It accumulates from the soil, as the water ooses up from below & is evaporated by the sun. No. 3. Sulphate of Zinc from the tract designated for the Senecas in the Indian territory In a prairie between the Little Osage & Maridisanee, on a vast elevation about 50 feet high & 4 or 500 wide running in a ridge across the prairie many miles in length. No. 4. Lead ore from the Indian territory in a ledge situated in a gravelly soil. No. 5 Limestone, with shells, from an elevation in the Indian territory. No. 6. Amber from the margin of the Maumetow, on a moist prairie, in the Seneca location. It is in large quantities. No. 7. Sandstone from a ledge on the Missouri half way from the mouth to Fort Leavenworth. No. 8. Silver,

—Virgin, from Taxes. No. 9. Gold from Missouri. It is in a ledge near a stream & in vast quantities & the position of the ledge is only known to Doct. Wilcox, who intends to go there this autumn & endeavor to secure the land as it has been surveyed since he was there two years since, & will soon be offered for sale by the government.

The Council met at one o'clock. Judge Skiken [? Stryker] stated to the chiefs that the paymaster had made arrangements to pay them their annuities on the 8th. of October.

Robinson, one of the Chiefs from the Alleghany Reservation, arose & observed, that he had been deputed, by the party in opposition to the treaty, to ask me some questions, which they wished I would answer. 1st. whether the treaty was not to be presented in council, for their assent or objection, and whether if not approved the old treaty would be binding. 2d, what was my opinion of the conduct of the Commissioner, during the council & whether I thought it had been proper.

In reply, I stated the object for which I had been sent,—my opinion as to the practicability of improving their condition, which I alledged, I always believed could be done, if liberal & active measures were taken by the government. I stated what had been done in other ages & nations, & especially in Russia, since the days of Peter I. &c. &c. &c.; & after a speech of about half an hour, I answered, that, the treaty must be presented in open council & unless approved it was null & void, & that it was the opinion of the Governor of Massachusetts, that unless the treaty was ratified by the Indians, so intimately connected was it, with the contract for the sale of their land, the latter would be of no effect, but that he did not so positively decide, & that it was a subject for deep consideration. It however was his opinion if the treaty was rejected the contract was void.

As to the conduct of the Commissioner, I had carefully attended to all he said, & had examined the treaty & the proceedings of the Senate thereon, & all the other papers which he had read & that I sincerely believed he had, honestly & honorably taken unwearied pains, fully to explain & illus-

trate the subjects submitted for their consideration, & that he had not given any statements or facts which I did not believe to be true.

After I had concluded, Mr. Gillet made a speech in relation to the manner in which the treaty was to be assented to. He said that he should lay it before them in Council, & all who chose could there sign it, & such as preferred doing so elsewhere, they would be allowed so to do. He then commented on the letter which Moris [Maris] B. Pierce read yesterday, from Mr. Robins, a Senator from Rhoad Island, until after four, when the Council adjourned.

Evening. Judge Paine of Aurora took tea here this evening, & informed me that he came through this reservation 31 years ago, & then the Indians were a noble & well-dressed race of dignified & manly bearing, living comfortably & respectably, the flats of the Buffalo Creek was one continued Cornfield; but that they have degenerated in a lamentable manner, ragged & miserable in their dress houses & mode of existence, the larger portion of their fields grown up to bushes & weeds & their chief subsistence is obtained by begging, in the neighboring city & villages & that mendicant parties extend their alms seeking to Genesee river. Their habits intemperate & mean, and all self respect & independence of character gone. He thinks they have diminished at least a third in population & that their extinction will soon be inevitable unless they emigrate. They are a great injury to the community around them, while the large tract of land on which they live, being 16 miles long & 8 wide containing 50,000 acres nearly, is so much obstructed from agriculture & is in fact a wilderness in the midst of a flourishing farming county. The Tonnawandas are still more wretched, as are the Alleghanies, while those at Cattaraugus are in equally as forelorn a state. Judge Paine has passed through this reservation almost weekly since 1807 & has had the best means of observing their decadence during that long period.

I have been reading this evening the Travels of Chateaubriand, in Greece, Palestine & Egypt for the 2d time, having read it some 20 years since,— & have been much interested

for he is an eloquent writer. This passage is very epigrammatic & instructive & striking from the correctness of the truths it proclaims. He is at Corinth, the place of exile of the tyrant of Syracuse who became a school-master, & the residence of the fatal victim of remorse—& observes? "I shall say nothing of Dionicious & of Timoleon,—one of whom was so cowardly as not to die, the other so unfortunate as to live."

September 21. Weather still mild & clear, day & night, save the latter are a little cool. Mr. Hecock, a wealthy man by [?but] a great black-guard had the effrontery to harang the Indians & spectators, yesterday, in the Council House after the Council had adjourned. I learned from several persons who heard him, that he called Mr. Gillet a liar, scoundrel, & perjured villain,—that he had attempted to deceive the indians by falsehood &c. &c. This infamous man, the owner of the canal which runs through the Indian lands is fearful, if the treaty is confirmed he will be obliged to pay a just price for the use of it to the preemptioners instead of the paltry sum of 30 dols. a year to the Indians. This is his motive of beneficence to the indians. I have not seen a man who does not think the offers of the government magnificent, & that it is for their interest, ay, their very existance to emigrate, except some half a dozen who are & have been reaping advantages from the indians in some way? & the latter have been indefatigable in their exertions to delude & impose upon the ignorance & credulity of the poor indians. They induce them to believe that the government & the Commissioner are their enemies & these infamous wretches their best friends. What base & unprincipled men. I never witnessed such outrageous conduct. I never saw any men who had the effrontery to openly put at defiance all decency of conduct, all regard to truth, every principle of honor & all the decencies of society. It has been a scene of depravity & vulgarity at which one recoils, as from the profligate & reckless depravity of the vilest characters who fill our penitentiaries & houses of correction, what monsters does self interest & the love of gain make of men who have been brought up, without any just notions of

honor, honesty & moral rectitude of conduct or character. Vulgarity, when wealth has been partially accumulated, becomes rapaciousness, & the cunning of the low gambler public robbery & crime is employed only for keeping on the windy-side of the law, but God watches them & the people mark them.

They have a novel mode of taking fish in Lake Ontario. A rope is extended from one projecting head land to another, a distance of several miles, which is supported by buoys,—for the water of the lake is so unfathomable, that the extremities of such a rope can not be confined by anchors. To this rope fish lines are attached at proper distances, which are from 200 to 300 feet long, & the hooks bated. The fishermen pass along the extended rope from fish-line to fish-line & drawing them take off the fish that may have been caught. In this manner vast quantities are daily obtained for the Rochester market & the whole valley of the Genesee, for 30 miles & more are supplied with fresh fish, from an establishment off the mouth of the harbor which cost 800 dollars: so expensive is it to extend the miles of rope, with its numerous fish lines. The pike, pickerel, perch huge salmon trout & other fish are numerous & of excellent quality. They take in the Lake salmon trout which weigh from 6 to 32 pounds. The towns on the shores are supplied with them fresh & they are salted & transported into the interior, so that the business of taking & curing white fish, trout & other fish of the lakes, is very important & employs a great capital & many persons. A company of gentlemen in the City of New York who are concerned in the fur trade in the north west, have established a fishery on Lake Superior, & have built schooners to transport the salt & fish from & to the sault of St Marys to & from the various places where the seining grounds are the best on the shores of the lake. From the foot of the rapids, the barrels of fish are transported over Lakes Huron Michigan & Erie to the several towns of trade & there distributed into the interior. There are also large fisheries on all the upper lakes & especially Huron & the St Clair as well as the straits between that & Huron & Erie.

I walked out with Col. Jones this morning to collect seeds

or roots of plants. I brought home bulbs of the Arum or Indian Turnip & the seeds of a low shrub, which bears a compound purple flower of a globular form. It is here called House balm. The leaves & blossoms are aromatic, & of the flavor of sweet balm. I also got a branch with the leaves & seed of the fatal Indian root & have put in paper & under a weight to press & dry to take home to ascertain its botanical name.

Evening. The Council opened at one & closed at four. Mr. Gillet concluded his comments on the letter which Moris Pierce read from Mr. Robins, & on Pierces conduct & misrepresentation to Robins, & that of the white men who had been constantly attending the Council & daily meet with the indians, opposed to emigration, for the purpose of deceiving them & alluded especially to one,—meaning Hecock, who had been the most insolently officious, & obnoxious to rebuke.

I was questioned, by Robins as to [where the treaty was to] be signed & in whose presence. I stated that I considered it necessary that it should be presented in open council for signatures, & if from any cause, names were added in any other place, I considered it my duty to be present & be satisfied it was done freely & willingly, & that I should report how & when & where all signed.

White Seneca then made a long & clever speech in favor of emigration, the best from any of the Indians. When he had concluded he was replied to by Big Kettle.

Moris Pierce then rose & said, that the Commissioner had said, that no being living could accuse him of knowing, or conniving at, any bribe or fraudulent conduct, to induce the chiefs to sign the treaty, but that he had a witness, pointing to Wilson who sat near him, who would testify that what the Commissioner had stated was not true. Wilson then got up, said he went to a room in the tavern where Mr. Allen was, who told him he did not understand the amendment to the treaty made by the Senate; but that he (Wilson) informed him that he did? That Mr. Allen then said he would call in the Commissioner to explain it to him, to satisfy him he was mistaken. That he went out & brought in the Com-

missioner, who did explain the amendment & that he was satisfied with the correctness of the Commissioner's explanation & said so"; & that Mr. Allen then turned to him & said, now you had better go & take the fifteen hundred dollars & sign the treaty & that he presumed the Commissioner heard the offer made to tempt him.

Mr. Gillet then rose & observed that the allegations made by Wilson were false, that after making the explanation of the amendment he immediately left the room & went to his own. He said he had no doubt that Wilson had been induced to make up the falsehood by certain white men & that the man was present who was the instigator & advisor of the foul & infamous plot to ruin his reputation; but that he would, by reputable indians & white men prove, the falsehoods which had been uttered, & that he would do so when the Council again met, or before its final adjournment & that it should not be adjourned until he had done so. He then observed that at the request of White Seneca & other chiefs, in writing, we had consented to adjourn the Council until Monday, as the emigration party wished to meet to morrow, to consider the important question which had been presented to them, & conclude as to the course it was proper for them to pursue. He then remarked but for the scandalous attack made upon his character, he would have presented the treaty & probably closed the Council on Monday; but that now it was impossible to say when it would end.

As soon as Mr. Gillet sat down Mr. Hecock, who had impudently taken a seat, in the midst of the opposition chiefs, between Pierce & I. Jimenson, rose in a great passion, & began to speak. Mr. Gillet ordered him to sit down"; & told him that he had no right to speak there, & was a disturber of the proceedings of the Council. Hecock replied that he had a right to speak"; that he was among the chiefs of an independent nation who had invited him to appear there & speak; Pierce also got up & insisted that he had a right & should be permitted to speak. That it was their House & Council & that Mr. Gillet had no right to preside there. Mr. Gillet then directed the Sheriff to put Hecock out of the Council & was seconded in this by Judge Stryker, who

walked with the Sheriff up to Hecock & told him to hold his peace for he should not speak & should be put out,—when Pierce interfered & declared what he had before uttered. Judge Stryker told him to hold his tongue & sit down or he should also be put out, that it was doubtful whether he had a right to sit there, for he was not a chief, & only acted for a child, who had him appointed a chief.. I advised that Heacock should be put out of the Council House. There was considerable commotion. & Big Kettle got up & came near the table where we were sitting & said the chiefs had the whole power there & that if the council was not ended in a week they would carry us off of the reservation bundled up like packs.

As Hecock insisted he had a right to speak & refused to & would not go out, the Sheriff & Judge Stryker called on the white persons present to assist the civil authority, when some ten or twelve men went forward, & Hecock called on the Warriors to protect him. They did not however & the Sheriff put him out. After order was restored the Council was adjourned to Monday at eleven oclock.*

After the adjournment I met Mr Allen & Charles Pierce who acted as the interpreter between Mr. Gillet & Wilson. Mr. Allen stated, that he was passing a room, in Allen's tavern & the door being open, he saw that there were some indians within, & entered. That Wilson was talking to Charles Pierce, in relation to an accident which had befallen him in a cutter or sleigh last winter; but soon after Allen's entry, he turned to him & said he did not fully understand the explanation of the Commissioner, as to the amendment of the treaty; that according to the words of the amendment, & what the Commissioner said in Council, it appeared, that if the land was divided among the indians, it would revert to the U. S. when the Indian died who lived on one of the separate lots which had been set off to him. Allen said he told him that he was mistaken, & that it would not revert to the U. S. until all the Indians of the tribe died, or left the tract. He then told Wilson he would call in Mr. Gillet, to explain the matter to him; that he went to Mr. Gillets room

* Charles B. Person was sheriff at this time.

& immediately returned with him, who, having directed Charles Pierce to read the portion of the treaty in question, and translate it to Wilson, it was done. Mr. Gillet then made an explanation confirming what Allen had told Wilson, & went immediately out. That there was not a word said about any money to be paid to him, either while Mr. Gillet was present, or after he left them, while he remained, which was but a moment, when he also went out, leaving Charles Pierce & Wilson in the room. Charles Pierce, who is a highly respectable & educated young Indian from Cattaraugus, about 25 years of age, & son-in-law to the distinguished chief Strong, stated, that Wilson came into Strong's (the interpreter) room, where he was, & said he wished to see the Indian Agent Judge Stryker, to ascertain whether he would not pay him 24 dollars for the damage done to his sleigh or sled? that while they were conversing Mr. Orlando Allen came in, & the conversation, took place which has been related above. That there was not one word said about 1500 dollars by Mr. Allen, or any other sum named to be offered or paid to Wilson? that the latter was not even requested to sign the treaty, & that Allen went out soon after the Commissioner. When they had both gone Wilson said to Pierce, if the Agent will pay me the 24 [blank in original] I will sign the treaty.

Thus it appears a most wicked & infamous plot was contrived & falsehoods uttered, in open council, to give it efficiency, by the parties who induced the miserable wretch to perjure himself, for the purpose of blasting the reputation & rendering the character of the Commissioner odious to the Indians, by convicting him of false statements, & conniving at bribery & corruption, to cause the treaty to be ratified. Such are the mean, base & diabolical methods which the white advisers, & the vilest of the opposition indians, resort to, for the accomplishment of their objects.

Mr. Charles Pierce further stated, that the day before yesterday, only, he met Wilson on the Council grounds, who, pointing to his breast pin, & said, give me that, & I will sign the treaty? but that he walked away, without replying to Wilson. Thus it fully appears Wilson has twice stated that

he would sign the treaty, if a small sum was paid, to indemnify him for what he had lost by the accident in the sleigh, or even a paltry present of a brooch.

September 22. I walked into the woods, at dusk last evening for exercise, the night was warm, as is this morning. I am reading the *Memoirs of the Duches D'Abrantes*, in one vol. 8vo. This has been a hot sultry day, with a violent S. west wind, & the roads are two or three inches deep with dust & the drought is so extensive & great that many of the wells are without water, & the small streams & springs have dried up.

I went into the woods to walk this forenoon, & enjoy the shade of the majestic forest trees, the deep solitude, the holy kind of stillness which pervaded the vast & devious iles of the wilderness, the soft & mellow light, the balmy air & the presence, as it were of the spirit of God, whose omnipotence was there, in the solemn & peaceful quietude which prevailed,—save, when the sweeping wind bowed the lofty summits of the aspiring maple, hemlock & oak, & their gigantic branches creaked as they swayed against each other in grand, yet graceful motions.

Statements made by Bark, Sky-Carrier & Long John made in the Council with[in] the last ten days.

The amount of Barks story was that white Seneca & another Indian came to him in the evening & talked to him in favor of the treaty & emigration

Long John said he was in one of the rooms of the tavern with several Indians who talked to him in favor of the treaty & emigration & he told them he intended to sign it & meeting Judge Stryker he informed him of his determination who told him he was glad to hear it & gave him five dollars as a present with which he could purchase what he wanted & that he spent it & an Indian woman furnished with the five dollars which he offered to return.

Sky Carrier, stated that he met several Indians in a room at the tavern, who were in favor of emigration & he went to find out what they were doing, & therefore pretended he was in favor of emigration, & told them so, & George Jimenson gave him ten dollars, which he returned to him in council.

All these stories appear to have been concerted with Indians & each of the two last acknowledged that they voluntarily declared they were in favor of emigration, & the latter for the sole purpose of deception to find out what he could.

At dusk we had a heavy thunder shower & it has rained most of the evening.

Mr. Heacock called on me this afternoon, & made the following statement. He lives in Buffalo & owns a large quantity of land in the city. Has been a trader. He had traded with the Indians for many years, & there were now due him debts to the amount of over two thousand dollars; that he thought the government should have authorized the Commissioner, to have made a provision in the treaty, to pay the just claims of the creditors of the indians, but the Commissioner did not feel authorized to do so, although it had been done in the treaties with the Western Indians; that he thought the terms offered to the Indians were liberal & it would be a great benefit to him for them to remove, as he owned land in the City of Buffalo, for a mile in length, adjoining the reservation, which would be much enhanced in value, if the latter was sold & settled by white people. That Genl. Potter had promised to a friend to pay his demands against the indians, in the event the treaty was ratified & he made no opposition to it, & that he had met [?no opposition] until within two weeks when he had been requested to meet with the opposition chiefs & advise them, & that he had done so; that a part of his debt was carpenters work done on the missionary chapel, to the amount of 400 dollars, for building or paying for the building of one or more houses & articles furnished the Indians, frequently on the requisition of chiefs; that he had been requested to speak in Council by them & had their permission when he arose yesterday; that he did not consider that the Commissioner had any right to preside in the Council, & regulate the proceedings of the Council, but that it belonged exclusively to the indian chiefs; that he had prosecuted Mr. Gillet & Mr. Striker for ejecting him from the council, & that a remonstrance had been sent to Washington, against the conduct of Mr. Gillet, for keeping the Council open unnecessarily long; & conducting the

business improperly but that the object of his visit was to express to me his entire approbation of my conduct, & that he considered I had acted like an honest, independent & honorable man, in my private & public capacity & that the opposition chiefs entertained the same opinion of me.

I informed Mr. Hecock, that I came here without any prejudices or predilections pro or con, in relation to any of the parties, or persons interested in the subject on which the Council was convened; that I had endeavored to make myself thoroughly acquainted with all the facts, connected with the negotiation & see that the indians were dealt with honestly & fairly. I had not met Mr. Gillet, until on this occasion; that I had carefully watched all his conduct & must frankly say, that I considered him an honest & honorable gentleman, who had the best interests of the indians at heart, & was most anxious to faithfully carry the measures of the government which had been confided to him into effect in a manner that would be for the best advantage of the indians; that I deemed the offers of the government liberal, & beneficent & that it was for the present & future comfort & prosperity of the Indians to accept them; although I was not authorized, as I had stated in Council to advise them, either to assent to, or reject the treaty; that I did not think the council had been unnecessarily protracted & that there had not been a day, that had not been occupied in explanations & discussions, & that yesterday morning, the Commissioner had concluded he should be enabled to lay the treaty before the Council on monday, for signatures, & hoped the business would have been concluded by tuesday; but that in consequence of the difficulty of yesterday, it was uncertain whether that could now be done, but I hoped it might, for I was anxious to return home. I then observed, that I regretted extremely, the course which had been pursued, by a number of persons, who had been in & about the council & attempted to interrupt & disturb the Council & induce the Indians to believe that false statements had been made to them, by the Commissioner, or that there was a desire to impose upon them by the government & that it would not faithfully fulfill all the stipulations which were made. That the

indians should have been put fully & fairly in possession of all the facts, & then left to decide, whether they would go to the west or remain"; that I considered the conduct of Mr. Grovner the other day improper, & his own yesterday"; that he had no right to speak in Council, & that Mr. Gillet was authorized & did right, in removing him from the Council; that I advised to the employment of the civil officers to maintain order & protect us in the discharge of our duty, & if necessary a military force could be employed for that purpose"; that I came from a section of the country, where perfect order & propriety of conduct was considered indispensable, in conducting public business, & at all meetings where there were persons assembled to act on grave subjects, & that here no persons had a right to interfere in any manner, or speak in the Council, except the parties to the treaty & contracts & I did expect that all the proceedings would be decorously managed.

Mr. Heacock then observed that he had no complaint to make against me, & that he came to express his approbation of my conduct, fearing that reports might be made to me, of a different character, as emanating from him. I told him I was happy to find I had merited his good opinion & should endeavor so to discharge my duties, as to be satisfied with myself, while, I should so conduct as not to be obnoxious to censure by the whites or Indians, if it was in my power. He then left me.

This evening I recommended to Mr. Gillet to send Judge Stryker into Buffalo to morrow morning & inform Genl. Potter, that he had better, at once assume all the debts of the Indians, & obligate the Ogden company to pay them, when the treaty was ratified & the Indians removed"; & secondly give an obligation to the Chiefs, authenticated in our presence, that a lease for life should be given to every Indian, who desired it, of the lot of land on which he lived, where he could remain, or remove west as he might think best, & at such time as might be agreeable, should he ever conclude to go. That I believed it just & equitable he should do so, & that it would so satisfy the indians, & so entirely remove all the difficulties, which were now in the way, that the treaty

would immediately be assented to, by nearly all the chiefs. This would be liberal, magnanimous, open, fair & proper, in all respects, & that it was for the interest of the Company so to do'; as all persons would highly approve of such an honest & generous course. I sent a letter of eight pages to my good wife this evening, to be put into the Buffalo Post Office.

Sunday Morning Sep. 23. It rained most of last night & the heavens were wrapt in clouds this morning at day light but the wind had changed S. W. to N. W. & soon after sun rise it began to clear up, & the western sky to appear. A week ago last thursday, I had an oppression from eating food that disored my stomach, & my head ached continually for five days'; during that period I eat no animal food & took tea & toast for dinner, on the 6th day, I felt relieved & have been right well since the 20th. yesterday after my walk, I felt drowsy & so strong a disposition to sleep that I laid down after twelve & slept until dinner was ready. Again in the afternoon the like inclination to sleep came over me & I slept two hours. I am in perfect health this morning;—never felt better brighter & more in spirit. The drowsiness I attribute to exhaustion & the constant state of activity of mind and unusual excitement, together with the warm weather, & the fasting of nearly a week'; and being at leisure all day, as the council did not meet, & it being quiet in & about the house, there was a consciousness of ease & peacefulness of mind & body, which was delightful & wearied nature seemed to seize the occasion, to restore the moral & physical powers of the whole system, by rest & sleep. It was a reaction, & a want which the mind & body claimed, with an imperiousness, which was not to be resisted, any more than hunger or thirst. That this extra sleep & rest was indispensable to recruit the fatigued faculties & members of the body is most evident from the fact that I was inclined to go to bed at an early hour & slept soundly all night'; & now I am more refreshed & feel in all respects better than any day since I left home. Thanks to Almighty God for his kind & merciful, protection & support.

Mr. Chamberting of Buffalo called on me this morning

& in giving an account of the contemplated improvements & advantages of that city & Black Rock, for trade, flower mills & manufactories he stated that, Black Rock was laid out as a city; & a company formed which owned over 600 acres of land which fronted on the Niagara river for nearly two miles & extended back, half a mile. It was laid out into lots, which averaged in cost to the company only $112\frac{1}{2}$ cents per foot front & 100 feet deep, being but a little over 1 cent & one mill per square foot. He said that the new flower mill erected by Dunfey & Co. cost 50,000 dollars, & that he had been by & seen barreled up five barrels of flour in $14\frac{1}{2}$ minutes. There are seven run of stones & all the flower is delivered through a spout into the packing room. They had ground 400 barrels in 20 hours. They will clear over 100,000 dollars this year & have commenced building another mill which is to contain eight run of stones. The water power of Black rock is infinitely great.

The water power of Niagara falls has been estimated to be equal to all the other water power & steam power of the U. S. England, Scotland & Ireland. It was gauged by an English gentleman & reduced to horse power & the number were as great as has been above stated. The mills & manufactories & iron works which will be established at Black Rock will be beyond any other example & that in a few years, —not 20 will pass without an astonishing result having been thus produced. It will be an entire dense city & manufacturing region from Buffalo to Tonawanda Creek. The future for that district of country is of mighty & startling promise.

Col Jones brought me in yesterday morning a branch with the ripe fruit on & the root of a plant which is called spike-nard in this part of the country. The root is used for medicinal purposes, & especially as a tonic in drinks, or bitters. I have saved the seeds, taken a number of leaves from the stalk & pressed them, which, with the roots I shall carry home, to ascertain the botanical name. I collected yesterday fore [four] root berries of the tall Craneberry bush & pods of the seeds of a new species of *Æsclopias*, or milk weed.

I wrote the governor a letter of 4 pages yesterday, giving a sketch of the conduct of Heacock in the Council.

This is a striking & veracious remark of the Duches of D'Abrantes? "Prejudice squints when it looks & lies when it talks."

Sep. 24. There has been a real equinoctial gale since saturday afternoon, & it now blows furiously. Much rain has fallen, the thick & dark clouds which fill the atmosphere appear laden with rain, & although now & then there is a clear space of sky in the N. W. the storm does not appear to have ended. Last night, at times, there was a complete gale.

The Duchess D'Abrantes thus eloquently exclaims? "The life of Napoleon may be divided into several periods. To mark his passage upon the earth five trophies, divide his route as landmarks. The *first* formed of a pile of conquered banners several crowns, treaties, keys of towns, & more laurels than ever before Victory had granted to her most favored heroes. The *second* composed of pyramids, sphynxes, & hieroglyphic monuments indicating that his youthful glory had been to awaken the echoes of the Ancient African shores. The Consular fasces marked the third? this emblem, still surmounted by the republican cock, admitted no suspicion that the next column would be formed of sceptres, thrones, & crowns; bearing an escutcheon of imperial blazonry. And what is that which follows? It is a tomb! which has engulfed all; and fixed by hatred in a desert, is visited only by the vassals of England."

Well may we say, how unstable, how transitory are the pleasures, the glories, the honors, the power of man in this world. He can rely on only the moment, for a knowledge of the actual position in which he is—the next may plunge him into irretrievable ruin. He is like the seed in the thistle's down, driven by each passing blast? it sometimes lights, among flowers, or on the sunny border of a grove, where it strikes its root & flourishes for a season or it suddenly is whirled into the air & swept over the depths of the ocean, on whose agitated surface it soon falls, & sinks to rise no more.

The Council did not meet this day as some papers which

were to be read did not arrive from Buffalo'; besides arrangements are being made to appease the opposition party, & remove some of their objections to assenting to the treaty.

Saturday evening, I stated to Mr. Gillet, that I believed it was but just & proper, that the preemptioners should assume the just debts, due from the indians to persons, who had trusted them, as it would be in their power to be remunerated, out of the amount to be paid to the heads of families, for the improvements, when they should leave for their new homes in the west'; & secondly, that they had better offer, in Council, to the Indians, to give to each person, who did not wish to emigrate, a lease of the lot of land, on which they resided, during their lives. These two measures, I believed, would be satisfactory to the creditors & Indians, & bring the negotiations to a speedy close, in a manner that would be agreeable to all parties. I therefore recommended to Mr. Gillet to send in to Genl. Potter, on Sunday morning, & urge his adopting the course I had suggested'; for it was open, fair, & liberal toward the indians & their creditors, & would be creditable to the preemptive company, let the result be what it may. He did send Doct. Wilcock to Buffalo yesterday morning, & I learn, from Mr. Gillet, that Genl. Potter had informed him, this forenoon, that the measures recommended would be adopted, as soon as the necessary papers could be drawn up & that the propositions would probably be made to morrow to the indians & creditors. This was the chief reason for adjourning the council over until to morrow.

Sep 25th. A superb morning & thank God I am excellently well. I received a letter from the Hon Ransom H. Gillet, the U. S. Commissioner yesterday, to which were appended 23 queries in relation to his conduct during the session of the Council, to which I returned answers, this morning in a communication of five pages. I have finished the *Duches D'Abrantes* & am reading *Essais sur l'histoire De France par M. Guizot*, in two vols. 12mo.

The council met between 12 & one & adjourned at 2. Mr. Gillet directed the interpreter to read the depositions of Orlando Allen & Charles Pierce, a very intelligent & educated

Indian of Cattaraugus, in which they deny the allegations made by Wilson against Mr. Gillet. They were first in Indian & then in English. He then made a few remarks & observed that to morrow a communication would be made to them, which would be beneficial & he had no doubt acceptable to the Indians & restore harmony among them. The Council adjourned to eleven o'clock to morrow.

Evening. Another calm, clear & beautiful day, & evening. I have taken my forest walk of an hour. I stood still from time to time, perfectly still,—not a sound. I looked up through the lofty tree-tops & not a leaf moved. How awful the silence, how profound the calm, how mellow yet sombre the light, which pervaded the woods & revealed the tall, strait, and majestic trees. It was like the groves of Eden when the first man stood alone in them, & wondered. I listened to hear an Archangel speak, & say behold the glory of God. This is his temple; pay homage to the Almighty; bow with holy reverence in this undefiled vestibule of the true God. He is here & will hear you. Breathe but a mental prayer. & it will reach the throne of the most high.

The duches of D'Abrantes says: "Contemporary Memoirs are galleries adorned on one side with choice portraits & lighted on the other by windows overlooking the past."

September 26. There are black heavy clouds in the east indicating a storm. but the zenith & west are clear. I found from various sources that the propositions which I recommended the preemptioners to make the Indians & their Creditors, have become known to the Chiefs & that they are quite acceptable & will produce harmony & occasion a general assent to the treaty. Such a result is of the utmost consequence to the Indians. the Government & preemptioners, & will be highly gratifying to the citizens of Buffalo, the county & state & most certainly to me, for I am very anxious to have the negotiations close amicably & honorably & be able to return home.

The Duches D'Abrantes, observes, in describing a look of Napoleon's, who covered by a smile, a sentiment or feeling of displeasure, "And he laughed that laugh, which laughs not." How expressive, how exactly the idea is em-

bodied. It was wrath concealed beneath the radiant countenance of the beautiful son of Mars, when he turned his admiring eyes on the lovely Psyche.

Guizot makes this striking remark.—announces for the first time a great truth, which all acknowledge, as soon as made known. This is the mark of genius & of a great mind. All the fundamental principles of morals & science are based on a few facts—a few truths, which intelligence proclaims, & they are at once received & become eternal? “France did not enter the career of political liberty, until after having made an immense progress in that of civilization”; while in England, a free government was born in the midst of barbarism.” How that truth flashes on the mind.

Sep 27. It rained yesterday afternoon & this is a damp, dark, cloudy morning, with a S. W. wind. I went into Buffalo yesterday afternoon to attend a party at Genl. Burts. I went with Majr. Genl. Macomb & lady. there were four or five other officers of the army & three British officers of a Regiment stationed in Kingston. I came back to the reservation this morning. I met Mr. Sears of Roxbury in the street this morning, on his way to Illinois where he is removing. I was made happy in hearing by him from my dear family, as he saw my good wife the night before he left. It was an accidental & most fortunate meeting as I had received no intelligence from home for some weeks.

The day before yesterday nine steamboats left Buffalo for the ports on the lakes Erie Huron & Michigan, loaded as deep as they could swim with goods & carrying over 1,500 passengers. How this vast west is filling up with population & extending its relations & business with the atlantic. In twenty years Buffalo will contain 100,000 inhabitants!!!! I will note the time, when it comes round & see how near this Yankee guess of mine is to the fact. I think that result will be even sooner.*

There are over 40 steamboats runing between Buffalo & the western Lake-ports. I think they will almost entirely take the place of sailing vessels for merchandize & products.

* Twenty-two years later, the Federal census of 1860 gave Buffalo a population of 81,129.

Now there is a large ship, several brigs & some six or eight schooners, unrigged & lying idle in Buffalo harbor'; so much preferable do the owners of articles for transportation consider steam-boat conveyance. There will be large tow-boats, as on the hudson which will take a number of others built to convey freight'; & if it came on to blow too heavy to risk them alongside they will be veered astern of a cable & on being furnished with anchors left to ride out the gale, well moored, & then taken in tow again.

The council met at one'; The opposition chiefs stated that they did not accept the proposition of leases for 10 years. Israel Jimenson gave an account of the number of chiefs & said there were 92. The Commissioner replied that there seemed to be a difference of opinion among the chiefs themselves as to the number'; Big-Kettle said there were only 52, others 82 & others 71. He should not attempt to settle the question, but take the last [?list] furnished by the agent & if there was any question about it after the execution of the treaty the president would settle the matter. I was asked to state again what was my opinion as to the mode in which the assent was to be given. I answered, That I considered it necessary that the treaty should be presented in open Council for signatures, & if from any cause, some of the Chiefs chose to sign in the Commissioners room or else[where] that I should be present & see that no coercion was used & that it was their free & voluntary act'; but that it was for the president to decide whether such a mode was valid. The Council at the request of Mr. Bennet adjourned to eleven oclock tomorrow, to enable them to confer with some of the old chiefs who were absent from sickness. Mr. Gillet stated, that he expected another proposition would be made to them to morrow which he had recommended & that the whole business of the council would be concluded by saturday. God grant it may for I am weary—my patience is exhausted—I am completely tired out by this long & tedious negocian, with ignorant, stupid, drunken & vagabond men'; who we are meeting with & daily advising as if they were "most grave, potent & reverend Senators," when they are degraded savages who sit & smoke & look grave, as if they

thought, when in fact they are too stupid to comprehend the momentous subject submitted to their consideration. As well might an hundred vagabonds of streets be called into a council to discuss & settle the affairs of the nation;—it is a perfect mockery of negotiation. They are incapable of managing their own interests, as the paupers of our almshouses.

Sep. 28. A dark cloudy morning. The sun has not appeared since the 25th.

Last evening Judge Stryker* the Agent of the Indians, called on me, & observed that he considered the Commissioner had a right under the resolution of the Senate to take the approbation or assent of the Indians, if it was signed to a copy of the treaty any where in the presence of witnesses, & asked my opinion as to the manner. I informed him that I considered it necessary that the treaty should be presented to the Chiefs in open Council, for their assent & that was to be ascertained by the number of signatures put to it, in his & my presence & if from sickness some could not attend, or if from fear of the Indians, or other cause, there were others who preferred coming to the Commissioners room & signing the treaty it should be done in my presence to see that it was done freely. I stated that the words of the resolution are that the treaty was to have no force or effect until it "was submitted & fully & fairly explained by the Commissioner of the U. S. to each of the tribes separately assembled in council & they have given their free & voluntary assent thereto;" That the passage quoted was one sentence undivided by even a semicolon, & that the explanation & assent must be given in council; that in all the treaties ever made with the Indians, this had been the course, & the treaty was now as much a new one as if none had been negotiated & all the forms were to be as much observed as in negotiating any treaty'; that if any other course was taken I should consider

* James Stryker, appointed First Judge of the Common Pleas in 1837, which position he held until 1841. He was not "agent" for the Indians, as Gen. Dearborn has it, but was a commissioner, appointed by President Jackson to represent the Government in the negotiations for the removal of the Western New York Indians to the West. In his later years Judge Stryker resided in New York City, where he published the *American Register*.

it derogatory to the Commissioner, Agent myself & all the parties concerned?; that neither words, spirit or intentions would be complied with if the course he named was pursued, or would the transaction be approved by the President or Senate. That I wished the whole business, as thus far had been the case should be openly honestly & honorably done, so as to bear the most rigid scrutiny & put cavil or complaint at defiance. That I had come here to see that the negotiations were properly conducted & was happy to find thus far such had been the course, as to meet my entire approbation, and that I would not sanction the mode of assent which he thought legal & proper for the whole state of New York, & finally that unless the mode I named was adopted I believed that the Governor & Council would revoke the assent they had given to the Contracts for the sale of the right of possession of the land to the preemptioners.

I told the judge my opinion was not to govern the conduct of the Commissioner & himself. They could act as they thought proper, & it was for the president to decide whether it was correct or not, but I did not believe he would approve the mode of assent which he thought legal & proper & if he did, the Senate would be memorialized by the opposition chiefs & Massachusetts would make such a representation as would occasion investigation & which would result in a resolution that their directions had not been complied with & therefore the treaty was null & void.

I further observed, that I thought the Indians were mad not to agree to the terms of the government; that it was a generous & beneficent offer & if they did not emigrate they would be in an abject, poor & wretched condition & be soon extinct as a nation?; but still I wished them [to] act freely & as they thought proper; & that I should not sanction any measure that I did not think lawful, honest & honorable, let the result of the negotiations be whatever they might. It was for the Indians to determine & whether they concluded to go west or remain here however much I should lament, on their account the latter determination, they must freely & voluntarily decide in open Council, or in the presence of the Commissioner & myself? & if any signed in our presence, in

any place other than the council, either at his room or the Indian's house, that was to be left for the president to determine whether it was a sufficient assent or not.

I told the Judge that all our foreign diplomatic practice as well as that with the Indians was the warrant for the opinion I had expressed, & I hoped that the mode pursued here would be such as I could sanction; for that I had no other object than a faithful discharge of my duty, as respects the indians the preemptioners, the U. S. & Massachusetts; that I was impartial from principle & besides neither the state or myself had any interest in the question other than to see that the indians were dealt by, honestly & fairly. We had nothing to gain or lose let the result be for or against emigration. I was only anxious that I should so conduct as to have the approbation of my own conscience, & that what I said would bear the most thorough examination, & be not liable to censure, or denunciation, from any, even the slightest dereliction of duty. I did not undertake to dictate what should be done for I had no right so to do, I was a mere spectator, placed here, however, to see that everything was conducted properly, & report the mode of proceeding, & the result, an whether they met with my approbation or not. I was a mere looker on & bound to render a true account of what I saw done.

This morning I had an interview with Mr. Gillet the U. S. Commissioner, who informed me that Judge Stryker had imparted to him the conversation he had with me last evening,—above narrated,—& that he concured with me in opinion & should pursue the course, which I had considered as the only true & honorable one; & that he should this day lay the treaty before the Indians in Council for the signatures of such as assented to the amendments, & remain until next tuesday afternoon to receive the signatures of those who were sick, by going to their houses, & of such others as chose to come to his room, & that we should be able to go to Lewistown on wednesday morning, hold a treaty with the Tuscaroras & leave for Ogdensburg in the Steamer United States in the afternoon.

This morning I was called into the Commissioners room

to witness the execution of a power of Atty. by John Tall-Chief a Seneca Chief, from Cattaraugus, who stated that he was afraid to sign the treaty in Council, as he had been threatened by the opposition chiefs, with fatal consequences if he did sign it any where, & as he was constantly watched, he came to give a power that he might go home. He had the power explained to him by the Interpreter Strong in our presence & said he free & voluntarily signed the power. Besides the persons named there were present Judge Stryker & George Jimenson a chief residing on this reservation. The power was to Captain Strong, of Cattaraugus.

The Council met at 2, when the treaty was presented for signatures to the assent, after Mr. Gillet had read a letter from Mr. Wadsworth offering to give leases for life to such of the Indians as might wish to remain provided the treaty was ratified. There were sixteen signatures made in Council. Mr. Gillet informed the Chiefs that such as wished to sign might do [so] in his room in my presence & that those who were confined by sickness he should visit to obtain their assent.

Before the council adjourned, I was asked if I would remain after the Commissioner retired & witness a paper which the Chiefs, in opposition, wished to execute in my presence. I replied that I would cheerfully do what had been desired, for I deemed it my duty to comply with any proper request which was made of me, as the Superintendent of Massachusetts.

After the Council was adjourned, a dissent to the treaty, in the form of a declaration, in which it was stated, that they did not wish to sell their lands or remove west, was produced, & signed by 64 persons,—who Morris [Maris] B. Pierce said were chiefs, in my presence, & I signed my name as a witness to the transaction, one of the chiefs, by the name of Little Johnson then rose & thanked me, for the faithful & upright manner, in which I had discharged my duty, that my head was right & that they highly approved of my independent & impartial conduct, as the Superintendent of Massachusetts. I replied that I had endeavored, faithfully to discharge my duty, that I felt a deep interest for their present

& future welfare, and whether they remained here, or emigrated to the west, they had my best wishes my most ardent prayers for their happiness & prosperity & I hoped the Great Spirit would watch over them & have them ever in his holy protection, & that they would conduct in such a manner, as would do honor to themselves, their nation & the character of the whole human family.

I am rejoiced that the negociation is at last drawing to a close, & that it will end on tuesday next, for it has been the most tedious & least interesting business that I ever performed. To reason with the ignorant, & attempt to do good to the prejudiced, suspicious & most debased of the human species, is laboring without results, either gratifying to us or beneficial to them. Here has been a boon offered, which would depopulate any county in New England & hurry them to the west with glad & grateful hearts; but these miserable savages are incapable of appreciating the generous humanity of the government. The worst of the whole matter, however, is that interested white men, from the mean & selfish motives of self interest, have imposed themselves upon the credulity & stupidity of the Indians & induced them to believe they were their warm, honest, & special friends, & as philanthropists were doing them a great kindness, when in fact they were their worst enemies; for under those specious professions they have concealed the basest & most infamous & mean, low & despicable inducements to action.

Alas! for the poor Indians; their destinies are lamentable. Here they are to become the poor, & most miserable of wretches, the most despised & worthless of the population, the mere slaves of those who are plundering the land & growing rich on their vices & necessities. God protect the once noble race of the Senecas, from the pretended mercies of the villainous white men.

Sep 29. A dark & cloudy morning but mild. I have read within two days the July number of the London Quarterly review. There is an article on Steam Navigation of a superior order. The views there disclosed are calculated to rouse the mind like a revelation from heaven. What a prospect for the future, how glorious for the present. No

one can estimate the rapid & mighty march of nations, & especially in this republic, which the improvements in all the sciences & arts & the roused energies of the people have & are accelerating. The next half century will produce results of grander moment than any which have been accomplished in hundreds of years. *Truth & Utility* are the divinities which now guide the human race, and the most enlightened minds,—the brightest & most active geniuses,—the most enterprising & valorous spirits are all intensely & constantly laboring in harmonious cooperation, to develop the moral & physical resources of nations. The whole world is roused, as if by the trumpet of an arch-angel, into an excitement for improvement, which fills even the chieftains of this grand movement with amazement. On, on, is the universal shout of millions who are rushing forward in the glorious career of all the arts of civilization, of letters, science, freedom, prosperity, wealth, happiness & glory.

There is another clever article on the fine arts in the *Quarterly*, which I have read with great interest; for it is not a little singular, that I had a long discussion at the dinner table of Mr. Wadsworth of Geneseo as I came on, with Professor Renwick, & on that subject, & four or five other gentlemen. I asserted that the secret of the great success of the Greeks in sculpture, as well as the most eminent painters, poets & writers of all time, was that their productions were true to nature. that they copied living man, & woman & the marks of nature in their statues & paintings & the passions & attributes of the heart & mind—real characters, in what was written. Shakespeare & Scott were as much indebted to the fidelity with which they described real existing objects, whether animate or inanimate, whether men or things,—the peculiarities of character & scenery,—the operations of the intellect & the movements of the whole spirit of the human breast, as were Phidias, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, & all the eminent masters in sculpture & painting of ancient and modern. All were true to nature. They relied on truth, fact, and the fidelity of their works in all even the most minute details. I was strenuously opposed in this assumption, but the article I have named, contains extracts from

some of the ablest writers on the fine arts, which maintain the same opinion & the author of the article fully concurs in that opinion. It is in fact the only way in which perfection ever has or can be attained in any work of genius & art. The poet the literator, the artist, & the man of sentiment & talent can only succeed by adhering rigidly to *facts, truth & nature*.

After breakfast, I walked down the shore of Buffalo Creek, & on returning, I discovered an oak, whose acorns, were enclosed in a much thicker & deeper cup or calyx than any other species I had ever seen, & the upper edge of the cup was beautifully fringed, with a moss-like appendage, which curled over, & gave the acorn the appearance of the moss-rose bud. I recollect that such an oak acorn is exhibited, in the plates of Michaux's North American Sylva & is called by him the "over-cup oak." on enquiry, I find this variety is called the swamp white-oak & is near equal for all useful purposes, as the white-oak, but not quite so tough. I have collected 30 acorns to plant in my garden.

Mr O. Allen of Buffalo has given me a sample of very remarkable & excellent bituminous coal from a mountain which is in Ohio & Penn^a, the strata is 5 feet thick & occupies a space of 360 acres. It is found there are 360 bushels to the acre, which would yield, of course 129,600,000 bushels. There is a canal from Erie which will pass within a quarter of a mile of the coal. In the vicinity is inexhaustible deposits of iron ore. When the canal is completed, the coal can be brought & sold at Buffalo for 5 dollars per chaldron. It is very clean resembling the Kennel Coal, & burns with a vivid blaze, leaving a white ashes like those of hickory, & nothing else, as there are no cinders, the whole of the coal being combustible. It makes a superb fire.

I purchased a dozen little silver brooches, of an Indian, for my grand-child.

Guizot, in his Essay on the History of France has dove deep into the ocean of the political & civil condition of nations, as far back as the foundation of the Roman empire & has revealed the weakness & the cause of the decadence &

final ruin of that once mighty government poole. [*So in MS.* ? : "government and people."]

There was no union of the municipal or local rights & power & those of the national. It was a despotism over communities, cities & towns, which were not participants in the general government. The city of Rome was the empire state & nation, & the rest of the vast possessions were treated as conquered places—as innumerable colonies & never embodied in the nation. There was no nationality of feeling, no union of principles, interests & right & when the head was destroyed all the numerous members, became so many distinct people, where there was no love for the Roman empire, no patriotism for the whole combined people, but each had its own local prejudices, feelings customs & laws; & were glad to be independent & no longer subject to a despot military power, whose seat was Rome. That was the throne & Kingdom. The court & the Nation, & all beyond was so many little states held in subjection by a mighty military force. This no longer is the condition of any European nation—the people are in some form represented, & united as one people. In many of them the people are directly represented. Whereas the Roman empire was made of little, village, town or city republics in which the people ruled, by officers of their own choice, but the whole were subject to the iron sceptre of the sovereign whose palace was the magnificent the "*eternal city*" of Rome. and when that was captured & the legions recalled or disbanded in the colonies & municipalities they became so many nations, a vast number [of] different people speaking different languages & having different laws, customs, habits, occupations & means of support. They had no love or respect for Rome or the name of Romans, & gladly escaped from the exactions & plunderings of the imperial officers & government. This is a correct & yet a new & striking fact, which Mr. Guizot has fully illustrated by historical evidence.

Here is another great truth. He says:—In barbarous as in civilized times, it is *activity*, that *indefatigable activity*, which is desirous of extending its existence in all directions & in every manner,—its name,—its influence—its empire,

that causes a distinguished man to be recognized;—that makes an individual conspicuous & commanding. *Superiority* is an expansive living force, which contains in itself the principle, object & end of its action,—regards the world open before it as its domain, without being accountable to any one, & labors to overrun & seize it, & often without any other necessity, or any design, but that of its development & satisfaction. It acts, it may be said, as a predestined power, which marches, extends its influence, conquers, & subjugates to nourish its natural propensities & fulfill a mission which it does not know or comprehend.”

In passing over this rapidly flourishing country you are constantly reminded of the remarks of Chatteaubriand,—“There is nothing ancient but the forests.” Still one feels a disposition, & a sort of hope & expectation that there is to be discovered some remains of antient nations, some traces of far distant periods of civilization in these fertile & vast regions; but nothing appears. The only traces of a revolution in the condition of the country are the trunks of trees, exposed in the bed of the Buffalo Creek, twelve feet below the surface of the bottom lands, which I have named; and those only indicate a still longer period of the wilderness state, which must have existed for centuries before the geological change which buried the preceding wilderness.

Sunday, September, 30. The heavens are veiled in an apparent thick mist, which the rising sun will dissipate, unless there should be clouds beyond, charged with rain. It is now so dark I can not decide whether this obscurity of the sky is merely thin vapor or not; but it seems to be. It is rather cool. Morris B. Pierce, brought me, yesterday afternoon a copy of the dissent to the treaty, of the opposition Chiefs, which I witnessed in the Council House on the afternoon of the 28th. I shew it to Mr. Gillet who desired to retain it, until he could make a copy. I requested him to ask Judge Stryker to make out for me, a list of all the chiefs, so far as he was able to ascertain the number, & to make a statement of such of the Indians, who signed the dissent, that were not considered chiefs.

I went with the Commissioner & Judge Stryker yester-

day to the house of Stevenson & Captain Pollard, two old chiefs who are sick & confined to their houses, to receive their signatures to the treaty, which they cheerfully gave. I presented Capt. Pollard an extract from Washington's Speech to Cornplanter Big tree & Farmers-Brother in 1790, in relation to the estimation in which they should [[?] hold] white men, who undertook to advise them against listening to the government agents of the United States & desired him to give it to his nephew Fox who would succeed him as a chief, & who is a very worthy & intelligent young man.

The manners of Captain Pollard, are those of a gentleman of the old school'; dignified gentle & mild in his deportment, he took my hand in both of his on our departure & bade me farewell with the grace of feeling of a patriarch. He is eighty years old & bent with the infirmities [of] age.

I have written a report to the Governor this forenoon of 13 pages, giving an account of the whole negotiations, as minutely as possible.

An Indian by the name of How-neshow-a or Shanks, over 90 years of age, arrived here, this forenoon from Cataraugus, where he resides, distant 30 miles. He came on foot in two days. He is a vigorous intelligent & remarkable man. He has the activity & cheerfulness of persons not over 50. He dined with us & said his friends had been so long absent, to hold a treaty here, that he came to see if they had not taken up their residence, & were making a farm.

I rode up the right bank of Buffalo Creek towards Aurora about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to what is called the elbow. The bank at that place is at least 60 feet high on the side I was & the opposite is low & covered with a heavy growth of rock maple. The trees on the road are chiefly white oak. There is no bottom land after a mile above the Onondaga Council House. The last piece belongs to Young, who is sober & industrious for an Indian. His wife is a handsome & excellent woman, & dresses richly & with taste in the Indian Costume. The waggon we rode in nearly upset & Mr. Gillet was thrown out, & I barely escaped the same accident. He was not injured. The road was horrible.

Octo. 1. A beautiful morning & magnificent day. I was

up soon after the dawn of day. The morning star alone blazed in the firmament, there was not a cloud & the aurora had quenched all the stars, save that which embellished the eastern sky. I wrote from 6 until 2, & copied & completed a report to the Governor of 23 pages. I sent off a letter to my wife of 12 pages, containing daily remarks for a week. I walked two hours, & got back at dusk. The night is lovely. We have had a continued period of hot weather since the 17th of May, being 138 days. It is unprecedented in my life, & I find no one so old as to recollect such a season.

Octo 2. The dry & delightful weather still continues. God grant we may conclude the negotiations this day.

Mr. Strong the Interpreter informed me that he had a conversation with his father Capt. Pollard & Blue-Eyes, in relation to the various treaties which had been held with the Senecas within their recollection. The two latter are chiefs over 50 years of age & the first is 65. Capt. Pollard was present, when the Commissioner Genl. Lincoln Col. Pickering & Govr. Randolph visited the Senecas on this Creek in 1793, & that the Chief, who is represented as speaking in the engraving annexed to Lincoln's Journal in the 5th. Vol. of the 3d Series of the Mass. Historical Collections, was a Mohawk by the name of Flying Sky & a particular friend of Capt. Brant the celebrated Mohawk Chief.

The Indians called Lincoln "*Big-Foot*" & Pickering "*The side-of-a-Hill*"; the former the large size of his feet & the other his remarkable profile. The side of a hill means the *line*, or contour of a steep acclivity, which has bold features.

There was an Indian Dance at the Onondaga Council House, last night & a number of the gentlemen went, but I did not, as I have seen enough of such exhibitions, for the present.

There not having been any frost since the 3d, & one or two nights soon after & they very slight, the foliage has changed but little as yet, still enough to give a subdued aspect to the autumnal scenery. A few white maples appear in the edge of the woods of a brilliant scarlet, & the beeches, have assumed a yellowish brown color, the hickories an

orange, & other trees & shrubs, crimson & red, of various tints.

Buffalo City, Octo 2. Evening. The Council adjourned this afternoon at 4 oclock, to the 15th. of November, unless the Commissioner should be directed to hold it at an earlier or later period. I came into this city this evening, and am to proceed to Lewiston to morrow morning, to hold a treaty with the Tuscarora Indians. I feel like a person who has just been liberated from a prison⁷; for so laborious & protracted have been our deliberations, & the adjournment so often postponed, from day to day, that it seemed as if I were doomed, to the spot, & could not escape from it. Thanks to Almighty God! I have got out of the thralldom, &, at last, am "*Homeward Bound*" & in excellent health. How cheering my hopes.

Doct Trowbridge* called to see me this evening, Genl. Potter, Mr. Wadsworth & other gentlemen. I wrote to Commissioner Everett⁷; this evening I am to write to Doct. H.'P. Wilcox Irving, Chattaqua County, New York

The annexed letter was given me, by Mr. Strong, the Interpreter, at my special request, to illustrate the engraving of the Council at Buffalo Creek in 1793. I wished to make it certain who the Chief was that was speaking & it is now certain his name was Flying Sky. Mr. Strong is preparing a long account of the indian negociations & facts of interest, concerning the Six & other nations, obtained from the old chiefs of the Sennecas, who attended the Council which has just adjourned. Capt. Pollard, Blue Eyes & Capt Strong are chiefs of the old school. Correct in their habits, dignified, yet modest in their deportment, with the manners of gentlemen, who had mingled much in society. They are the real patriarchs of their tribe. God bless them.

BUFFALO CREEK Oct. 2^d 1838.

GENL. DEARBORN,

SIR. Capt. Pollard states, that the Council held on the Buffalo Creek 1793, (as mentioned in Genl Lincoln's Journal) In which Genl Lincoln (Otherwise called by the Indians

* Josiah Trowbridge, M. D.

Haw-Seh-daw-das—the English of it is, “Thick Foot”) Col. Pickering, otherwise called Gaw-ne-a-Sa-deh—“*One side of the hill.*”) and Mr. Randolph Commissioner of the United States. The orator mentioned in the journal, and the accompanying Sketch, was a Mohawk Chief, Colleague of Capt Brandts,* by the name of “*Flying Sky*”—Capt Pollard further states, that, at the above mentioned Council, Capt Brandt was at Sandusky or at Detroit, As Brandt came as passenger in the Vessel came down the Lake; after the Commissioners above mentioned—Brandt returned with them & the rest of the Seneca Chiefs up the Lake—

Note. This Statement of Capt Pollard explains why the duty of making Speech to the Commissioners fell upon the Chief *Flying Sky*—had Capt Brandt been present at the Council, he undoubtedly would have made the Speech.

Your friend

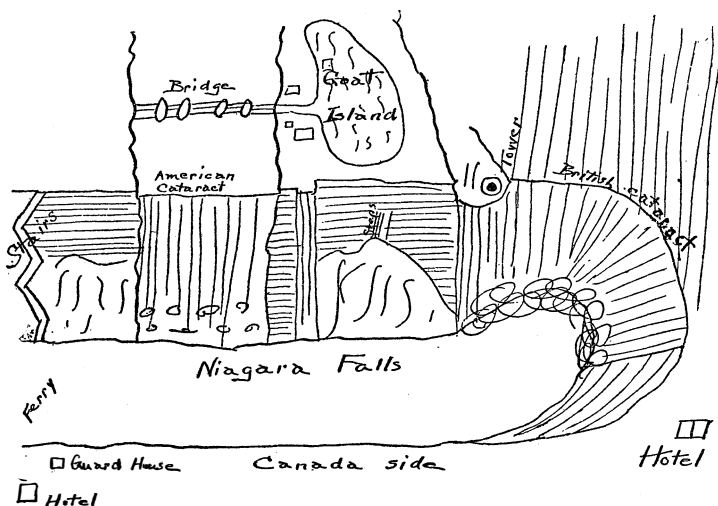
HON-NON-DE-AH

October 3. It was a dark & rainy night, but the sun has come out bright this morning & we shall have a favorable day to descend the Niagara river, in the Red-Jacket Steamer, to the Falls. Breakfasted, in company with Mr. Gillet & Mr. Wadsworth, at Genl. Potter's. I took a walk down to the harbor once more to behold the bustle & activity of this flourishing emporium of the great interior commerce & trade; it is the aquatic Palmira of the United States, between the Mediterraneans of this continent & the Atlantic, where the intercommunicating caravans of navigation, meet & exchange their cargoes, from the Ocean & the mighty rivers & lakes of the west.

Lewiston Octo 3. Afternoon. I left Buffalo, in company with Mr. Gillet, U. S. Commissioner, & Strong the Interpreter this morning at 9 oclock, in the Steamboat Red Jacket,

* Joseph Brant, whose name was usually written “Brandt” until recent years. The writer of this letter, “Hon-non-de-ah,” was Nathaniel T. Strong, a Seneca chief living at Irving, N. Y., and in his later years a corresponding member of the Buffalo Historical Society. We are indebted to him for the most plausible explanation of the way in which Buffalo River received its name. (See Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. I., pp. 38-42.) He died Jan. 4, 1872. The Captain Strong mentioned in the journal, was another man. Some picturesque reminiscences of N. T. Strong are given by Samuel M. Welch in his “Recollections of Buffalo.”

came [to] Fort Scholson [Schlosser]': there took the rail road cars for the Niagara Falls, which we reached at half past eleven. The morning was bright & clear, after a heavy shower during the night, & the scenery was truly beautiful, for autumn had arrayed the forest trees in sumptuous mantles of crimson, scarlet, orange, yellow & brown & all the shades of green, were still conspicuous, which gave to the American & Canadian shores, the enchanting effect. As we



approached the mighty cataract, the eternal cloud which hangs over its awful abyss, announced, the position of that "Hell of Waters." There was a solitary little boat—with a single [person] in it a fishing, anchored within a third of a mile of the terrific rapids. There was not another boat, or vessel of any kind on the vast sheet of water visible from the American bank to that of Chippawa, & as far up the river as the eye extended to the vast tumultuous current, which swept onward, from the first ripple of the rapids until it leaped in one tremendous plunge down the lofty precipice with an earth-quake shock, & the thunders of an equatorial tempest, when Jove launches his most furious bolts from his celestial artillery. I met Meredith Sullivan at the Cataract

Hotel just from St. Lewis via Chicago, We hired a hack & went to Lewiston where we arrived at half past one. We met at the Frontier House Hotel Cusick, Chem, Mount pleasant & Chiefs of the Tuscarora Indians who we had requested to meet us there to conclude a contract with the Ogden Company for the sale of their timber lands.

After dinner we met them in Council, when they stated, that all the other Chiefs were absent, at Lockport & elsewhere when the express arrived the evening before with my letter, & there not being a majority present & none of their warriors, they could not execute the contract. The Commissioners informed them that as the object of the sale was to obtain, in advance three thousand dollars, of the amount which would be due from the Ogden Company, when they removed West, in conformity to the Treaty with the United States, that amount might be procured, by a petition [to] Congress, in anticipation of the sum to be paid them when they should reach their new homes in the Indian territory. I concurred in that opinion, & we recommended that a petition should then be drawn up, for the Ogden Company did not wish the contract executed & they had only agreed to it at their request, for the purpose of supplying them with money to pay off their debts & defray the expense of an exploring company to their land in the west, next spring.

They said that they should prefer the application to Congress & requested Mr. Gillet to prepare a memorial which he did & they signed it in our presence & that of Strong. We also added our earnest recommendation that the favor desired should be granted.

I went where the road from Fort Niagara, enters the main street of Lewiston, & stood on the very spot at that juncture, where I sat on horseback, with my ever beloved & honored father, in July 1813. I was returning home with him from the American camp at Fort George. He was accompanied by several officers & a squadron of horse under the command of Majr S. D. Harris (now Lt. Col.) we halted at that point to look at Queenstown & the Heights where the battle was fought, early in the war & a battery directly opposite. Soon many officers were seen on the parapet & one

of our officers observed to my father, that they had better move up the road to the tavern distant two miles where he intended to pass the night, for the enemy would perceive there were many officers in the group & would soon, in all probability open a fire upon us. My father smiled said it was a long shot & we would take our chance for the few minutes, which were desired to observe the various points of interest, on the opposite shore. He wished to know exactly where our troops landed where the first action was fought where Col. Brock was killed our troops surrendered & all the other interesting incidents of the day. No shots were fired.

I stood on that very spot, where my good father, was beside me, twenty five years ago. How distinctly he was present, in my minds eye. I heard his voice, saw his calm & dignified face, his noble martial port & veteran look as if he were again there on his superb gray charger. I looked up to heaven, & called upon him to look down upon me, & bless me, to intercede for me with our merciful heavenly parent, & cause my course of life to be prosperous & happy'; and to my kind & good mother to unite her affectionate prayers with his in my behalf & that of my dear wife & darling children. O! how sad, how mournful & yet how pleasing to my soul was that moment, when I seemed to meet the spirits of my kind & beloved father & mother'; when I saw them & heard their voices & with what a tender & feeling look they gazed upon me. I turned away at last & slowly returned to the hotel, but was too much affected to enter it & went into the garden & there walked until I was collected & consoled. God bless my dear parents, my wife, my children & myself I implore thee.

At seven oclock we went on board the Steamer United States. The moon was full, the sky cloudless & the air calm & bland. On looking up the river, as the fire-moved Leviathan moved down the majestic Niagara, Brock Monument* stood distinct & alone on the horizontal heights of Queenstown & its symetrical profile was strikingly visible on the dark blue firmament beyond, & then turning towards

* This was the first monument to General Brock, which stood some distance to the east of the present shaft, and was destroyed by miscreants, April 16, 1840.

Lake Ontario, the Light House in Fort Niagara blazed like a planet, indicating the site of that celebrated mark & the shore of the first great urn of the St Lawrence, while on the left the village near Fort George, was rendered visible by the refulgent moonlight. And soon after the boat came to just below that fortress. Again my dear father was present; it was there I visited him, but a few weeks after the battle, & there I passed ten days with him before we left for home. Again I appealed to him for again I saw him in the midst of his camp of 5,000 men. I saw all the officers take leave of him, when many a hero's eye was moist, for they all honored, respected & loved him. Who that knew him could withhold their veneration & profound esteem. He was a patriot & a soldier, with[out] fear & without reproach. He was in the fullest meaning of the word a great, & good man. May I emulate his noble virtues & may my children & theirs be as worthy of commendation & of a nations gratitude.

Octo. 4. The Lake was as smooth as a river last night & we entered the Genesee at 3 oclock, this morning I got up & walked the deck until we reached the landing, three miles from its mouth, & two & a half from Rochester. We came to at 4, but broke the shaft of one wheel, when half way up the river. I went up to Rochester in a light waggon, with the Steward of the boat. walked about the city & crossed the aqueduct, just as the sun was rising; at seven left in the rail-road cars to return to the landing. What a change, since I was at the Genesee falls in 1813! Then there was a miserable single saw mill & log hut on the west side of the falls & a small one story house just raised & partly boar[d]ed on the east side & now there is a city of 18,000 inhabitants. Never in any age, has human intelligence, industry & enterprise produced such glorious, such wonderful results as in this country since the Revolution.

The river is most enchantingly picturesque, the precipitous banks are from 150 to 200 feet high & covered with trees to the very edge of the water. At the mouth are some eight or ten buildings & a Lt. House. We got under way at eight & are now dashing on through Lake ontario, which has a smooth surface a clear sky & gentle breeze from the west;

but can only use one wheel'; still we hope to reach Oswego by dark.

There are 20 steamboats & over 100 schooners on the lake & only one brig. The schooners which can pass the Welling [Welland] Canal are about 120 tons burden. The Steam Boats begin to run on the first of April & Continue to navigate between all the ports, from Ogdensburg to Lewiston until the 15th. of November, & often later. Genl. Macomb Lady & Aid de Camp are with us bound to Sackets Harbor.

Oswego. Octo. 5. We arrived at this place at 4 yesterday afternoon. I walked over the town & a beautiful flourishing little Lake emporium it is. At the mouth of the river, two break-waters have been erected by the U. S. government at an expense of 100,000 dollars, & now an other vast sum is being expended in the construction of a stone wall surmounted by parapet wall to prevent the sea from breaking over into the harbor. On the end of the western pier is a neat stone Light House. The Erie Canal has a branch which comes to this place. The water [power] however from the rapids is immense'; & there are 7 flowering mills, with 41 run of stones that can manufacture 30 barrels of flour a day each, making 1230 barrels per day. There are also two cotton factories, a machine manufactory, a moroco manufactory, ax factory, some mills, a large forge & from 70 to 80 schooners owned in the town.

On the western point of the harbor is a portion of an old French fort, the remainder having been leveled for the purpose of filling up a wharf & making a street & house & stone lots on the site. On the hill a quarter of a mile south westerly from this old military mark is a portion of another erected by Genl. Amherst, when he took Oswego from the French in the war of 63.*

On the eminence at the eastern entrance of the harbor is a large field work with four bastions, which was erected by

* This statement, and the allusion to Montcalm that follows, as the student of our history will discern, are far from accurate. Montcalm captured Oswego in 1756, but the French abandoned the place. Gen. Amherst occupied the point in 1759, prior to his Quebec campaign, but there being no opposition, he can hardly be said to have taken it from the French.

General Amherst, at the time he besieged the french garrison on the opposite point. It had a ditch, & was secured against an escalade by palisades. This important fortification was taken by Montcalm in 176— surrendered to the British after the capture of Quebec by the army of Genl. Wolf. During the last war with Great Britain it was garrisoned with 300 troops under the command of Col. Mitchel, & was attacked by a combined naval & military force, under the command of Sir James Yeo & Genl. Drummond. They landed 2,500 men & after a gallant defence of several hours, the American troops effected their retreat with the loss of about an hundred killed wounded & prisoners. The enemy had 300 killed & wounded. Sir James received a wound in his leg.

Octo 5. Afternoon. Left Oswego at eight o'clock in the morning, for Kingston in the Steamer Great Britain, & arrived at 2 oclock in the afternoon. There was a stiff breeze, but the day was surpassing beautiful, cloudless & warm. I walked over Kingston, visited the new stone barracks in the north-eastern part of the town, where there is a regiment, the 49th, I think, it was called. Opposite Kingston is the navy yard, & on the height which overlooks it a large fort, revetted with stone is being completed, with stone barracks. There is not a single armed vessel on Lake Ontario in the British service, The wrecks of some of the ships belonging to Sir James Yeo's fleet during the last war are to be seen above the water, at the upper end of the naval harbor, & that of the 120 gun ship was pointed out to me. Kingston is situated on a bed of gray limestone, which is but partially covered with earth. I observed in one of the streets leading from the water, the print of a man's foot very distinctly made in one of the flag stones of the side wide [walk] on the north side. It was large & the foot was evidently covered with a mocasin.

The transportation from Montreal to Kingston is by small steam boats up the Rad [blank in original?; Rideau] canal? & from Kingston to Montreal by the St Lawrence in steam boats & batteaus. The population of Kingston is [blank in original] It was formerly called Fort Frontenac.

I left Kingston at 4 oclock in the afternoon in the British

Steamer Brockville. There was on board Capt Eckles of the British Army & two other officers. The former was the bearer of an Address to Lord Denham [? Durham]; from Niagara, which he was so polite as to show me. He appeared a very well informed & was a very gentlemanly officer; had been in the Peninsular war & from a wound received in that service was obliged to carry his right arm in a sling of broad black ribband.

In descending the St Lawrence, the boat stoped at Morristown on the American shore & one other little village on the Canadian. The afternoon being calm & the night cloudless, & splendidly lighted up by the full orb'd moon, the scenery of the thousand Islands was wonderfully beautiful & intensely interesting. The islands are from many miles in extent down to a mere dot on which stood a single tree, or a small bunch of shrubs not larger than a basket of flowers. Some being 100 feet high & others rising but just above the surface of the water. The river where it expands into Lake Ontario is some 20 miles wide & gradually diminishes until between Ogdensburg & Prescott it is only a mile & a half in width.

The boat reached Ogdensburg at eleven o'clock in the evening where I landed with Mr. Gillet, who resides in that town.

Ogdensburg. October 6. This town is situated on the Oswegatchie, & contains between 2,500 & 3,000 inhabitants. There was a fort on the point on the western side of the entrance into the mouth of the river built by the French during the wars with Great Britain. The wall & chimnies of the stone barracks are still standing. At Prescott is a large stone fortress called Fort Wellington, which was erected during the last war, & is now being repaired. Prescott has a population of 800 to 1000.

I went in company with Mr. Daniel Judson of this place at nine o'clock this morning, to the lead mines in the town of Rossie, in Lawrence County distant thirty miles, near the upper end of Black Lake. The mine runs through a granite hill, or ridge, which is about 60 feet above the level of the water courses & is from one to three feet wide. The ore or

galena which is in beautiful crystals of sulphate of lead, is mixed with lime stone, & among it are beautiful rhomboidal crystals which are doubly refractive. I have collected specimens of the granite, lime stone, galena & chrystals. There is 100 tons of pig lead produced by the two companies, which are now working the mines each month. There are two hundred men employed at each. The ore is carted a mile & a half to a stream that falls into Black Lake, where are works for crushing the mineral, washing, separating it from the lime stone & smelting it. The lead is sent to New York, via Black lake Morristown & the St Lawrence and Lake to Oswego & from thence by the canal to Albany.

Mr. Parish has extensive Iron works at Rossie. The ore is obtained within nine miles & brought to Rossie, for smelting & making into pig & pan iron, that being the nearest place where water power can be commanded for the necessary works.

There is a range of lime stone & sand stone mixed which extends from the left bank of the Oswegatchie, near Ogdensburg to the upper end of Black Lake, running parallel thereto, & ending precipitate toward the lake but stoping gradually towards the north. It is exposed naked in many places & there are to be seen grooves cut, as if large stones had been draged over it, some of them a quarter of an inch deep, in parallel lines which run from a little east of north to a little west of south. They are evidently the traces of an immense flood which swept in that direction over this country. There are no organic remains in the lime or sand stone. They are both found in separate beds & used for building, & the former when polished is a greyish marble with white blotches & stripes. They are in layers of from 6 to 10 inches & brake transversely, with quite a smooth surface & make a handsome wall, & a little distance look like hammered stone, as they can be selected of such uniform thickness, as to make regular courses. Many of the dwelling houses & stores are built of it & several churches.

Mr. Van Rensellier [Van Rensselaer], a son of the patroon who resides in Albany, has an elegant seat a mile &

a half above this town, on a height which slopes down to the St Lawrence. He has an extensive garden & green houses.

Ogdensburg, Octo. 7. I did not get back from Rossie until midnight, for it began to rain just as we left the lead mines, at half past four & when we had got on six miles it rained so violently & was so dark we were obliged to stop at a tavern until nearly 8 oclock for the storm to abate & the [moon] to rise, to enable us to keep the road. I have had one of my tremendous headaches all day, & still I have been obliged to write from six oclock until five, to complete the papers with Mr. Gillet connected with the negociations with the Indians. I have also written a letter to Isaac Ogden Esq.,—who lives 18 miles below on an island in the St Lawrence, where he has a grand farm, in relation to a canal or rail-road from Ogdensburg to Lake Champlain. I had a letter of introduction to him from his brother, I. L. Ogden Esq. of New York & intended to have gone down there this afternoon & passed the night, to converse with him on the subject of the proposed line of intercommunication, for the reasons stated in the annexed copy of my letter, & take the steam boat early next morning at a point on the Canada shore directly opposite but the treaty papers, & my headache has prevented me from an excursion, which I had anticipated with pleasure, as Mr. Ogden has one of the best cultivated farms on the river. Annexed is the letter.

OGDENSBURG, Octo. 7. 1838.

DEAR SIR. The enclosed letter, from your highly esteemed brother, I intended to have done myself the honor of delivering in person, this afternoon, & to have asked the favor of being put on the Canada shore, to take the Steam Boat early in the morning, for Montreal;—but a violent headache, to which I am periodically subject, has confined me to the Hotel all day. I regret, extremely, that I have thus been deprived of the pleasure of seeing you, & your celebrated *Island farm*, as well as the opportunity of conversing with you, in relation to the contemplated rail-road or Canal, to Lake Champlain, from this place, in which I feel a deep interest; for if either is constructed, Massa-

chusetts, New Hampshire Vermont & Maine will derive great advantages therefrom. The former state aided by N. Hampshire & Vermont will, in a few years, have either a canal, or rail road from, as high as Newbury, on Connecticut river, down the valley of that river to Springfield, to connect with the rail-road, from thence to Boston, which will be completed next year'; & as Vermont has long contemplated, the construction of a Canal or Rail-Road, from Lake Champlain to the Connecticut, not far from Newbury, the trade of the great Lakes will be opened to those states'; while Maine will simultaneously construct, either a canal or rail-road from Portland to the Connecticut & become a maritime emporium for the products of the Mighty West, as well as the depot of supply of many of the articles, which are now furnished, to the rapidly increasing population of that vast region, by means of the New York & Pennsylvania Canals & railroads.

A survey will be made next year'; I have learned from the citizens of Portland, of a route for a rail-road, from that city to the valley of Connecticut river, & they will be powerfully stimulated to commence its construction, if a line of intercommunication is opened, from the St. Lawrence, near Ogdensburg to Lake Champlain. I was not a little astonished to see a waggon load of flour, at Littleton, in New Hampshire, which is situated on the Ammanusick, about fifteen miles west of the notch of the White Mountains, which came from Rochester, via the Erie Canal, the New York Northern Canal, & Lake Champlain, to Burlington in Vermont, & from thence, by land transportation, across that state, to the place above named. The gentleman to whom it belonged, informed me, that—flour was thus brought to that town, & others in the valley of Connecticut river, in New Hampshire & Vermont, cheaper than from Portland, although the distance to the latter city was only ninety miles. If then the facilities, which the proposed lines of transportation will afford, are secured, it is evident that a large portion of those four states, will have a direct & extensive trade with the count[r]y, which is situated on the Lakes & their tribu-

tary rivers, as well as that watered by the Missouri, Illinois & the Mississippi, above St. Lewis

You will do me a great favor, by communicating such information, as you may possess, in relation to the measures which are now being taken, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of & the probability of the completion of a canal, or rail-road from Ogdensburg to Lake Champlain. I hope, if practicable, a canal will first be made, for it is now the settled opinion of the ablest Engineers, as well as of the most intelligent & distinguished men who have made it a subject of inquiry, in England, France and this country, that a rail-road is not a sufficient substitute for a canal, however admirably it replaces stage-coaches, & the other old modes of conveyance, for the human family. & the experience of your own state fully justifies & illustrates, the correctness of that opinion. In fact, both lines of inter-communication are indispensable, to subserve the interests of every branch of national industry; & they both must & will be constructed, where either has been completed, or is necessary.

The land on the Canada & American shores is generally very barren, from the near approach of the rock formation to the surface; & in fact being entirely denuded of soil to a very considerable extent. The islands below are generally fertile & there are portions of the main land which are excellent for tillage.

The country is but thinly settled. On the American side the inhabitants are chiefly emigrants from New England; that "*Universal Yankee Nation*," as Mr. Jefferson emphatically distinguished that adventurous enterprising, industrious & emigrating, navigating, trading & wandering people. They are to be seen as the pioneers all over the Union, or wherever there is any business to be transacted, or work done that promises favorable results. Their intelligence, knowledge, of the mechanical arts, manufactures, navigation, trade & commercial affairs, is perceivable all over the country; for wherever there is any labor or business done which requires energy & untiring industry there they are sure to be found, even in Canada.

October 8. I left Ogdensburg last evening at half past 7 with Mr. Gillet in the Steam-boat, crossed over to Prescott, on the Canada shore, where freight & passengers were taken on board & got under way down the St Lawrence at 8. Passed a strong rapid at 9 distant 12 miles from Ogdensburg & at ten the De Plot* rapid, in which the water is thrown into foaming waves; reach Dickenson's Landing at eleven, where we remained until seven. The village of Waddington on the American shore, 18 miles below Ogdensburg, was conspicuous, in the moon light, & from the blazing chimney of a furnace which wast[?]. Opposite Waddington is Ogden's island containing 900 acres of the best land in the northern part of New York & Mr. Ogden has on it the best cultivated farm. He has built a bridge from his island to the main land a quarter of a mile in length, & obtained a vast water power by throwing a dam across the rapid, where he has a large flour mill. There are in Waddington, besides the furnace & flour mill several saw mills, cording & fulling mills, a grist-mill & other machinery. It is a flourishing town.

Dickensons Landing, October 8. I got up at 4. The day was just slightly illuming the north eastern horizon but the moon, planets & stars, spangled the blue vault of heaven like burnished flakes of silver. A profound calm & stillness rested over all the works of nature, save the murmur sent up by the furious "long rapids" just below, where we were moored. Took stages at seven for Cornwall, where we arrived at half past 8; distance 12 miles.

There is a ship canal being constructed on the Canada shore past the Long Sault, which is nearly completed. It is eleven miles long, ten feet deep, 100 feet wide at the bottom & 140 at the top. The locks are 180 feet long & 55 feet wide. There are six lift locks, which overcome an elevation of 40 feet. They are admirable works of masonry, being constructed of a black compact marble which is obtained from a quarry within three miles of the canal.

The locks are all finished & most of the enormous gates are made and hung. They have been constructed by an

* Rapid Deplau, below Waddington.

American. This important work has been executed by the government of Upper Canada, & has cost 1,500,000 dollars & will require 150,000 dollars more to complete it; but owing to the depressed & agitated condition of the country the labor has been suspended, save the work now being done on the Lock gates, & a few men employed in the excavation. The money was chiefly borrowed in England at 6 per cent redeemable in 1850. The excavation is through earth, entirely, composed of loam clay & sand. The canal runs on the immediate margin of the St Lawrence & has been constructed by removing the earth, for the bed of the canal & forming an embankment on the margin of the river.

We entered the Steam boat *Henry Brougham* at Cornwall & passed down to Coteau Du Lac, distance 41 miles, there we took stages to the cascades & then entered the Steam Boat *Dolphin*, for Lachine, which is 24 miles, & again landed & passed on to Montreal in stages, which is 9 miles from Lachine.

The land is excellent all the way from near Ogdensburg to Montreal, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, & on all the islands, but the villages & houses are miserable & the tillage but little attended to on the Canadian shore. The houses are log or timber, & very small & badly constructed. The population poor, ignorant & in a wretched condition. The information, in relation to the Canal I obtained from Mr. Harvey, who has been a contractor for making the excavations. He came with us from Prescott to Cornwall. The banks of the St Lawrence are not more than from 10 to 20 feet above the water & the land is generally level, or undulating into gently elevated hills. The soil until within some 20 miles of Montreal is a black sandy loam, & for the remaining distance clay loam & sand.

The mountain region which extends from near the northern end of Lake Champlain, in a south westerly direction made a grand back scape to the scenery from Cornwall to Montreal. The summits are rounded, or present long lines, of horizontal & undulating, contours, with now & then a conical profile. They were bathed in a mellow bleuish haze.

Mr. Gillet landed at the St Regis Indian village between

Cornwall & Coteau Du Lac, to conclude a treaty with that tribe. He gave me a sample of copper ore—the sulphate, from a mine in Canton about 20 miles N. E. from Ogdensburg. The mine is reported to be extensive & prolific. Capt. Laing of the British Army & Mr. Griffin, the Supervisor of the Post offices in Lower Canada and Mr. Rombuck brother of the great agitator (his wife and Mr. Cadinou's of Boston are sisters) came down from Prescott in company & I found them both intelligent & agreeable gentlemen. The former was on the north western frontier under Genl. Proctor during the last war. He was also in Lord Wellington's army in Spain Portugal & France.

He informed me that a council of war was held by Proctor, to decide whether the army should oppose the landing of the troops under Genl. Harrison, or fall back to the Moravian village & that Tecumsah was decidedly opposed to abandoning their position. He was indignant at the proposition & declared to Proctor that, if he retreated, the Indians, amounting to 3,000 would consider themselves as abandoned, & all leave his camp; if he really intended to fight that was the most commanding position. Proctor replied that he did not intend to retreat but merely fall back to a position which he could defend & be in connection with his depot of provisions & the other wing of the army in Upper Canada; & by great persuasion he at last induced Tecumsah to remain, but all the indians returned to their several settlements on the upper lakes, but about 500.

Proctor did not intend to engage Harrison, but so maneuver as to reach the division of the army at the head of Huntington Bay, on Lake Ontario. To effect that object he moved to the Moravian village, & there very improperly remained for three days, when he might have advanced so rapidly east that Genl. Harrison could not have overtaken him; in fact the latter had abandoned the idea of pursuit, until he heard of Proctor's halt & then determined to attempt [to] bring him to action. Capt. La[i]ng was in the Grenadiers & posted on the extreme left near the bank of the river Thames, & on his right were the indians under the command of Tecumsah. The charge of the mounted Riflemen under Col. Johnson decided the action.

After the surrender of the British troops Capt. Laing requested permission to go into the woods, to find a brother officer,—the present Col. [blank in original] Adjt Genl. of the army & now stationed at Toronto, who [he] heard was wounded & left on the ground. Four soldiers of the American army went with him but his search was unsuccessful as his fellow officer had not fallen. On returning he discovered an Indian laying on the ground dead, who he instantly recognized as Tecumsah & exclaimed, God there is poor Tecumsah slain. When he got back to camp, he informed Genl Harrison of Tecumsah's death, who instantly replied, I will immediately send out & have him brought in & buried with military honor, for he was a brave & noble fellow whose character & heroic conduct I honor. The news however, had been spread through the camp by the soldiers who accompanied Capt La[i]ng & a number had gone out [and] disgracefully mangled the body of the gallant Indian Chieftain before those sent by Genl. Harrison reached the place. The body was nevertheless brought to camp & interred with all that respect which is ever due to a brave man who falls in battle.

Capt Laing was in the action in which Dudley was defeated. He stated that the American officers & soldiers who were made prisoners, in the action were placed in a sort of hollow or dell near the Miama river, & sentinals placed over them, to protect them from the Indians, but that the Potawattamies Wyandots & other distant tribes who were not in the action & thirsted for blood rushed upon the sentinals slew two of them with their tomahawks & commenced an indiscriminate murder of the prisoners, when Tecumsah rushed to the spot & checked the barbarians in their hellish exploit. He informed the cowardly rascals if they had been his indians he would have put to death every one who had been concerned in such an infamous transaction.

Capt. Laing also informed me that he was in the attack on Fort Sandusky which Crochgan [Croghan] defended so gallantly. That Genl. Proctor having been foiled in his movement for [blank in original] he concluded to make a dash on the fort of Sandusky before returning to give some

eclat to his expedition, but that he was entirely ignorant of the character of the work, & did not even send to have a reconnaissance made before ordering it to be taken by assault. There was a ditch on three sides, which was not discovered until the British troops were close to him. They wound in column toward the face at right angles with the river, the right being destined to storm the low curtain, the centre the longest & the left the other end. As the column moved passed it [was] assailed by a well directed & rapid fire, for there were muskets enough in the garrison to furnish each soldier with four & all being loaded, they were all discharged in quick succession. The left leaped into the ditch as well to escape the fire of the musketry as to attempt to enter the works, & when it was completely filled a masked gun concealed by a kind of gun port, was brought to bear near the bottom of the ditch & the first fire was so destructive that several officers were killed & about 40 soldiers were either killed or wounded.

Capt Laing was kept as a hostage on whom to retaliate, in the event any of the American officers were executed as had been threatened. He was confined for many months in the Penitentiary of Frankfort Kentucky, & came very near dying of a violent fever which his unpleasant situation produced.

Montreal. Tuesday, Octo. 9. I arrived here last evening at 9 o'clock. I found from the earnest conversation of the Canadian passengers on my way from Kingston, that there was great excitement, in relation to the conduct of Brogham [Brougham] & the Ministry towards Lord Durham, & that so uneasy & alarmed were the people generally, from the apprehension of a rebellion, in some parts of the provinces, and incursions of American partizans along the whole length of the frontier, as well as the ill consequences to the Canadas if Lord Durham should return to England as he had declared he would, in consequence of the attack made upon him by Lord Brogham, & the shameful manner in which Lord Melburn [Melbourne] & the other ministers had allowed him to be assailed, without the least effort being made to defend him. Addresses have been sent to Lord

Durham within the last week from Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto & all the other towns in both Canadas urging him not to leave the country, & it is now reported that he certainly will not before January if he does then. As the peculiarly constructed boats, which are used to navigate the St Lawrence the river & Rondeau [Rideau] canal are called Durham, the following punning toast occurred to me as we were towing one from the Cascades to Lachine last evening

"The newly launched Durham Boat:—It is too substantial & ponderous, to be swept from its direct & triumphant course amidst the conflicting currents of Canada by the impotent flourish of a *Broom*, however successfully that *instrument*, may some times be employed, to raise such a *dust* in the House of Lords, as to bewilder even a *Prime Minister*."

The name of Lord *Brogham* is pronounced *Broom*, & Lord Melbourn the prime minister, was so fearful that the bill introduced by Lord Brogham nullifying & denouncing the Ordinance of Lord Durham, in relation to the persons who had been arrested as rebels, that he informed the Lords the next day the ministry had determined to recommend to the Queen, the propriety of her Majesty's declaring the ordinance unauthorized. What a contemptible act to save themselves, they have sacrificed Lord Durham, who has been one of the ablest of the whig party & who has been a special advisor & friend of the Queen mother & Victoria. Mean & cowardly wretches.

Montreal. Evening of Octo. 9. 11 o'clock I have just completed my report & all the papers illustrative thereof which are 22 in number & make 73 pages of my own writing & 61 of copies of affidavits letters &c. &c. amounting to 134 pages. Thanks to Almighty God the care, anxiety, & labor of my duty are now all ended.

I rode round the mountain this forenoon with Captain Laing, & the views from the various elevations & sides of that wooded eminence are truly grand & beautiful. I have never beheld such magnificent scenery. The vast region for at least 60 miles in diameter is one vast tract of rich soil, sprinkled with villages farm houses, woods, & sheets of

water which the mighty St Lawrence & its island divided channel presents. I went into the new Cathedral*. It is of granite & a pure specimen of the gothic order of architecture. It is a huge edifice. Visited the sisters of Charity's establishment, which is a kind of male & female hospital. The nuns were tending the sick & some were in a yard cleaning a large stove pipe. walked along the wharves & quays. They are of granite & are being completed the whole front of the city. There were seven steam Boats in port & several brigs. I walked to the Champs de Mars & saw a parade of the troops. I was introduced to Col. Gagy [?] & Doct Jackson of the army, & the former called on me & then came & waited upon me to the dinner table at 6 o'clock. I have rode & walked all over the city.

The uniforms of the different regiments of the troops in the British army are varied by the colour of the collars & cuffs, they being blue white green &c. & the pompons of like color. The Grenadier company of the Royals, instead of a leather or Jappaned cap, have one made like the other companies entirely of bear skin, without any visor, there is & white Pompon & tassels, of worsted. [Crude sketch omitted.]

The farms & land round Montreal is not well tilled & the houses are small & rudely [built] of rough stone or timber & white washed occasionally. some are framed & boarded & shingled. There are orchards of good fruit & plum trees. With good farmers & gardeners the surrounding country would be very productive & have a beautiful appearance. There are a [? few] very fine handsome country seats; but I did not observe but four or five which had a neat & tasty appearance.

The market is abundantly supplied with meats poultry, vegetables, game fish & such fruits as will grow here. It is the best in Canada.

Montreal October 10. Yesterday, was cloudy, cold & uncomfortable, with a raw north west wind. It was the first real autumnal day we have had. It is, however milder

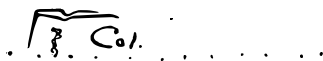
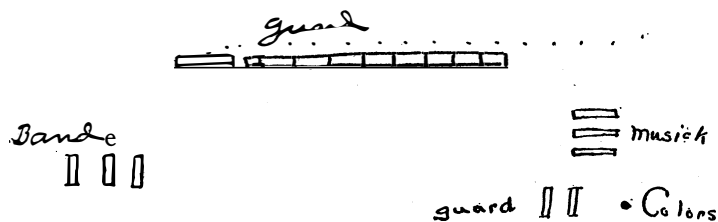
* Gen. Dearborn evidently made the common tourists' error of regarding Notre Dame parish church as a cathedral.

this morning & the sun is struggling to dissipate the clouds. It promises a pleasant day. I do Hope that there will be no cold rain storm before I reach my dear home, & wife & children. I met Mr. Featherstehaw* this morning in the Hotel. He came to my room & informed me he had been to the coast of Labrador & was just from Quebec. He has given up his office of Geologist of the topographical corps, in consequence of inattention or coldness towards him by the government, because he is not of the same politics & a violent partizan of the President Lt. Magruder in the Artillery of the U. S. army called on me this morning. He is from Plattsburg where he is stationed. I attended the Grand parade of the 1st. Royal Regiment of Infantry this morning, in the Champs de Mars. It is commanded by Lt. Col. Wetherell & the next officer in rank is Majr Bell. I have never seen any corps of troops, in such perfect order in all respects, dress, discipline & conduct under arms. Their manual & movements were so harmonious, that they seemed to be actuated by one mind. The uniform is faced with blue, pantaloons oxford gray. The flank company is a beautiful corps of Grenadiers with the bearskin cap before described. The band consisted of 20 members. Uniform long white coats, with blue collars & cuffs, blue worsted epulets with gilt crescents. sword with brass scabbard & black belts. There were besides twelve drummers & fifers, the seams of whose coats were covered with party coloured red & white worsted binding $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide; the drummers had long Leopard skin aprons, which came down to the ankles, to protect their clothes from the drums, which were brass.

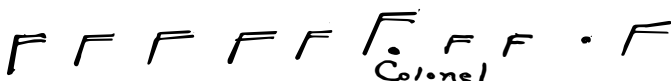
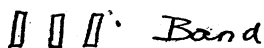
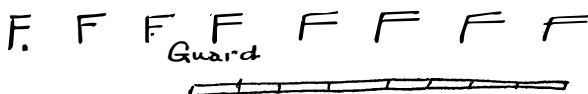
The Col. on receiving the salutes swavely touched the visor of his cap with his finger when the standing salute was given & as each officer passed. The music wheeled out in front of the collors & played until the rear passed. When the line wheeled into column they came to the right about,

* This was evidently the English traveler George William Featherstonhaugh, who had made geological surveys in the Western United States for the War Department, 1834-35, and was a commissioner for Great Britain to determine the northwestern boundary between the United States and Canada, under the Ashburton-Webster treaty. He was the author of numerous reports, and narratives of travel.

wheeled to the right, then faced about, on the word march being given, the whole column stepped at the same moment, & came round into line without gaining or losing distance. The guard of the day came onto the parade in front & formed in line on the right. When the salutes were over the musick passed down in front & back, the guard then marched with the band, to the left, where the regimental colors were, held by an officer & color guard, half way between the line of the Col. & Regiment. The officer of the guard received them, when the guard & music marched down to the left, the latter passed in the rear up to the right & took post in line, while the band & the officer with the colours, passed up the front between the line of officers & rank & file; the officer with the color took post in the middle of the guard and the musick formed in front facing to the left of the line. This is the position of the guard when receiving the colors. [when going for the colors:]



Position of the troops when the guard had returned into line:



When the troops marched off the parade to the regimental barracks the guard remained until the other companies had passed & then fell into the rear. The Major marched off the regiment. The men were so perfectly sized in the platoon that they appeared of an exact height & so when all were in line, I was astonished at the precision & beauty of the movements & the surpassing excellence of the whole parade. I went up to the Col. after the parade & expressed my great gratification at the interesting spectacle I had witnessed. Nothing can be more perfect in military discipline.

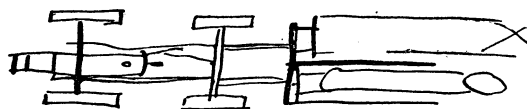
After leaving the Champs de Mars I went with Capt Laing & Lt. Magruder of our army to the barracks & was politely shown all over them by Major Bell. The beds are of wrought iron & only one man sleeps upon each. They fold up & contain the bedding during the day.

The men each keep a little book containing their account with the government, for pay & supplies of clothing &c. one of which Major Bell gave me. The men are paid daily in pence, as it amounts after all deductions to only five pence. I bought of the company paying Sergeant a number & also half pence.

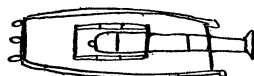
I also visited the stable & park of Royal Artillery. Under the guidance of Lt. Wadehouse the whole were in excellent order. There are four six pounders & four caissons on waggons, as the English call them, a forge, & baggage Waggon to each Battery, or company, which consists of 80 men; four ride on each gun carriage & caisson making 32, & there is one mounted on each of the rear of the two pair of horses to each gun waggon & making 20, so that 52 ride. The servants artificers &c. make up the remainder.

They have two little mortars of 8 or 9 inch caliber mounted on a wooden bed, which is transported in a little cart, & can be taken out & put on the ground to be used in any position desired. The cart is drawn by one horse.

The harness of the field carriages & the waggons are provided with shafts on one side, in which the off horse is harnessed, & the near one is connected to the same cross bar by a whiffle-tree thus :



There were sleds for the guns to be mounted on in winter, made thus

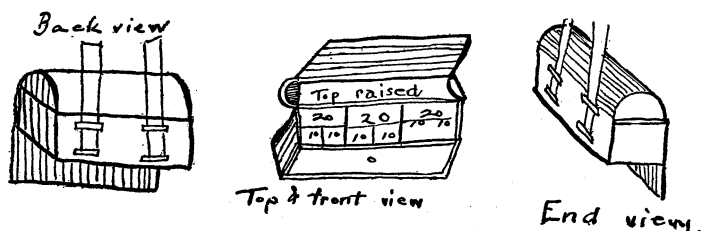


The carriages for the guns were like ours save the shafts being substituted for a pole. The wheels all of a height. The artificers to each battery are so well taught that they can make wheels & all the parts of the various carriages, & repair or replace all defects. They also shoe the horses & repair the harness.

The regiments of each army have also tailors & shoemakers who repair or make all the clothes & shoes. The clothing comes out ready made but is new fitted to each soldier. The shoes cost 2.25 cents a pair & are sewed over again, or rather newly made up in a more substantial form there is a female school for girls & a man's for boys in each company, where the children are daily taught. There are six women—wives of soldiers—to a company, & one of these is the school mistress. The master is also a soldier. I went into the school rooms & all the mechanics & artists shops. The clothing is received fitted & delivered to the troops by the quarter master, of the Regiment. There is an arm chest, & clothing chest for each company. Each musket has the name & number of the soldier to whom it belongs, as have every other article including the clothing.

Each soldier is obliged to have his kit complete,—a term which includes all his articles of dress. They are inspected weekly & all deficiencies must be supplied, & deducted from the pay which is about 14 cents per day. The cartridge boxes are leather Japanned & have a tin box divided into three

compartments, in which the cartridges are put in paper bundles of 20 each making 60 rounds & the name & number of the soldier is put on each bundle. Just as they are going into action the bundles are undone & the cartridges thrown loose into the tin box. There is an under cover of leather to effectually keep out the wet. This is the form of the cartridge box.



By long experience, during the wars for the last 40 years, it is found that it is much the best mode to have tin canisters or boxes, in the above described cartridge boxes, instead of blocks of wood with a receptacle for each cartridge. The cartridges are more easily got at & they are less likely to be broken, in taking them out in action, & besides 60 can be carried in a smaller compass than 48 in the old mode, or even 24.

Montreal Octo. 11. A dark rainy morning. I leave for Burlington at 9. I had a severe headache last evening but am right well after a good sleep of 7 hours, having gone to bed at 10 & got up at 5.

The streets are very narrow in this city. They are paved & the side walks are of lime stone flagging. The houses generally of stone & most of them have an antiquated appearance & a style of construction which gives the place the appearance of an old french or Spanish, or German town. The buildings are generally covered with tin. There are some very beautiful modern stone stores, houses & other edifices, Bingham's house is elegant having an dome portico. It is very large & has been fitted up for the winter residence of Lord Durham, who has concluded to return on the 20th. of this month to England. Sir John Colburn [Colborne] has

been appointed to assume his high duties, as Governor General.

The French Canadian population are much excited & evince a great hostility to the English. I was in an apothecary's shop yesterday & he stated that an Englishman was the day before passing through a village about 20 miles distant & it being ascertained of what nation he was the people assembled pelted him & followed him some distance & he only escaped by the fleetness of his horse from fatal consequences.

It is reported that important intelligence has been received from Genl Macomb of some combinations for hostile movements. Lt. Magruder informed me yesterday that with[in] two weeks some 300 Canadians had appeared in Plattsburg & a large number in Burlington. Two more Regiments are on their way here from Halifax. The officers I find are apprehensive of difficulty in the winter.

I left Montreal at 9 o'clock this morning in a Steamer for La Prairie; a small village above Montreal on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, & distant nine miles. There is a rail-road from thence to St. Johns, & I reached there at 12. Distance 14 miles after an early dinner, took passage in the Steam-Boat Winposki for Burlington, touched at Isle au Noix, 10 miles from St. Johns, where there is a large fort with four bastions, & it is garrisoned with a considerable number of troops; stoped a few minutes at Champlain 15 miles where there is one company of U. S. troops. From [there] to Plattsburg is 25 miles, & thence 25 to Burlington where I arrived at 9 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. Featherstehaw came with me but went on to White Hall. It has rained all day. The whole country from the St. Lawrence to Champlain is a dead level & elevated but 10 or 12 feet above the river. The soil rests on friable slate & is argilacious. The population is french & the houses are small & mean, generally timber or logs, although some are stone. There is no appearance of thrift, enterprise or intelligence.

Mr. Featherstehaw informed me that in his tour to the Labrador coast he went up the Sagunany [Saguenay] river ninety miles, it comes into the St. Lawrence on the left side

120 miles below Quebec, & is remarkable for the depth of its water being much greater than the St. Lawrence. At its mouth the latter is only 40 fathoms, or 240 feet while the former is 450, at the falls 90 miles from its mouth 540 & half way from the falls to the St. Lawrence 840. Mr. Featherstenhaw is of the opinion it was a lake & ultimately broke through the lofty stone barrier into the St Lawrence. He stated there was a mountain of iron ore about 70 miles below Quebec like that in Missouri, which is so remarkable, but much more lofty & of a larger base, the height being 1500 feet, & its base many miles. He found the same bed of lime stone out cropping near the mouth of the St Lawrence which he had examined in Georgia. It has precisely the same organic remains.

He has been passing considerable time at Quebec & been very intimate with Lord Durham. The latter leaves Canada on the 31st of October & will pass into the U. S. by this route to New York, from thence to Boston & return to N. York & go as far south as Washing.[ton] from whence he will embark in a frigate for England, or return to N. York & sail from that city in a frigate, which is now at Quebec. He will have seven persons in his suit,—his wife two daughters son, Secretary & phisician, besides four or five servants.

It seems that Ld. Melbourn the prime minister got Lord Durham appointed Governor General to prevent his being the rival of the former, who was fearful of being surplanted, by him, & he only consented to accept the office on the special request of the Queen, with whom he is a favorite, for he was the particular friend & advisor of Her father, the Duke of Kent, & ever since his death has been of her mother. Mr. Featherstenhaw has no doubt of Lord Melbourn being removed & Lord Durham appointed Prime Minister.

The persons who were banished to Burmuda, had appealed to Lord Durham, and requested as a great favor that he would banish them, instead of bringing them to trial, & they having confessed their guilt, were sent out of the country as an act of mercy. His Lordship is 46 years old & his eldest daughter 17, the son seven & the other daughter of an intermediate age. He despises O'Connel & will not allow

him to be considered as one of his party if the Queen elevates him to the premiership. I was glad to hear it for that Irish demagogue is an unprincipled & worthless black guard rascal, & a disgrace to his country & parliament.

Mr. Featherstehaw informed me that he had resigned his station, as national Geologist, in consequence of the cold & neglectful manner in which his services were treated & the utter abandonment of the whole plan of operations, which the Secretary of War had agreed to sanction. In fact he feared that Van Buren wished him out of the way to make room for a political partizan. He is going to England with Lord Durham & is now passing over the route his lordship is to take, for the purpose of engaging lodgings, as far as Washington & will return to meet him in Troy on the 2d. of November & travel with him. Mr. Featherstehaw intends to publish a work on the Geology of the U. S. in England & then go to Mexico from whence, he will cross over to California to explore the geology of that vast region. He is in hopes of inducing Audubon to accompany him. The contemplated exploration, he expects will take two years.

He gave the following cause of the visit of John Van Buren to England. There was an English gentleman, who came to the state of New York many years since, by the name of Clark, whose father was Governor of that state before the Revolution & owned a large tract of land therein, which he came out to sell, and manage to the best advantage. He had a wife & children in England & a large estate there which he inherited; but did not live happily with his wife & never returned. He became acquainted with a Mrs. Cooper, wife of a brother of the novelist of that name, at Cooperstown, where he resided part of the year & the rest of the time, for several years in Albany. The husband was a low, drunken, worthless fellow, & Clark became so much attached & she being a [——] he had a child by her during the life time of her husband, but he dying soon after Clark married the widow * * * by whom he had several children, during the life of his wife in England. He built a superb house at Cooperstown & on his death left the whole of his estate in New York to his children born of & after his

marriage with Mrs. Cooper, & the property in England to his legitimate wife. To the son born during the life time of Cooper, whose name he got changed to Clark by an act of the Legislature, he left an income, to be paid out of the American state [estate] of 5,000 dollars a year & as much more from that in England. The income from the American estate is from 60 to 70,000 dollars per annum. Clark died two years since & the heirs by his English wife refuse to pay the annuity of 5000 dollars which was given by the will & John Van Buren has gone to England with young Clark to endeavor to recover it, & is to have a large portion of it if successful. The giving out, that he had gone to attend the coronation was for eclat that ceremony having taken place at the time of his professional visit—for he is a lawyer in Albany—it was more imposing & creditable, being a President's son to have the prestige of such an excursion.

Capt. Laing called before I left this morning to take leave. He has paid the most kind & constant attention to me, during my visit to Montreal & I am under the greatest obligations. I gave him the toast I made on Lord Durham, this morning just before I went on board the steam-boat.

I found a gentleman on board the Steam Boat from St Johns, who informed me that Florida White had visited the Baroness La Moine de Longueuil, who owns four seignories on the St Lawrence of more than 400 square miles, extending above & below Montreal, & over to St Johns. She lives about nine miles below that city. Col. White has just returned from Europe & has ascertained, from his knowledge of real estates in Louisiana, & facts he ascertained in France that the above named lady, or some other branch of that family, is the heir to a vast tract of land in Louisiana, which is worth several millions of dollars. This gentleman was intimate in the family & had been there the day before, & was informed Col. White had gone up the river about twenty miles above Montreal to visit some gentlemen & would be on his way back to New York in the Boat with us; he also informed me that he should return to Montreal in season to be my companion.

This gentleman, whose name I did not inquire, stated

that her first husband died when she was young & that she then married Capt Grant an Englishman. She is now 80 years of age. During the revolution her last husband went into the U. States towards Boston with a party of Indians & never was afterwards heard of or the Indians. Every possible inquiry was made, as to their fate, but not the least intelligence has been obtained to this day.

I have traveled since I left home many miles:

From Boston to Albany	420
From Albany to Buffalo	360
From Geneseo to the falls of Nunda, in Portageville & back . .	50
To Niagara falls	20
To Niagara city on the Canada side & Waterloo opposite Black Rock	25
To Niagara falls & Tuscarora Indians	54
To Buffalo creek Council house from Buffalo & back 6 times .	36
On the reservation	20
From Buffalo creek to Lewiston	33
“ Lewiston to Rochester	87
Oswego	60
Kingston	50
Kingston to Ogdensburg	60
Lead mines at Rossie & back	60
Montreal	140
Burlington	108
	<hr/>
	1573
From Burlington to Boston	282
	<hr/>
Total distance when I reach home	1855

Burlington Vermont Octo 12. The rain storm continued until late last night & the wind blew furiously from eleven until this morning & now it is cloudy & dark with a strong westerly wind. I sat up writing & reading until one & was at my table with my pen at half past five. I shaved by candle light & made a fire in the stove of my parlor, by the means of the dry wood which fortunately was brought up last evening, a newspaper, & the lamp I burned all night. I am to leave in the stage this day for Montpelier, at one oclock. This is a handsome town, containing about 4,000 inhabitants many neat houses. The land rises rather precipi-

tously from the lake. The mountains on the New York shore of the lake give an Alpine aspect to that distant scenery. This Lake in passing up it appears like a broad river, from its being very narrow compared with its length. The scenery is very picturesque & soon after passing the village of Champlain, the banks become more elevated, hills of a gentle height arise & then Green mountains & those in N. York near their lofty summits. I have been in a level country since leaving the hudson until last evening & I am pleased again to behold the hill & mountain scenery of New England,—the farm houses villages & the habits dialect & general & yet peculiar aspect of its population. I seem to be again in the land of my youth,—the dear country where are all my relatives & with which are associated so many pleasing & endearing recollections & affections. *Home* is a darling, god-blessed & precious word, & it makes my heart leap to find I am now rapidly approaching my own happy cottage.

Mr. Featherstenhaw informed me that it was now the opinion of Geologists that the whole surface of the earth once had a tropical climate even to the poles, for the only plants & trees found in the early stone formations are tropical. This was at a time when the crust of the earth was less thick & the central heat was felt over all the surface; but as the moulten mass cooled deeper & deeper the polar regions became covered with ice & snow & the tropicks, which when they were bearing tropical plants were too hot for vegetation but at last became lowered enough in temperature to allow plants to flourish & from their position, are kept at a sufficiently high point of heat to render vegetation perenneal. Or the poles may have been under the equator, & all other portions of the earth, at some period of the earths existance. This is a question which puzzles the will & we must take the existing facts proving the once wild climate of the temperate & frigid zones & leave for future Philosophers to divine the mighty cause. God alone can instruct us in this recondite inquiry. Geology has made gigantic strides within this century. Buckland work is a superb monument of human intelligence & the progress of a science which is but

of yesterday. Merian & Hutton picked up specimens of minerals & flourished theories, but Couvia [Cuvier] laid the deep & broad foundations of Geology & mineralogy & his zealous disciples have followed the extensive routes which he pointed out with an energy & industry which have produced most interesting & highly important results, both for the advancement of science, the development of the natural resources of nations all the branches of industry & the arts.

There is no hope for the improvement of the condition of the people, the agriculture, & general condition of the Canadas until they are either included as states, with New Brunswick, Nova Scotia & the British Possessions in North America, in this Union, or become an independent nation. The merchants, & capitalists are Scotchmen & Englishmen, who come out only to accumulate wealth with the determination to return home, at some future period, & therefore are not directly interested in the future prosperity & welfare of the country & make no permanent establishments in the towns or on the farms. They act & feel like foreigners & have no patriotic sentiment—no deep feeling, no lasting & stable notions in relation to the present or ultimate station which the Colonies may & should occupy. The French descendants & who are called Canadians, are generally ignorant & have not advanced one step since their fore fathers landed on the banks of the St Lawrence.

Let those Colonies become a part of the United States & our citizens would inundate it with emigrants & the change which would be effected in its business industry & improvement in all respects would be more rapid than has been any of the new states which have been created since the revolution. With a good soil, the facilities afforded for navigation & intercommunication, with a large portion of this nation, as well as of the immense tract which they include, the many & immense water-powers—the timber & lumber trade, would all tend to give an impulse to industry & produce consequences as glorious as the means would be ample & encouraging. We must have these colonies & will, by purchase, by their independence, & subsequent request to be admitted into the Union or by Conquest. The first mode

should be immediately attempted, for I have full confidence in its success'; and if we had not an insignificant president, & an imbecile administration it would be done, & thus settle all the questions which are of such momentous import to the United States, & each of which may sooner or later produce a war between us & Great Britain.

1st. There is the North eastern boundary.

2d. That on the Pacific ocean.

3d. The right of navigating the St Lawrence.

4th. The fisheries on the coasts of New Brunswick Nova Scotia & more northerly, which are annually occasioning difficulties with our adventurous mariners.

5th. The illicit trade, which will increase with the increasing population of the colonies & the United States along a frontier line of 1000 miles.

6th. The control of the North Western Indians which have been turned loose upon us in all the wars since that of 1745.

7th. The removal of a foreign military & naval force, from a position conterminous with our country from the Atlantic to Lake Superior'; a vast field work always occupied & filled with the resources of war.

8th. The securement of the whole supply of timber & lumber & provisions to the West Indies & of the former two products to Great Britain.

8th. The whole of the *Fisheries* on the coast of North America.

9th. The employment of our own naviga[tion] for all the imports & exports of those colonies. An immense object.

So much would be gained in a national point of view; then the non holding states would gain an equivalent in political power & influence, for that secured to the Southern & south western States by the purchase of Louisiana & Florida & Texas & Mexico if they wish them, provided however that they agree to the purchase of the British Colonies. They would form four states immediately & give eight senators, with at least twelve representatives to Congress.

It must be done'; & that speedily. Now is the favorable moment [in view of] the difficulties of the last year—the

great expense of the recently arrived military force of 14,000 men & all the other expenses for public works & naval co-operation—the fudes produced in the ministry & other evils experienced in England from the complaints & turmoils of the Colonists & the parties which are exasperated, in consequence of the great & continual expeditures & discussions, which are produced by the possession of the far distant,—& in truth, valueless possession to the forest country.

We can afford to give 100,000,000 millions of dollars for it; for the domain land & the customs would afford funds for paying the interest & liquidating the debt in less than 30 years. Why have we not a Sully, or a Chatham to cut this grand Gorgean Knot!! Such a far reaching & powerful genius as those mighty men possessed will appear I trust, or the combined wisdom of the executive & legislative branches of the national government will do what either of those statesmen would have accomplished in a week, a day, an hour. It is only to say to Great Britain "*What will you take,*" & the sum being named,—to reply "there is the stock for the amount bearing 6 per cent interest, redeemable in 30 years." The work is thus simple, as is all that which is to be performed by a *great man* for a *whole nation*, as no more time or skill is required than to purchase a farm, or sell a bill of exchange for a thousand dollars. The expansive & far looking mind is all that is required to do such deeds.

I suggested to Mr. Featherstehaw to ascertain what were the ideas of Lord Durham on this subject.

1st. To ascertain whether England would sell the colonies for any sum,

2d. What was his opinion, of the disposition of the British government, to make a conventional & compromising north eastern boundary line, of this kind, beginning at the mouth of the St Johns river & running up the channel to the St Francis to the Highlands which skirt the right bank of the St Lawrence, or the next northern branch; & if there was an unwillingness which was insuperable to yield so much on the Atlantic;

3d. Let there be a line run due north from some intermediate point between the mouths of the St John & the St

Croix until it strikes the former river & then up its channel as above named.

Such a compromise I believe practicable, if a purchase cannot be effected; & I do not think that England will ever consent to acknowledge the line as described in the treaty of 1783. She must have a communication by the St Johns & the St. Francis, or a more north western branch to Quebec, & the line justly claimed by us would render the route from New Rivers creek Nova Scotia to that capitol of all the Colonies & also the fortress, so difficult & so circuitous & much longer as to induce an insuperable objection on the part of England to establish it by a convention or treaty.

We must therefore purchase or make a new compromise line. Such is our present condition, that of the Canadas & Great Britain that the purchase is very desirable & if that cannot be accomplished, at once the other should be adopted; & no time should be lost, for each year the achievement of either plan will be more & more difficult from the increasing consequence of the colonies & others of many kinds, which time can not fail to reveal & must probably in the form of a *War*.

11 oclock. I have just returned from a walk over Burlington. The streets are regular & some of the houses beautiful. I passed a neat garden containing a green house, summer house, & a number of pear, apple & plum trees. The grounds were well laid out & shew much taste in floriculture. The dahlias shew there had been no frost here, as their foliage was green & unskathed, by that first precursor of winter, who sometimes smites vegetation, with a deadly blast much earlier than this. I presume the Lake prevents frosts from being so early in their visits on its margin, it is a vast reservoir of caloric tempering the cold air which comes over it. The building stone is blue lime & red sand stone. I picked up a sample of the latter, to carry home. The wind is blowing strongly from the south west, & of course nearly up the Lake.

The Colleges are on an eminence south of the village. Some of the side walks are paved with brick & others are graveled. There is a public square with a street stores &

houses front on it on the four sides & a circular area enclosed with a neat painted railing, in which paths have been cut & bordered with trees & the remainder of the ground is covered with verdure. South west of the village, on the lake the land is low & level, but it rises to a bank 70 or 80 feet high in the northern part of the settlement. There is a large wharf for steamboats to come to at & other vessels. There is a Light House on an Island in front of the town a mile or more from the shore.

12 o'clock. It begins to look lighter, the dark heavy clouds are dispersing & there [are] signs of the sun's coming out. I ardently hope it may be a bright afternoon & evening for my ride this afternoon to Montpelier.

Montpelier Vermont, October 12. Evening. I left Burlington at one o'clock, & had a most comfortable ride, there being seven men & two women, with each a child. * * * This is the most remarkable road I ever passed. It passes in a deep valley through the lofty piles of green mountains or the alternate banks of Onion river, where is generally a strip of intervalle land? The ascent is so gradual that the road appears to be descending instead of rising there is no fall in the whole distance & nothing more than a ripple anywhere. There is so little land capable of cultivation that there are but few houses & except Water borough & one other little settlement no villages. The mountains on each side are very steep & covered to their summits with forest trees from their bases. The tops are crowned with hemlock & other evergreens, from which they have derived the name of the Green Mountains. I do not believe there is in any mountain region with a so remarkably level defile through it. I was every moment looking out for an ascent over a mountain & a lofty cataract or rapid? but here I am on the culminating point between Lake Champlain & Connecticut river. It seems impossible that an elevation of [blank in original] feet has been so equally distributed & a natural acclivity established. in a distance of forty miles in such a manner as to escape any considerable rise. With a few variations in the bed of the road it could be made excellent. How easily a rail-road could be made to pass over this state?

or a canal. It will & must be done & if the people would take a quarter of the interest in improving the lines of inter-communication that they have or are now madly evincing in relation to anti-masonry, abolition, temperance & peace societies. This valley would now or soon be traversed by a canal or rail road.

There was a fanatical blockhead who was vociferating on the abolition of slavery half of the way in the state & the remainder talking nonsense. The fool insisted "That slavery would never be put down until the ministers & churches excluded every slaveholder from the communion table." One of his own diabolical party was staggered at such doctrine & said he did not believe such was the opinion of the abolitionists generally, but the *modern* Calvin insisted that was the true & established creed of the abolitionists & that it was acted upon by many churches. The devil has been turned loose in New England & the fools of priests & the religious & political abolition & temperance demagogues & ignoramuses & fanatics are as wild & desperate & furious in the prosecution of each & all those chimerical schemes as were the same class of people during the early puritanical catamounts, under John Knox & Cromwell in Scotland & England & during the days of Roger Williams & Massachusetts witch-craft.

They have erected in every village a kind of moral inquisition have their resolution autodafes, [*auto da fes*] with the furious & vindictive zeal of the cardinals & Bishops of Spain & France. They would, if they had the power, do as damnable deeds, as those which made the night of St. Bartholomy hideous. Under sanctified faces they think they are doing Christ's & God's service, for all this wickedness is announced as a religious duty; & they talk of their contemptable *consciences* as did Ferdinand & Isabella, when they drove the poor Jews out of Spain & the polished moors. Hell is as fully represented now, in New England, as it ever was in any country under the blood stained & fire-blasted horror of the Pope. When O! God will man learn mercy & conduct in conformity to the charitable & beneficent & peaceful precepts of thy son? Is the world never to be at rest?

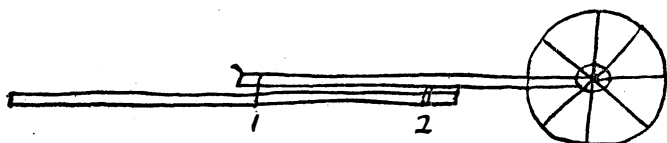
Will not intelligence & virtue & wisdom one day take the place of ignorance, vindictive persecution & folly?

I listened & spoke not a word, from Burlington to this place, during a ride of seven hours, so disgusted was I, & so contemptible did this Vermont *Pharisee*, this Calvinistic wretch appear. I found if I spoke I must call him by rough names & say to him, you unprincipaled rascal, how dare you undertake to say, who shall go up to the communion table of God. Do you not know you are advocating a violation of the constitution exciting a servile & civil war, & committing such treasonable, diabolical, tyrannical, unmerciful, immoral, unjust, & dishonest crimes as will lead to a dissolution of the Union & an hundred other equally,—ay more severe remarks. But I knew not the doalts & with difficulty kept silent. Pity & contempt mingled with a disposition to kick the chief rascal out of the stage, were the alternate feelings with which I was impressed. God forgive me & mend him.

Concord New Hampshire Octo 13. I left Montpelier at 2 oclock this morning & came to Royalton 36 miles to breakfast. It rained nearly all the way, was dark & cold for about day light it snowed & even as late as half past eleven this forenoon, snow was still laying on the hills in New Hampshire. I dined at Enfield about two miles this side of the Shaking quaker settlement. They have recently erected two stone houses & one is four stories high & very capacious in length & width. The material is hammered granite. After dinner came to this town & reached the hotel at 9 oclock, having been riding 19 hours & passed over 112 miles of rough mountainous road. I am not, however fatigued; proving that I have gained health & strength by my western tour.

Mr. Jenkham a trader in West Hartford in Vermont came on with me from that town. A modest intelligent & pleasant companion. He has sent off waggons with agricultural & other products to Boston & is going down to purchase merchandise to freight them back. These waggons are enormously large, & drawn by four pair of horses & sometimes five pair. They carry up & down 4 tons. The wheels have fellows four to five inches broad. They are 7

days in going down & as many returning the distance being 130 miles they have one dollar a hundred freight. The owners generally walk all the way beside of their horses. There is a false pole as it is called fitted to the common one, by the means of which two pair of the horses aid in holding when descending hills. The false pole is thus secured:



1 is a ring through which the false pole passes & the other end passes 8 or 10 through another at 2, & is prevented from going further by a shoulder at the end like this:



The lower ring is secured by two bolts which pass through the lower wheel pole & are made secure by an iron plate on top & one beneath on which the ring is hung by an eye bolt: [See second sketch above.]

He informed me that a great many tons of dried apples are prepared & sent to the Boston market by the females in Vermont. That he takes in & sends to Boston six or seven tons a year. It takes a bushel to make five pounds for which he gives 4 cents per pound, & the apples therefore are worth but 20 cents per bushel after all the labor of peeling, quartering, coring stringing & drying & carry to the traders has been bestowed on them. They are peeled & quartered by little machines, & in the autumn parties are made of 10 or so females & young men, who divide the work, some peel, others quarter, while others are employed in taking out the cores with a small knife or in stringing them on strong threads, by which they are suspended to dry. He had been to such parties where 30 bushels were peeled &c. &c. in an evening. After the work is done which is soon after nine,

cake & pies are passed round & then they often have dancing. one woman sold him last autumn, 400 pounds, which she had entirely prepared with her own hands in the evening. They required nearly 100 bushels of apples, for which she got only 16 dollars.

Octo 14 Left Concord after breakfast, dined at Nashua & got home at 10 oclock in the evening. Found my wife & sons well thanks to Almighty God.

JOURNAL OF THE
SECOND VISIT TO THE SENECA
IN THE YEAR 1838

BY HENRY A. S. DEARBORN*

JOURNAL OF A MISSION TO BUFFALO, IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK, TO NEGOCIATE A TREATY WITH THE SENECA NATION OF INDIANS, FOR THEIR EMIGRATION, TO A TERRITORY ASSIGNED THEM, WEST OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI, AND FOR THE SALE OF THEIR RIGHT OF POSSESSION OF THEIR SEVERAL RESERVATIONS, OF LAND, ON ALLEGHANY RIVER, CATTARAUGUS, BUFFALO & TONNEWANDA CREEKS, BY H. A. S. DEARBORN, SUPERINTENDENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Nov. 9. 1838. I left Boston on the afternoon of this day at 3 oclock in the rail-road cars for Stoning[ton], where I arrived at half past 7 & took passage for New York, in the Steam Boat Narraganset.

Nov. 10. I arrived at New York this morning, at 7

* Vol. III. of the manuscript journals, in which are contained the narratives of Gen. Dearborn's second and third visits to Buffalo, has the following title: "Journal of a Mission to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, and an Account of the Treaties held with those Tribes, in the Years 1838 & 1839, for the Sale of their Lands and for their Emigration West of the Mississippi River. By H. A. S. Dearborn, Superintendent of Massachusetts. Vol III." It contains, beside the journals (Nov. 9, 1838, to Jan. 1, 1839; and Aug. 7 to 21, 1839), the following private correspondence: Letters on various subjects, from August 3, 1838, to October 13, 1838; Letters from November 8, 1838, to April 8, 1839; Letters from T. L. Ogden to H. A. S. Dearborn. Only the journals are here printed.

oclock & put up at the Astor House. Soon after I reached the city, I learned that the Whigs had achieved a glorious victory, by electing their Governor,* Lt. Governor, a large majority of the Legislature & of the Members of Congress. It is the most momentous event since the close of the Revolution, for it decides the fate of the present, incompetent & ruinous national administration. It is the advent of the reestablishment of the Republic on Constitutional principles, & the recurrence to those measures, on which the stability of the Union, and the prosperity & happiness of the people depend. The effect throughout the whole country, will be as cheering, as it is honorable to this state, & momentous to the Republic.

Saw T. L. Ogden Esqr. who informed me that the Hon. R. H. Gillet, the Commissioner of the United States, for holding treaties, with the several tribes of Indians in [N. Y.] had passed through the city on his way home from Washington, & who informed him that the Secretary of War had decided that it was not considered necessary, to again open the Council with the Senecas, but that the names of such Chiefs as were disposed to emigrate might be signed in our presence. Mr. Strong the Interpreter called on me, having recently arrived from Washington. He agreed to accompany me to Buffalo.

Wrote letters to my wife, sister Parker & my Chief Clerk, & at five oclock in the afternoon, went on board the Steamer De Witt Clinton, bound to Albany. It had frozen hard the night before & was very cold still. During the evening I was introduced to Genl. Talmage of the United States Senate & conversed with him on the recent election, the conduct of the President & other subjects, until eleven oclock, when he landed at Pokipsee, where he resides. I was introduced

* In the election of 1838, William H. Seward and Luther Bradish, the Whig candidates for governor and lieutenant governor of New York, were elected by a majority of about 10,000. The Whig majority in the Assembly was about two to one, and in the Senate the Whigs carried five of the eight districts. The Western New York counties were strongly Whig. The change of party in the National Administration which Gen. Dearborn enthusiastically predicted, came in 1840, when Harrison, the Whig candidate, received 234 electoral votes to 60 cast for Van Buren, whose "incompetent and ruinous" administration ended the following March.

to Col. Mc Key* a lawyer of Buffalo, who I found a very intelligent & agreeable gentleman.

November 11. We landed in Albany at 7 o'clock, & after breakfast took the rail-road cars for Utica, where we arrived at four oclock. It has been a very cold day. At 5 we took passage in a Canal packet for Syracuse, & entered that city at 6 oc on the morning of November 12. & the next morning being the 13th were at Rochester where we landed & were obliged to remain until 2 oclock in the afternoon waiting for the packet-boat from the West. My estimable friend Genl. J. G. Swift formerly Chief of the Corps of Engineers, & Majr Smith of the Engineer Corps joined us at Rochester. We had a pleasant afternoon & evening, on our way to Lockport for the Genl & myself called up the incidents of by-gone days, as we have been intimately acquainted since 1808, but I had not met him for many years,—at least fourteen. He had been engaged in the works for improving the harbors of Genesee river & Sodus.

November 14. We landed at Lockport at seven & took the Rail-Road Cars, for Niagara falls at nine, where we arrived at eleven oclock, having performed the journey of 750 miles in less than five days, although I stoped in New York from 6 until five in the afternoon, on the 10th & was detained from 7 in the morning until two in the afternoon at Rochester. It seemed as if some magical contrivance had been used—for one can scarcely realize the sudden transition which had been effected in so brief a period. As I stood on Goat-Island, looking down into the profound abyss, of the mighty cataract,— that "Hell of Waters," I, involuntarily, asked myself, is not this all a dream, and gazed around with inquiring eyes, to ascertain whether in truth, it were a reality. The sky was cloudless—a splendid iris arched the ascending spray—an autumnal sun bathed the surrounding scenery in its peculiar mellow beams, and all the air a solemn stillness held. Above the rapids, the broad Niagara river was as unruffled & smooth as a mirror, while the latter came careering down with furious speed & then making one awful tremendous & thundering leap continues madly

* James McKay.

down the deep & narrow gulf to mingle quietly with the waters of lake Erie. [!Ontario.]

As I walked round the island, I thought of my dear grandsons who but 20 days before had traversed the same path & looked upon the same objects, & now they were far away in the distant west. With what pleasure, yet how melancholy was it to my soul, did I read their names recorded in the book of arrivals at the Hotel where I dined. There too they had sat down at the same table & I momentarily expected to hear their voices, for they seemed to be within the scope of my eyes & sense of sound. God bless & prosper them I beseech thee. I arrived at the American Hotel in Buffalo at five oclock, having left the falls, in the rail road cars at 3.

November 15. Doctr. Wilcox & Orlando Alen [Allen] Esqr called on me. Learning that Mr. Gillet the Commissioner of the United States had arrived, I called at the United States Hotel to see him but he had gone to private lodgings, & I could not ascertain where until the next morning.

Nov. 16. It has rained all day. Judge Stryker waited upon me & sent his son with a carage to take me to Mr. Gillets lodgings, who informed me, that the Secretary of War had decided, that it was not necessary the council of the Senecas should be convened, but that such of the Chiefs as might determine to sign the treaty could do so in our presence. I met him in the evening by appointment at Judge Strykers house, to consult as to the mode in which the negociations should be carried on, & it was concluded that written information should be sent to the principal Chiefs on the Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek & Tonawanda Reservations of the determination of the Secretary of War, & that we would either here or at those several reservations, receive the signatures of such of the Chiefs as wished to affix their names to the treaty. I wrote a letter to my good wife.

Nov. 17. I wrote an official & private letter to Governor Everett, & enclosed a copy of the instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Mr. Gillet, & of the letter

addressed to the chiefs. It froze last night & there was a slight fall of snow, with a violent gale, which has continued for 48 hours, so that the steam boats could not leave the harbor.

Nov. 18. A cold night & day. It began to snow at one & continued until dark. Two inches fell. Col. Bankhead of the U. S. Artillery commands at this military post, where there are three companies. He puts up at this Hotel, with several of his officers. Mr. James Wadsworth of Geneseo arrived this afternoon & I was happy to learn that his beautiful and agreeable lady, his venerable & excellent father, amiable sister & brother were all well.

I have been invited to attend a celebration of the Whigs of Erie County next Wednesday to commemorate the glorious victory their party has achieved throughout the state, in the election of Governor Lt. Governor, a large majority of the members of the state & national legislatures, last week. It is the most important event since the Revolution, for it decides the fate of the present incompetent & infamous administration of the United States. The reign of radicalism & the various measures, which have been pursued since the ignorant, passionate, vindictive & rascally career of the unprincipled & tyrannical Jackson commenced, will now be brought to a close at the next presidential election. The Republic is saved from destruction. Confidence will be restored among the people & all branches of industry will prosper for the infamous & blighting Sub-Treasury System can not now be established. Again the people will be free. There is not a nation in Europe which has been so badly governed, & its affairs so ignorantly & fatally managed as this for the last ten years. But thanks to Almighty God the intelligence & virtue of the people have triumphed over the corruptions & impositions of Jacksonism & Van Burenism. Again the ship of state is off & the cheering cry,— "*she rights, she rights*" is heard from stem to stern, from above & aloft.

George Jimenson, Harris, & Strong—three of the Seneca Chiefs—have called on me & Cone, my interesting Tona-

wanda young friend, who gave me so many traditions of his nation.

We have reports of another revolt among the Canadians in Lower Canada & at Prescott, & that numbers of Americans have joined them. There have been several partial skirmishes, & a battle is expected between 3000 patriots & an equal number of British troops in the vicinity of Montreal. Marshal Law has been proclaimed in Upper & Lower Canada. All intercourse was stoped, yesterday, across the Niagara river & several persons who had gone to the Canada shore opposite Black Rock & below the Falls were prohibited from landing.

Nov. 19. I have read Alice, Bulwers last novel. It is superior to anything he has written. The tale is more continuous & not disrupted by episodes & halts to describe scenery & an effected kind of philosophising, which renders his other works tedious; especially his Last days of Pompei & Rienzi. I have also read the 5th & 6th numbers of Nicholas Nickleby & now am reading Steven's travels in Greece, Turkey Russia & Poland.

Afternoon. As Mr. Gillet had taken lodgings at the Eagle Hotel, I have joined him, to make it more convenient to attend to the negociations with the Indians & for those persons who may have business to transact with us.

Little Johnson came in this afternoon & signed the treaty, which he said he did freely & voluntarily. He observed to Mr. Gillet that at the Council last winter he was in opinion with him, but was in opposition when we were together in the summer to show him what his power was, for he considered himself the principal Chief of the Seneca Nation. Now he was happy to be again with him.

November 20. It snowed last night & it is now seven or eight inches deep & still snowing. Mr. Bela Lincoln of Maine called on me this forenoon. He is grand son of Genl. Lincoln of the Revolution & is bound to Illinois, to join Mr. Richards & my beloved son Henry. I wrote to Henry by him.

Young Chusick [Cusick] one of the Tuscarora Chiefs called on me last evening & this morning. I began a letter

this forenoon to my friend Col. Bigelow, the Secretary of State, giving him an account of this region of country its rapid settlement & future destinies. Took a walk just before dark. The day has been cloudy & windy & gloomy. As I looked off upon the lake the prospect was awfully grand. The dense black clouds came down upon it like a huge & impassable barrier & the dark surface of the angry waters, was broken into crests of foam, as the tumbling billows rolled onward to the resounding shore. It looked like the sombre dominions of Eribus & Nox.

Sleighs have been running all day, & winter in all his terrors has come upon us suddenly & unexpectedly for each day it has rained I have sanguinely believed the next would be pleasant & that there would be two or three weeks of Indian summerlike weather before the autumn closed. I hope it yet, but with less confidence.

Nov. 21. A clear day with a strong southwest wind. I attended the Whig celebration, & made a speech & gave a toast. Received a letter from my wife & son William this forenoon dated the 14. It made glad my heart. I have written a letter to Col. Bigelow & am now copying it in relation to the prosperous condition & future prospects of this city & the great west.*

Nov. 22. It has been cloudy & damp & thawed all last night & this day. The city was beautifully illuminated last evening. I have written all day, although I have had a horrible head-ache. I walked down to the harbor & saw nine steam boats go out, while two others were coming down the lake, so that eleven were to be seen under way at the

* This letter, and several others mentioned in subsequent pages of the journal, were addressed to the Hon. John P. Bigelow, then Secretary of the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Bigelow placed them in the hands of the editor of the *Boston Courier*, in which journal they were printed. They were afterwards republished in book form with the title: "Letters on the Internal Improvements and Commerce of the West, by Henry A. S. Dearborn." (8vo. pp. 120. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, printers, 1839.) Seven of the letters were written at Buffalo, in November and December, 1838; three others of the series were written at Roxbury after Gen. Dearborn's return home. They relate chiefly to canal and railroad construction and prospective development throughout New York State and the West, special attention being paid to Buffalo and the Niagara region. A copy of this now scarce volume is in the Buffalo Historical Society library.

same moment & eight were in the harbor besides between 40 & 50 ships brigs & schooners. A most interesting spectacle. The following is a printed account of the whig celebration of the 21st. [Clipping from *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* Nov. 22, 1838, here omitted.]

Nov. 23. This has been a mild & pleasant day. I walked down to the harbor between one & two. I have completed the copy of my letter to Mr. Bigelow & it makes 30 pages. I am tired of writing & will read Steven's travels in Russia, &c, it being nearly 9 o'clock in the evening & I have written steadily since six this morning, save my short walk.

Nov. 24. It froze last night & snows this morning. Little Johnson the principle chief of the Senecas & Gordon one of the Alleghany chiefs called on me yesterday, & expressed the gratification, that I had again come among them, & stated what universal satisfaction, I had given when here before, & the confidence the Indians had in my honesty, & disposition to act justly & fairly, & see that they were treated properly in the negociations. I informed them that, I was a friend of the indians & most anxious to discharge my duty faithfully in [all] respects, & held myself accountable to the great spirit, who looked down with equal solicitude on the red, as well as the white man, & that they might be assured of my unremitted efforts to guard & protect their rights & interest.

I find there are eight Sachems or Chief men of the nation,—the great civil officers, who are Little Johnson (Pagan), above named, Daniel Two-Guns (Christian), Capt. Pollard (Christian), James Stevenson (Christian), George Linsley (Pagan), of the Buffalo reservation, Capt. Strong (Pagan), & Blue eyes (Christian), of Cattaraugus & Jimmy Johnson (Pagan), of Tonawanda.

Nov. 25. A very cold night. The Erie Canal closed. The day has been cold, with a slight fall of snow. I commenced a second letter to Mr. Bigelow on internal improvements & wrote eleven pages. Completed a letter to my wife & sent it to the post office this evening.

Nov. 26. A cold night, but the morning is calm &

sunny, presaging a pleasant day, & I hope a succession of them before winter really commences. Mr. Strong the Interpreter returned last evening from Cattaraugus, & Harris the educated chief called on me in the evening. I waited on Gov. Mason* of Michigan, who has been to N. York to be married & is on his return home. I am reading Parker's Exploring tour beyond the Rocky Mountains— He was sent by the Board of Foreign Missions. From his account the tribes of indians, believe in a God, who made & presides over all things, in the immortality of the soul,—a future state of reward & punishments— they are honest, truth telling, peaceful & amiable. He is a calvanist & the last of all the sects to improve the religion & morals of a savage race. He will unsettle their own simple belief & reverence for the Great Spirit & teach them incomprehensible creeds, articles of faith & gloomy notions of God & their own condition & duties & make them more & more unhappy. Those tribes west of the mountains are exactly in a state for the philanthropist, to aid & bring into a civilized condition. Let mechanics, farmers, seeds & tools be sent to them & persons to teach them to read & write to play on instruments of music, to dance & sing & all the useful arts & say nothing of religion & they may soon [be] rendered industrious happy & enlightened? & the christian religion will follow of course. But if the missionaries go among them & attempt to *christianize* before the indians are civilized, the result will be as fatal as in all other parts of this continent. When will our clergy learn wisdom & our people act from facts, truth, intelligence & the dictates of reason & experience? After more than two centuries of sad & lamentable efforts on the part of the various christian sects, to elevate the condition of the natives, the same erroneous course is still being pursued. We learn nothing from the past & act like fanatics, instead of the true & enlightened disciples of the pure & upright man who, with so much modesty, yet independence, taught the fundamental principles of morals & the true philosophy of human happiness.

* Stevens Thomson Mason, fourth territorial governor (1834-35) and first governor of the State of Michigan (1836-40). At the expiration of his term of office he settled in New York and practiced law until his death, Jan. 4, 1843.

I walked down to the harbor between one & two & found it was frozen over as well as the Canal & all kinds of vessels closed in the ice, most probably for the winter.

An Indian Chief by the name of Saml Wilson called at our appartments this afternoon, with the Indian Agent & [in] his presence & that of the Interpreter Strong the Chiefs George, Jimenson, White Seneca, & Pearce, signed the treaty. I asked him if he did so freely & voluntarily & he replied "yes, & with a sound mind."

I called on Mr. Lincoln* the Collector. He is the son of the illustrious De Witt Clinton. I met many Indians in the street, from the various reservations who appeared to be glad to see me, & especially Israel Jimenson of Cattaraugus, who was the most violent & outrageous of the opposition party, at the last council. I have just been present in our common parlor, to the signature of John Bark, a Chief of the Buffalo reservation by George Jimenson his Atty, said Bark having gone to the Alleghany Mountains on a hunting excursion. The Indian Agent & Dot Wilcox were present. The power was verified by oath before Judge Stryker.

Nov. 27. It was snowing when I got up this morning. Wrote to the Governor & my wife. This forenoon Tall Peter a Chief came to my room, with Mr Orlando Allen, I was informed that William Cass a Chief who signed the treaty last winter, & who lived near Youngs on the Buffalo Creek Reservation wished to sign the treaty although opposed to it in the Council last held, but was afraid to come into town, on account of the other chiefs in opposition, but [would] sign if we would meet him at Allen's tavern near where the last council was held, & this afternoon, Mr. Gillet & myself went out there & in the evening he came to the tavern & in our presence & that of Mr. Allen & Tall Peter signed the treaty. I asked him if he did so willingly & he replied that he did. We did not get back until eleven as the roads are horridly rough & we were in a carriage, as there was not enough snow for a sleigh when we went out⁷, but now it is over six inches deep as it has snowed all day.

* So written in the journal, obviously by inadvertence. In 1838 George W. Clinton, son of DeWitt Clinton, was Collector of the Port of Buffalo Creek, which office he held until he became Mayor in 1842.

Nov 28. A cold cloudy day. Walked out before dinner, & have read & wrote all the remainder of the time. Lt. Townsend,— son of my friend Majr. Townsend, of Boston & pay-master in the army—called to see me. He is Adj. of Col. Bankhead's* Regiment of Artillery, whose Head Quarters are in Buffalo.

Nov 29. A very cold windy day. I dined with Genl. Potter, it being the thanksgiving of this state & the New England states, save Vermont. An Oneida Chief called on me this forenoon. He has nine children & 22 grand children which will entitle him to over 10,000 acres of land in the new Indian territory, & he appeared quite elated at his good fortune. I began to copy my second letter to Mr. Bigelow.

Nov. 30. The wind blew a gale all night & all this day from the South west. I walked down to the extreme end of the wharf on the northern side of the harbor to behold Lake Erie, in a tempest. Its waves were rushing on to the resounding shore like those of the ocean. The scene was sublime. The sun has shone all day for the first time since I arrived, & the evening is cloudless, with a brilliant full moon and the wind has subsided considerably. This place is the very throne of Eolus. The position between the two great Lakes, Erie & Ontario, makes it a race course for "the sightless couriers of the air," & a *calm* is rarely to be seen. That mild & quiet & to me darling & lovely goddess, is very chary of reclining on the banks of the Niagara; & yet I did witness her soothing smiles on those waters last summer, as she was gazing upon the reflected landscape in the *bright green waters* (they are peculiar from the green tint they present as are all the lakes.) I have copied 27 pages of Letter No. 2. to Mr. Bigelow.

December 1. The sky is overcast with a haze, the wind still south west, but not so violent, & it thaws. Three Steamboats arrived down the lake this morning & one has gone out of the harbor for Detroit. [Newspaper clipping omitted.]

From the following [newspaper clipping, letter of Prof.

* J. W. Bankhead was colonel of the Second Regiment, Artillery, stationed in Buffalo at this time.

Hitchcock] & other like statements it would appear that this earth is but a huge mass of extinct animals,—a mausoleum reared to the dead from the bodies of the dead. God! what a train of thought does this curious & most remarkable revelation of the mineral world excite. Matter, weather [so in original] now dead & inert, is but the debris of living beings. The work of creation then begun with *life* & death is but one of the modes of preparing the materials for the structure of the universe; and may not we give place to animals as much superior, as is man to the brutes. Angels may dwell on the spot where our flesh & bones have prepared the proper place of residence for them. The ideas which are roused are sublime.

Evening of Dec 1. I finished the copy of my 2d. letter to Mr. Bigelow just before dark. It makes forty pages. My heart was made glad, this afternoon by a letter from my darling daughter Julia & good son William dated the 24th ult. My beloved wife was improving in health.

December 2. It blew violently all night but it is mild & this morning there is less of wind & it thaws'; still it is cloudy & squalls of snow have been frequent during the day. I corrected the copy of Letter No. 2. to my friend Bigelow & sealed it up this morning.

I am reading Napoleon & his times by Caulincoort Duke of Vicenza in two vols. 12mo. It is an account of conversations with the Duke by a lady. It is interesting—very'; & if the statements may be relied upon valuable to the historian. No indication is given who the lady is. I am also reading Col. Stone's life of the Indian Chief Brant.

Evening. It has cleared off cold & the night is cloudless. I have completed Napoleon by Caulincoort. It is a sad & grievous tale. The fault of the Emperor was that he ceased from fighting. He should [have] kept with his army, put all the traitors under arrest, shot Fouché & Talleyrand by a drum-head court martial, & he would have defeated the allies & been Emperor until life was extinct, either on the battlefield or on his imperial couch in the Thuilleries. He was wrong to have hesitated, a moment. He had only to rely on his sword & that would have saved him.

I have been surprised at a most shameful article in the Boston Atlas. It is infamous; the outpouring of a rabid radical, an unprincipled demagogue. Who has been at the bottom [of] it & the sudden declaration for Harrison. I fear a man who I have honored & confided in has acted a base part & the great, the patriotic, the honest, warm-hearted Clay has been sacrificed, by a faction. How is it that Webster has been nominated by the Anti-masons as Vice President to Harrison. Has he been ploughing with the radical whigs, the anti masons, the abolitionists, to defeat Clay, because he found he could not be nominated & therefore unites with Harrison. God! what a prostitution of principles, of honor, of honesty. To take up such an ordinary man as Harrison, in preference to the incomparable Clay. The bold, fearless, eloquent & mighty champion, who for eleven years, —ay 16 years [has] been battling in the cause of his country, in the Halls of Congress, with a genius, talent & power such as no other man ever exhibited. O! it is horrible.

Alas! we have fallen on evil times. When the aurora of a glorious day began to dawn in our political horizon, the welkin is suddenly involved in those thick-coming clouds, which overshadowed the earth, during that dreadful period of the dark ages. The ignorant, the poor, the base the unprincipled are to be appealed to & the wealthy & intelligent denounced, Another Jeremiah may well proclaim, woe, woe to our American Jerusalem. I despair of the Republic. It is impossible it can be maintained, if the radical doctrines & measures which the Atlas announces are to be held up as the peculiar & necessary system of the Whigs. The mob will be the government & then comes despotism. It is awful to discover such demonstrations, & especially when it looks like the act of one who we have so much confided in & honored. There is too much of vice, too little of virtue, too much ignorance, too little honor & principle, for a Republic, I fear. We have been rapidly retrograding, as a people, for the last 20 years.

December 3. A cold dark & a cloudy, dark day. I read the account of Napoleon's reign, by Caulincourt, I could not but be forcibly impressed, with the immense

power of Russia, & the superior intelligence of Alexander & of his civil & military officers to that of the other sovereigns & nations who cooperated in the terrific war against France. The account too of the Russian empire, the refinements, wealth & splendor of the court,—the wonderful change which had been wrought in that vast region, which but a short time before was occupied by an assemblage of barbarous tribes. The world never presented such a spectacle. Never has there been effected such a change in the condition of a people. It is a miraculous illustration of the god-like power & energy of one great mind. Peter I was the most extraordinary & truly greatest man that ever lived. As a general & a conqueror he equalled the most renowned & defeated, after a long continued & disastrous war, the most consummate general of modern times. His greatness consisted in his luminous & bold conceptions, his gigantic views, & unabated & successful efforts to render his every thought & act *Useful to his Country*. He fought battles on the land & on the seas, but to enable him to perfect & carry into complete operation his grand & beneficent systems for immeliorating the condition the advancement of civilization through his vast dominions. He founded cities, established manufactories, created armies & navies, extended agricultural knowledge, made roads, built bridges, erected magnificent edifices, encouraged the industrious & ornamental arts, & patronized literature & science, in the midst those long & tremendous wars, which were alone sufficient, to occupy the whole attention & absolve all the resources of nearly every potentate of christendom, as well as of Turkey & Persia & all the Tartar & Cosack tribes from the Baltic to the frontiers of China, with whom he was compelled to contend for the integrity of his empire & the stability of his throne. He waged war solely in self defence—not for the idle prestige of military glory, but to enable him to advance into the front ranks of the most distinguished & refined nations. He was the modern Anacharsis nobly triumphing over the ignorance customs & barbarous pursuits of the wild & savage nations of the long benighted & degraded Sythia.

The resources, both physical & moral, of his inveterate &

deadly enemy, Charles of Sweden, were exhausted, his army & fleets annihilated & his whole Kingdom & people impoverished, when that gallant prince fell by the chance shot of a battery an assassin on the bleak shores of the northern ocean in the dark hour of midnight winter, leaving a bright name in the annals of chivalric desperation'; but, who, regardless of his country, battled for personal fame alone'; while Russia had arisen, in majestic grandure like another imperial Rome, from amidst the dark forests of the northern soze, [?zone] & taken her exalted station, as one of the mightiest among the nations of the earth. Peter prosecuted the arts of peace in the midst of bloody campaigns, & fought battles but to enable him to mature & perfect his lofty schemes for the advancement of his subjects;—to carry into effect the philanthropic plans of the philosopher. To him the tent was a cabinet for discussing & projecting the means of elevating the Russian character, & giving consequence to the empire, as well as the head quarters of the army. It was at the same time his civil throne & martial pavilion. There were executed plans of cities & seminaries of learning, & measures devised for establishing commerce, and all the important branches of national industry, as well as for prosecuting the campaign & giving the last decisive orders for anticipated battle. He went from his studies for improving the whole empire. to mount his war-horse for to meet the shock of armies, & returned from victory or defeat, but to pursue his plans of national aggrandizement, with renewed confidence & ardor.

I saw in an Albany paper, this morning, that the route of a Rail-Road from that city to New York had been surveyed. It runs near the eastern boundary line of the state, on the left bank of the Hudson parallel to the valley of the Housatonic river. There is no grade exceeding 30 feet to the mile, or curves of a less radius than 1200 feet,—nearly all being 1,500. The length is only 147 miles. A company has been incorporated for executing the work.

The lines of internal communication in this state are on a magnificent scale. By the letter I have written my friend Bigelow it has been shown what treasures are borne down

the current of the western Pactolus. If its bed & its banks do not glitter with the golden sand, which rendered the oriental river celebrated in antiquity, there must be an amount of wealth upheld & floated on its waves, which will surpass in value the most precious tribute, that ever entered the gates of commerce. What an exciting & glorious spectacle does the enterprise public works of the *Cataract State* present. The prospective results, from the mighty causes which now are & soon will be in full & tremendous action are far beyond what the most intelligent & sanguine can possibly anticipate, not only as relates to this section of the country & its tributary region but the whole republic. Roll on ye coming years, for your revolutions will be such as no other age or nation has experienced. We have been wrapt in wonder, but the next generation will look back upon what we have done & are doing with an astonishment which will be as much greater, as the extent of the population & its advancement in all the arts of civilization will exceed what now exists.

December 5. On the evening of the 3d, at 7 oclock I went with Mr. Gillet Genl. Potter & Orlando Allen to a Hotel 22 miles east on the Batavia road to meet several chiefs, of the Tonnawanda Reservation. We were accompanied by George Jimenson of the Buffalo Creek reservation & Little Johnson of Tonnawanda, two Chiefs of the Seneca nation? but after waiting there until this afternoon until four oclock, Little Johnson who had been to the Indian settlement distant six miles returned, & informed us the chiefs had from some cause changed their mind & concluded not to meet us & we returned to this city where we arrived at half past nine this evening.

It has rained & snowed all the time we have been absent save the night of the 3d which was clear, & cold. We met James Wadsworth of Geneseo at a Hotel four miles this side that where we passed the two days. He came from Geneseo yesterday & was on his way home. I am glad to be back to my room here for we were miserably accomodated at the tavern where we passed two nights & days. A worse house can not well be found, as respects rooms, beds & food? it is

a mere teamsters Inn"; but was the nearest to the Indian settlement. Began a letter to my wife.

December 6. It froze hard last night & it is very cold this morning, the wind having got veered to North west. I dined at Black-Rock, with Lewis F. Allen Esq. There were some 8 or 10 other gentlemen. I saw some beautiful boulders of breccia from Lake Superior, at the door step about 15 inches in diameter in which were many fragments of a vivid red jasper.

An Indian Chief by the name of Long John of the Alleghany reservation came in this evening & signed the treaty. He said he did so freely & willingly. I commenced letter No. 3. to my friend Bigelow, on Canals &c. &c. this evening. It is a cold night.

December 7. A cold, cloudy & unpleasant morning. There was a fire in Exchange street last night, which broke out about twelve o'clock; two or three stores were burnt.

Evening. I received an official letter from Governor Everett this evening, in which he expresses a doubt as to the propriety of receiving signatures to the treaty, in any manner, except in an open Council of the Indians. I have submitted it to the U. S. Commissioner & requested him to give me a statement of the opinion entertained by the executive officers of the national government & what has been the custom in similar cases. I also received a private letter at the same time, desiring me to return before the meeting of the Legislature, & I have informed the Commissioner I was anxious to leave by the 15th. & at all events by the 20th of this month. I have written 13 pages of letter No. 3 to my friend Bigelow, on Canals & other internal improvements. This has been a cold day & not being well I have not been out doors. [Sundry clippings, with brief comments, omitted.]

December 8. Another cold, windy & cloudy night morning, but by nine o'clock, the sun came out & have had a bright day—for a wonder. I am quite well again & going on with my 3d letter. Intelligence was received this morning from Detroit, by a Steam Boat, that about 600 patriots had crossed over to Sandwich, where an engagement had

taken place, in which the British troops were defeated, & the town burnt. Two companies of the military joined the patriots. The British had 60 or 70 killed.

I have been walking for an hour & a half; it blows, as usual here, a gale, the winds I find are either up or down the lake varying from S. E. to S. W. & from N. E. to N. W.

This afternoon White Seneca, Little Johnson George & John Jimenson, came to our lodgings, with Judge Stryker, & the Judge read the Deposition of John Jimenson who went at the request of White Seneca to inform Sky Carrier that the Commissioner was in Buffalo & that he could go there & sign the treaty. He replied that he dare not go or even let it be known he had given a power for the commissioner to sign it, as he was continually watched & not allowed to go even into the woods to cut wood. He also stated in the deposition that Sky Carrier desired that White Seneca should sign the treaty for him, which he did with the understanding that the deposition was to be sent to & the case considered, at Washington. I asked Little Johnson, as he acted with the opposition last summer what threats, had been made to restrain chiefs from signing & he said they were first sworn that they would not sign & then told if they did they would be put in jail for false swearing or be killed, & that many who wished to emigrate were frightened from assenting by those threats. He had been threatened but was ready to meet any attempts on his life, as he was a warrior, but others were not so determined & independent.

I completed the letter to my good wife, & wrote the Governor an official & private letter, in answer to those received from him last evening, which I sent to the post office. I now hope to leave for home as soon as the 17th. & God grant I may.

December 9. This is the 30th. day since I left home. The last was the coldest night for the season. The morning is lowering & dark & extremely cold. The day before yesterday I went into the Buffalo Bank at the request of the President to see the manner in which the bituminous coal from Bloomfield county, Ohio burnt. It is superior to the best English surpassing the Kennel; is entirely free from

sulphur? & the only residuum is a white ashes, between the lamina which are from a 10th to a quarter of an inch thick. The pure charcoal of the wood of which the material is composed is visible, in very thin layers, entirely without bitumen. It can be brought to this town when the Erie & Beaver canal is finished & sold for 6 dollars per ton. It produces a vivid & great blaze, without any offensive smell & when the bitumen is consumed the fire resembles one made of charcoal. This is a precious article, for the arts & domestic comfort. God has scattered benefits with a most bounteous hand through the *Great Western* country.

By the annual report of the Commissioners of the canal fund for 1837 it appears that the property transported on the New York Canals during that year was as follows:

	TONS	VALUE
Products of the forest.....	618,741	\$ 6,146,716
Agriculture	208,043	16,201,331
Mines &c"	168,000	3,134,766
Manufactures	81,735	6,390,485
	94,777	23,935,990
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,171,296	\$55,809,288
	176,512	
Tolls		\$1,292,623,38

The amount which passed down the Erie Canal:

	TONS	VALUE
Products of the Forest.....	385,017	\$ 4,460,137
Agriculture	151,469	14,078,756
Mines &c	64,777	1,286,817
Manufactures	10,518	1,996,644
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	611,781	\$21,822,354

Afternoon. Strong the Interpreter & who is a Seneca Chief, remarked that the Indians did not say that their friends were *dead* when speaking of such as had deceased, but made use of an expression which accorded with their notions of the immortality of the soul & the immediate en-

trance into an eternal life of happiness in the future world, for it was only a long & distant journey which they had undertaken, without the intervention of that death, or state of physical non-existence we attach to the state of the body after life has ceased. The term used by them is,— when alluding to departed relations or acquaintances "*san-York he Yah do vik*," which in English he rendered thus: *They have preceded us*— or "those who have preceded us."

December 10. A very cold night, & a violent snow storm with a furious gale down the lake this morning. Strong the interpreter informed me at breakfast this morning that the real name of the celebrated Seneca Chief called Red-Jacket is Shan-go-ya-Wantah [Sa-go-ye-wat-ha]: meaning *The Keeper-awakea*— literally, *He keeps them awake*. Red Jacket, from all the accounts I have been able to obtain from the Indians of his tribe & the whites who knew him, was, undoubtedly the ablest civil Chief & most eloquent man among all the North American Indians; but he was a coward & a drunkard, & his whole private & public character infamous. Little Johnson, the present head Sachem of the Senecas informed me that Red Jacket had never been in action & was a man without any of the qualities of the warrior. Red Jacket was with him & the warriors during the last war when cooperating with our army on this frontier but in neither of the engagements could Red Jacket be found. He always remained in the rear. Five times were the warriors of the tribe in battle near Black-Rock, Fort George, at Chippewa & Lundy's Lane, but Red Jacket never was in danger. The old chiefs informed me that Brant called him in derision, the *Cow-Killer*, as the only act of prowess he ever performed was to kill the cows of the whites during the war of the Revolution.

This forenoon Blacksmith, one of the Tonnawanda Chiefs & Stephen Silversmith, of that band called on me, with Henry Johnson of Cattaraugus as interpreter. Blacksmith said he was glad that I had been protected by the great Spirit & had again come to visit my red brethren. I replied that the Govr. of Massachusetts having been informed that

the Commissioner of the U. S. was again to meet the Seneca Chiefs to negotiate with them in relation to emigrating to the west, he had sent me, as he did last summer to be present to see that the indians were honestly & fairly treated'; that I felt a deep interest in the indians & was anxious that they should so decide as would be most conducive to their present future happiness & prosperity'; that I was extremely desirous they should become industrious, sober & correct in their habits & thus preserve the remnant of their tribe from destruction. He thanked me for my good wishes & observed that he had watched me closely in the Council at Buffalo Creek & was satisfied I had a good heart & upright mind & was anxious to protect my poor red brethren & do what was in my power for their good. He said there had been a Council held by the Tonnawandas last monday when it was determined that they still were opposed to going west & that they wished to remain where they were. He asked me if I had been to Tonnawanda, I told him I was there a few days since. He then wished to know if any of the Chiefs signed the treaty at that time, I informed none had. He said white men & indians were among them offering money to them to sign the treaty & wished to know if it was right. I answered that it was not, & that I should endeavor to ascertain, whether such as did sign the treaty acted freely & independently'; & should be happy to see any of his band & answer all such questions & give such information as they might require so far as I was able. He said they considered me their friend & bid me farewell.

Johnson is a white man. He said he was made prisoner during the revolutionary war, but was so young that he has no recollection of that event. The first thing he remembers, was being on the banks of Niagara River near Black Rock & seeing the Indians catching bass. He was here when Genl. Lincoln [and] Col. Pickering held a council with the Senecas on Buffalo Creek. He has an Indian wife & lives like the Indians. He says he never was drunk in his life. He is an intelligent good looking & vigorous old man.

December 11. A dark, windy cold night & morning. I

passed last evening at Doct Johnson's* who has a magnificent house, large garden & an extensive grove connected with it. There were about twenty ladies & gentlemen. Mrs. Johnson who is only 24, is a beautiful woman. her husband between 50 & 60 *too much age* & too much *youth*, for a proper union. There was a sister of Mrs. Johnson only 15 years old who is a superb girl. She is tall plump & her whole person as completely developed, as any females at 20. She has a brilliant complexion & the deep rose tint of her cheeks, with the imperial turn of her person give her a truly superb appearance. There was a Mrs. Lord† who is beautiful. She too is only 23 & has an old husband. Mrs. Eustafine, [Eustaphieve]‡ wife of the son of the Russian Consul at New York, is a lovely lady; about 20 years old. There was a Russian gentleman & lady who came over in the Great Western, the last trip. They are on their travels over the U. S. He is a Seigneur of an estate in Bohemia, & has 2,000 tenants. He cultivates 2,000 acres of land with wheat, rye, oats &c. The crop is only 6 bushels for one planted. He gave me a very full & detailed account of the people, their habits customs, schools, laws, &c &c. which I have not time to write down, for I must copy my 3d letter to Mr Bigelow which I have completed of 43 pages. This evening Charles Gray-Beard of Buffalo Creek reservation, & John Hutchinson of [blank in original] signed the treaty. I asked them if they did so freely & willingly & they answered yes in the presence of James Stephenson, Tall Peter, White Seneca, Thomas

* Dr. Ebenezer Johnson, first Mayor of Buffalo. The "magnificent house" where Gen. Dearborn was entertained, is still standing, well known to all who know historic Buffalo at all, as "the Cottage," Delaware Avenue and Johnson Park.

† Mrs. John C. Lord. In 1838 she was 26 years old, her husband being seven years her senior.

‡ The allusion is to Emily, a daughter of Matthew Wilson, an English artist then a resident of Buffalo, and whose family of daughters were social favorites. Emily became the wife of Alexander Alexise Eustaphieve, a son of the Russian consul general at New York. He was secretary of the old Buffalo Mutual Insurance Company, and in 1836 built the house still standing at the northeast corner of Delaware Avenue and Chippewa Street, for many years the home of the Hon. E. Carleton Sprague. Susan Wilson, a sister of Mrs. Eustaphieve, married John A. Newbould, a merchant, and won considerable distinction as a writer under the pen-name of "Aunt Sue."

Jimenson, George Jimenson Tommy Jimmy, John Gordon, George Bennet, Strong the interpreter, & Judge Stryker. It has rained since 3 oclock.

I received a letter from my friend J. P. Bigelow this afternoon, & several of the Boston Couriers, containing my letter No. 1. I sent them to James Wadsworth Esqr. of Geneseo, Genl. J. G. Swift of Geneva, & Lewis F. Allen of Black-Rock.

The news from Detroit this evening by the Steam Boat Constitution is, that the Patriots who crossed over to Sandwich had been totally routed & a large number killed & wounded. Deluded & infatuated young men, you have left your parents & relatives to lament in agony your rash & unwarranted conduct. With good motives you have wrongfully & madly rushed on destruction.

On reading Parkers tour to the Columbia river, I noticed the following named plants & trees, which it is desirable should be introduced into our eastern country. At all events I should like to obtain seeds of them & intend to if possible.

Fruits described? Gooseberries. There are four kinds? Common Purple, on low & very thorny bush? White, small, smooth & very sweet? Yellow, this is an excellent kind & flavor, & grows on a stalk free from thorns. Deep Purple. of the size & taste of our winter grape, with a thorny stalk, fine flavor.

Currants. Three kinds. Purple, very large & well tasted, grows on a bush eight or nine feet high. This must be the *Ribes odoro tissomum*? introduced into our gardens, from seeds brought by Lewis & Clark, on their return from the Pacific ocean. Yellow. of the size & taste of the large red currant: the bush four or five feet high. Scarlet. Is very beautiful, resembling the strawberry in sweetness, though rather insipid? it grows on a low bush. Snow Berry. A beautiful shrub now common in our Gardens grows west of the Rocky Mountains.

Nutritive Roots. Taro is bulbous plant of the genus *arum* & is planted in hills, on ground so formed as to be partially flooded with water, somewhat in the manner of

cultivating rice. It is fit for use in 8 or ten months from setting the plants. To prepare them for food it is necessary they should be roasted & they are then a substitute for bread, or they are made into poi by pulverizing them into a paste. Soappatto is a bulbous root, the common soyitta folio, or arrow head & is found only in the valley of the Columbia below the Cascades. It becomes soft by roasting & is a nourishing & palatable food. It is much used by the indians & is an article of trade. It grows in shallow lakes & marshes covered with water. The women wade in search of it, feel it out in the weeds & disengage it with their feet, when it rises to the surface & is saved. Cammas, is a truncated root & is of great importance to the indians. it grows in moist rich ground, in the form of an onion. It is roasted pounded & made into loaves like bread & has a licorice taste. Cowish, or Biscuit root grows on dry land & from about the size of a walnut considerably larger. It tastes like the sweet potato, & is prepared in the same manner for food as the Cammas & is a tolerable substitute for bread. Bitter Root, or Racine Amere, which grows on dry ground, & is fusiform like a carrot & although not pleasant to the taste, is still very conducive to health. Common Onion, and another characterized for its beautiful red flower, which often grows on volcanic scoria where no other vegetation is seen.

Among the flowering vines in the forests near the mouth of Columbia river Washington Irving in his Astoria thus describes that, which he considered deserving of particular notice. Each flower is composed of six petals, about three inches long, of a beautiful crimson; the inside spotted with white. The leaves of a fine green, are oval, & disposed in threes. This plant climbs upon trees with attaching itself to them; when it has reached the topmost branches, it descends perpendicularly, & as it continues to grow, extends from tree to tree, until its various stalks interlace the grove like rigging of a ship. The stems of this vine are tougher & more flexible than willow & are from 300 to 600 feet in length. From the fibres the indians manufacture baskets, of such close texture, as to hold water.

(Dendrology). The Forest Trees, near the coast are hemlock, spruce, white & red cedar, Yew, Cotton Wood, or Balm of Gilliad White Oak, & two other kinds White & Smamp Ash, Willow Black Walnut, & Firs.

Firs, There are three species & constitute by far the greatest part of the forest trees, in the opinion of the Revd. Samuel Parker, the Red, Yellow & White. Red Fir, The foliage is scattered on all sides of the branches in the same form as those found in the eastern states. Yellow Fir has leaves only on the upper side, or upper half of the twigs. The white is oppositely pinnated. One species of the Fir grows to the enormous size of from 4 to 6 feet in diameter & 200 feet high & Mr Parker measured one which was 3 feet in diameter & 250 feet high.

Pine. The pine is not found in the low country, nor far west of the main chain of the Rocky mountains. They are the White, Norway, Pitch & Elastic. The latter is the most numerous. The leaves resemble those of the Pitch Pine, growing in bunches at the ends of the limbs, being shorter & smaller; & the bark & body of the tree resembling the Larch. The wood is firm & very elastic. It grows very tall & straight & without limbs except near the top. He found it very difficult to brake limbs an inch in diameter. He thought they would make excellent masts & spars for ships.

Oak. On the plains below Fort Vancouver he measured a white oak which was 8 feet in diameter, which continued large about 30 feet high & then branched out immensely wide.

Alder, the common & a species that grows very large.

Poplar. Three kinds, common Aspen Cotton wood & Balm of Gilliad.

White Maple. only in small quantities.

Laurel or Bay. There is a tree in the low country which grows much in the form of the Laurel or Bay, but much larger. Bark smooth of a bay red color, leaves ovate (Is not this a Magnolia?) It has been called the straw-berry tree.

There are no walnut, hickory, chesnut or Sugar or Rock Maples west of the mountains, or Beech Bass-Wood, Black

Cherry, Magnolia, White Wood (or Tulip tree) Elms or Birches except a species of Black, Locusts, Hock-berry or Buckeye.

Thorn Bush. There are several varieties, many of which are large & fruitful. Those bearing a red berry present a very beautiful appearance. There is one peculiar to the country, the fruit of which is black & of a delightful sweet taste.

Salalberry is a sweet & pleasant fruit, of a dark purple color, & about the size of a grape.

Service Berry is about the bigness of the thorn apple, black when fully ripe & pleasantly sweet, like the whortle berry

Pambina,—a bush craneberry.

Raspberries. Besides the common there is a new species, three times the size of the former, & is of a very delicate rich yellow but the flavor is less agreeable.

Sweet Elder. A new species.

Vining Honey suckle, he says "is among the first ornaments of nature." I presume it is the vine with a scarlet flower described by Irving.

Sweet flowering Pea, grows spontaneously, & ornaments large patches of ground.

Red Clover. Different from the kind cultivated here, but not less sweet & beautiful.

Wild Flax is found. In all respects except its being perennial it resembles the kind cultivated among our farmers. The stalk, the bowl, the seed, the blue flower closed in the day time & open in the evening and morning. The indians use it for making fishing nets. It must be mowed like grass, for the roots are large & run deep into the earth. It would save the expense of annual ploughing & planting.

Strawberries. Their flavor more delicious than any Mr. Parker had ever tasted.

Sun Flowers. They are common but not large.

Broom Corn, is found in many places on the bottom lands of the Columbia & other streams.

Wild Grain, resembling barley or rye.

December 21. I was violently attacked with a billious

fever on the evening of the 11th. I had an excruciating head-ache pains in my back & limbs & a severe stricture across my chest. They next day I took 20 grains of calomel, salts, & since [?] was bled in the evening nearly a quart. I have since taken ten cathartics, & although the fever has left me & I feel well & sit up most of the time for the last three days, I have no appetite as yet. My tongue is much furred & the Doctor says there is want of action in the liver & have taken for the last three nights blue pills & cleared them off with salts. I am better this evening. I have written three letters to my dear wife, one to my beloved son Henry & this day I wrote the Governor & my friend Bigelow & enclosed him letter No. 4. of 25 pages. This is numbered 4. as No 2 was divided into 2 and 3. The two first have been published here & are much praised.

Genl. Scott of the Army called on me this afternoon. He is just from Detroit. He does not think there will be any more patriot movements on that frontier this winter. 300 had left for their homes & an 100 gone to work on the railroad—pitty it is they have not all been as well employed. He leaves tomorrow to pass down the frontier to Plattsburgh.

Mr. Strong the Interpreter informs me that Genesee as now pronounced by the Senecas *Ja-nes-he-ya* & the word is derived from *Gats-he-nos-he-yu* & means *Good Valley*. This is the usual first Indian salutation, *Ne-on-weh-s,-gah-noh*. I thank the Great spirit you are well. Another mode of salutation, *Ne-on-weh - non, a-hawk, sah-s-gah-noh*. I am happy that [you] are still in good health.

Dec 22. I eat for the first time a piece of beef-steak last night at eleven and drank too tumblers of strong beer. How truly delicious they both tasted. It was the first return of appetite. I walked into the entry for the first time. I am invited to a public dinner.

Genl. Scott called & passed the entire afternoon with me. Mr. Pratt brought me a beautiful boquet of roses geraniums & a Camellia.

Dec 23. I eat a mutton chop last night at ten & drank a pint of ale. Genl. Scott called & sat an hour with me this

afternoon. I have copied letter No. 5 of 28 pages, to my friend Bigelow. I eat three roast apples & drank a tumbler of ale at 3 being all I have taken, this day save a cup of coffee & a piece of dry toast for breakfast. I have written all & just looked over a file of the Boston Atlas from the 7th to the 19th. to be au courant with events in the old Bay State.

Half past 11. Evening. I have just eaten a hearty supper of beef-steak, drank a pint of ale & eaten three apples.

Dec. 24. I completed & enclosed to Mr. Bigelow Letter No. 5. of 28 pages. Israel Jimenson & George Dennis Chiefs & Thomas Bruner a warrior of the Cattaraugus reservation, & William Jones of the Buffalo Creek Reservation called on me this forenoon to inquire as to my health. They have been opposed to the treaty & Jimenson the most violently. He is an able, & cunning man. I thanked them for their kind attention & informed them, the negotiations would close on thursday the 27 & I hoped they would thoroughly weigh all the circumstances & facts & the character of the proposition made to them by the government of the United States & so decide as may be considered best for their interests now & hereafter, & that they shall have no cause to repent, let the decision be which way it may. That I felt a deep interest in their welfare & was most anxious for their happiness & prosperity & hoped the Great Spirit would so guide them as to make their condition pleasant & respectable.

They thanked me for my services & said they had confidence in [my] disposition to aid them & were highly gratified at the honest independent & faithful manner in which I had discharged my duties. We then took leave of each, with reciprocal wishes of health & happiness.

December 25. Here I am, confined to my room on this God-blessed Christmas-day; but thanks to my Almighty father I am much better. My disease save a cough has gone. I have a good appetite, & have for three days walked in the entry, & hope to be able to ride out on the morrow. [Clipping omitted.]

Letters to Mr. Bigelow No. 1. 30 [pages]; No. 2 & 3, 40,

No. 4. 25, No. 5. 28, No. 6. 27; Total 150 pages & copy 150 making 300 pages of writing & covering more than three quires of paper.

Dec 25 Evening 11 oclock, I have finished sent off to my friend Bigelow letter No. 6. & the last, on internal improvements, of 27 pages. I wrote to my wife & the Governor.

December 26. I continue to gain strength & feel better this morning than any previous day since the fever left me. I have yet a bad cough but that is passing away. I had a venison steak for supper at 10 oclock, as I eat only once in 24 hours, except taking a cup of coffee in the morning of tea at night with a piece of dry toast. I slept well. This for a wonder is a clear sunny day & I intend to ride out for the first time.

I received yesterday morning a letter from eighteen gentlemen of this city in behalf of those of the city & Black Rock to dinner, for the services they are pleased to think I have rendered this section of country & my own, by the six letters I have written & which are being published on *Internal Improvements*. As I must leave to morrow for home & my health being so delicate, I declined the honorable attention in a letter of three pages.

I have written a letter to Genl. Peter B. Porter who resides in a new & magnificent house he has just completed near Niagara Falls regretting I cannot avail myself of his kind invitation to pass a day & night under his hospitable roof. In it I expressed my opinion of the prosperous destinies of this city & the whole bank of the Niagara to the stupendous Cataract, & of his patriotic military & civil services &c &c &c.

Evening. Thanks to the Lord, the negociations closed this day with the Seneca Indians & I leave God willing for home to morrow.

Mr. Hiram Pratt called at 3 oclock & took me to ride in his carriage, as far as Black Rock.

Evening 11 oclock. I have bought a red Indian Blanket & had a black cord & tassels put to it so as to wear it like a cloak, or Roman toga. I have just eaten for supper a veni-

son steak & drank two tumblers of ale. I have had a flannel breast plate made to protect my lungs, as I have a severe cough yet. I left home on the 9th of November & therefore have been absent 48 days being seven weeks to morrow. O! how anxious I am to be on my way to my dear wife & children, & once [more] be in my darling, comfortable & peaceful home.

Batavia December 28. Morning I left Buffalo at 12 with my good & kind young friend Ho-non-deah, the Interpreter of the United States & a Chief of the Seneca Nation of Indians, who insisted on accompanying me to Boston, to take care of me, he being bound to Washington on business of the Tribe. We got here at half past seven & I was stronger & felt better than the moment I left. We dined at Allen's tavern ten miles from Buffalo, on venison steak. We have a fine parlor, & bed-rooms adjoining nicely fitted up & with a roaring wood fire passed the evening pleasantly after taking a cup of the best coffee, with *new cream*, (what I have not seen, but once, since I left home) a nice beef-steak & good toast with sweet butter. I read the Gazetteer of Michigan, which I bought in Buffalo, It is by John T. Blois & was recently published in Detroit in one vol. large 12mo. It gives the geography, character of soil, minerology, zoology, & botany of the country. The political divisions & statistics &c &c &c. It is a valuable little work, for that young state has risen up so suddenly from a wilderness, that its towns population & actual condition were scarcely known. I took two pills & went to bed at half past eleven, but waking, at half past one from a bad spell of coughing, I got so wide awake I was obliged to get [up] and make a fire & dry me & here I am feeling superbly thanks to a Merciful God, to whom I return, with a contrite heart my most grateful thanks. We expect to reach Canandaigua this evening.

Five oclock in the morning. I have since I got up at half past one, made out my report to the Governor of twelve pages.

December 29. Utica. I left Batavia at half past nine, & got to Avon on the right bank of Genesee river, distance

25 miles at two oclock. I had hired a private carriage on runners a pair of horses & a driver to take us as far as Auburn 128 miles, but there was so little snow from Caladonia to Avon, & leaving there was still less, as far as Syracuse. the driver said he could not get on any further with runners. I therefore determined to try my strength in getting into the mail stage, which I did at 5 in the afternoon & got to Canandaigua at 9 where I took two cups of green tea & eat a piece of bread & butter; at midnight we reached Geneva, there I took a tumbler of gin & water eat a piece of minced pie, cheese & bread & butter; got to Auburn at 5, breakfasted & took the rail-road, horse-drawn-cars for Syracuse & then a sleigh for Utica, where I arrived at eight oclock, completely exhausted. I had a bad headache was so tired I could scarcely move or speak. my back and limbs ached. The night & day had been dreadfully cold, while it snowed & blew a gale; but I was not cold, for besides my Russian fur-lined great coat, I had an other over it made of an Indian red blanket, stout red Canada stock—stockings which drew on over my boots & reached nearly to my vest & over them thick buck skin moccasins, & a merino shawl tied round my neck. still I feared I had taken cold & should be detained I took a large tumbler of lemonade the first thing, at Utica, had a parlor prepared with a good rousing fire, washed myself & at nine eat a hearty supper of beef-steak & drank two cups of strong coffee, at ten drank another tumbler of lemonade & went to bed & as my sleeping room adjoined the parlor, in which I left a good fire, I slept like a calm on the ocean, got up at five & felt a new man, feeling superbly. I had hired a servant to make a fire at 4 my parlor was therefore warm & I washed & shaved & put on clean linen & stockings, & now I am in good condition to take the rail-road cars to Albany, which leave at nine,—after I have eaten breakfast. Genl. Gillet, overtook us at Avon, in the stage & accompanied us to Syracuse, where he took the stage that branches off to Ogdensburgh.

Albany, Dec. 30. We left Utica in the cars of the Rail-Road at nine & reached this city at 5, in the afternoon. Five of the cars were thrown from the track & among them that

in which were Mr. Strong & myself, but no one was injured. I have copied my official report to the Governor of 14 pages, wrote him a private letter of 4 & it is now quarter past one, & as we are to leave in the mail stage at 2 for Boston, I shall not go to bed;—have called up my young Indian Chief friend & we must pack up.

Northampton December 31. 1838. We had a very cold ride to Pittsfield, where we arrived at 9 in the morning. We learned the thermometer had been down to 10 below zero. We were upset descending the horrible, long crooked, & steep Snake Hill in Perus. Reached this town at 6, when I was very much exhausted, but a light supper & two strong cups of coffee have set me up & I feel quite bright. I have now been riding five days & nights, come 400 miles & have been in bed only 8 hours since I left Buffalo.

Judge Eldridge, of the State of New York, came in the car with me, from Utica to Albany, & related the following facts, in relation to the events of the Revolutionary war. His father James Eldridge lived near Fort Miller on the left bank of the Hudson river & was one of the Committee of safety for the northern District of the state of New York. He went with other Whigs to join Genl Stark's command before the battle of Bennington & was in that important engagement. There was a clergyman by the name of Elder Gardiner, who went with about a hundred tories from the north eastern part of Vermont & joined the British forces under Baum. When the captured troops were marched off to Boston, the Whigs of New York who were in the action took a long rope & tying one end round the neck of Gardiner passed it round that of all the other tories & they were marched off in a string, the loyal priest leading the van. When Burgoyne had reached the Hudson & Genl. Gates had moved up the Hudson to still water, Mr. Eldridge received intelligence one morning that he was to be taken from his house the following night by a party of tories & Indians & carried into the British camp to be hung. His family had been sent down to Albany on the advance of Burgoyne & he was with one man cultivating his land. They put all the furniture in the cellar of every kind & threw water on the

fire so as to wet the ashes & cool the hearth & give the house the appearance that it had been long abandoned. As soon as it was dark he retired back into a thick wood grown up with bushes & having taken a bed & blankets made up a place to sleep for the night. It was at the foot of a narrow ridge of land that ran parallel to the river for some distance. About ten oclock, they heard the march of men & conversation coming down the ridge & soon halted on the ridge directly above them & but a few rods distant. A consultation was had & a detachment sent to the house, of indians & tories to take him. In about half an hour they returned & reported that they had been into & all over the house & that the man who had given them the information that Eldridge was living there was a liar for there was no furniture in the house, & there was all the appearance that the house had not been inhabited for a long time. To his astonishment Eldridge heard the name of his nearest neighbor given as the villain who had given the information for his arrest. The party soon began to retrace their steps. Eldridge told his hired man to lie still where he was & he would endeavor to cross the river & give information to Genl. Gates of the expedition which consisted of about eighty tories & Indians. He ran down to the Hudson & soon found a sloop [sloop] on which he placed himself & paddled with his hands & feet across the river. As soon as he landed he was seized by a Sentinal & carried into the camp. He gave an account of what had transpired when a strong detachment was immediately sent across the river in boats, & passing rapidly up until they presumed they were sufficiently high up to cut off the British scout, & then made for the ridge, where they captured all the tories & several Indians & carried them prisoners into the American camp.

Hawthorn Cottage Jan'y 1. 1838. Praise be to Almighty God I reached my beloved home at half past six this evening, & found my wife better & my son William well. I was but twelve hours in bed from the time I left Buffalo, during the six days I was on this journey'; & all the other sleep I got was in the stages sleighs & rail-road cars. My health is slightly improved.

H. A. S. DEARBORN.

JOURNAL OF
A TOUR TO CATTARAUGUS

TO ATTEND A COUNCIL OF THE SIX NATIONS OF
INDIANS, IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST,
1839, MADE BY

HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

JOURNAL KEPT BY H. A. S. DEARBORN, DURING HIS JOURNEY
TO CATTARAUGUS, TO ATTEND A COUNCIL OF THE SIX
NATIONS OF INDIANS, CONVENED TO MEET THE HON.
J. R. POINSETT, SECRETARY OF WAR, IN RELATION TO
A TREATY NEGOTIATED, WITH TRIBES, THE 15TH. OF
JANUARY 1838.

August 7. 1839. I left Boston in the Rail Road Cars at 4 oclock for Stonington where I arrived at nine oclock & went on board a Steam-Boat, which left immediately for New York.

My nephew William Raymond Lee accompanied me, for the purpose of examining the rail-road from Albany on the route to Buffalo & to see the country. He is the Superintendent of the Boston & Providence Rail-Road.

Mr. N. Silsbee, of Salem late Senator from this state, in Congress was on board the boat, having come round from New port in her.

August 8. We reached New York at six oclock in the morning, & went directly on board one of the North River Steamers, bound to Albany, which left at seven. We had as fellow passengers, Genl. Morgan Lewis, Mr. Talmage, one of the U.'S. Senators from the state of New York & his cousin Genl. Talmage with his celebrated beautiful daughter'; & truly lovely in person & manners & mind she is. She has recently made the tour of Europe with her father & was universally admired as a brilliant sample of the American ladies.

Genl. Lewis was aid to Genl. Gates, in the campaign of Saratoga & confirms what my father often stated to me,—that Genl. Gates did not leave his quarters, situated in the rear of the American lines, during the actions of the 19th. of September & 8th of October. He is now 85 years of age, but is a vigorous, active & interesting old man. We reached Albany at seven oclock in the evening & put up at Congress Hall, near the State House.

August 9. Having learned that Genl. Scott had returned from a visit to the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin & left yesterday morning for Saratoga Springs to join the Secretary of War & accompany him to Cattaraugus, & that they would not leave for several days I concluded to go on to the Springs & left Albany in the Rail-Road Cars at 6 oclock this morning. We breakfasted at Schenectada & reached Saratoga Springs at half past ten, having stoped a few moments at Ballstown, which I had not visited since I was there with my ever honored father a few years after the war. I think in 1817. Wherever I go I am continually reminded of my good & excellent & patriotic father. He was in so many conspicuous positions during the Revolutionary & last war & had such an extensive acquaintance, that either the places he was at, or meeting men who knew him continually remind me of him. He was a truly honest, & patriotic citizen'; a just, kind-hearted & an inflexably faithful officer, & good man'; a better never lived. True to his country, his friends, family & his God. May I emulate his virtues & meritorious conduct, in all respects. I found Genl. Scott at the United States Hotel, who informed me, that

Mr. Poinsett,* the Secretary of War had left the evening before for Buffalo, I therefore concluded to return to Schenectady & take the night train of cars to Utica.

The President of the United States, Martin Van Buren, being at the Springs I waited upon him with General Scott, at eleven & at twelve he left for Balstown on this way to Troy. I saw many friends at the Springs & among them the Honble. Abbot Lawrence, of Boston, Peleg Sprague late of the U. S. Senate, from Maine, & Mr. Taylor former Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Hon Henry Clay was to arrive at five from the North, having been via Buffalo, Ogdensburgh & Montreal to Quebec. There were at least 3,000 ladies & gentlemen at the Springs & I regretted that I could not witness the triumphal entry of the illustrious Statesman of the West & the Whig candidate for President? but as I was obliged to be in Buffalo by the 11th, it was necessary to take the four oclock cars for Schenectady, where we arrived at seven & took supper, & at nine departed in the western train for Utica.

August 10. We reached Utica at five & left at six for Syracuse, where we arrived at nine & took breakfast, but, to our regret, learned, that the Steam-boats United States & Great Britain had come in contact on Lake Ontario & so injured were both, that there would not be any boat from Oswego to Lewiston before the evening of the 11th. We therefore proceeded on to Auburn in the Cars & there took the mail Stage for Buffalo. My friend Samuel G. Perkins was with us, as far as Cayuga, being bound on an excursion for his health.

August 11. We rode all last night having taken tea at Canadagua & breakfasted at Batavia. We got to Buffalo

* Joel Roberts Poinsett (1778-1851) was a South Carolina statesman who held many legislative and diplomatic offices. During the War of 1812 he was sent by President Madison on a special embassy to South American countries, in an effort to establish more friendly relations between them and the United States. He served in Congress, was U. S. Minister to Mexico, 1825-29, and was Secretary of War during Van Buren's administration. Poinsett Barracks, for many years the military establishment in Buffalo—bounded by Main, Allen, Delaware and North streets—was named in his honor; as is also the popular scarlet-bracted Mexican flower, *Poinsettia pulcherina*, which he introduced in this country—for he devoted himself to natural history as well as to military and civic interests.

at two oclock in the afternoon, having rode three days & two nights without a halt. I was much fatigued & had suffered during the whole ride from Schenectady, from a terrible head-ache.

On my arrival at Buffalo, I found Mr. Poinsett had not reached the city, at which intelligence I was much gratified, for I feared I should be obliged to ride the third night, to be at Cattaraugus, in season to attend the Council, which had been ordered to convene on the 12th. I went to bed & slept until seven, then got up found my Indian friend, the Seneca Chief Hon-non-de-ah at the American Hotel, where I had taken rooms, & T. L. Ogden & brother & Mr. Fellows of Geneva the representatives of the preemtive owners of the Indian lands, also Mr. Wadsworth of Geneseo, son of the Patriarch of Western New York. Judge Stryker, Mr. Orlando Allen & Genl. Potter & Mr. Pratt the Mayor called on'me.

August 12. I took pills last night, for I was feverish & my head in great pain; but I am better this morning. The Secretary of War arrived this morning, & had chartered a Steam-Boat to take us up Lake Erie to Cattaraugus Creek. We left at there oclock, accompanied by Col. Bankhead & Capt Williams of the army, Mr. Krehmer, Secretary of the Russian Legation, many other gentlemen & several Indian Chiefs, from the Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora & Seneca tribes. The afternoon was calm & warm & the excursion over the lake delightful. We reached Irving at the mouth of Cattaraugus creek, just before sunset, & went to the Hotel to lodge. It is a small village of some ten or a dozen buildings. Piers are being erected at the mouth of the Creek, to make the entrance into the harbor easy & safe, & to deepen the channel, by compressing the water into a narrow bed. This is destined to be a large flourishing town, as the land is excellent, on the Cattaraugus Creek, & in the adjacent country, & when the Indians shall have been removed, the large tract of land they now occupy will be covered with luxurient farms & a dense population. There were many Indians in the village.

August 13. I left Irving in a stage-coach, with the Sec-

retary of War & eleven other gentlemen & Indians for the Council House of the Cattaraugus band of Senecas, distant six miles. As three miles of the road was through a dense wood, & of the rudest kind, the carriage upset, by which I was injured in my head & right hip'; but got into a little waggon & went on. One of the Indians had his cheek badly cut.

The Council was opened at eleven and addressed by the Secretary of War & myself. For the particulars of the proceedings see my official report to Governor Everett. There were present at the Council ten or twelve Quakers from Philadelphia & New York, who had been sent by the societies of Friends in those cities to prevent any improper efforts being made to induce the Indians to emigrate; a sort of self created kind of ministers, who presumed to take the Indians under their special protection. They had good motives for their conduct, but it was an act of officiousness, which our government excuses, for *here* all are *confident* of their right to *meddle*, in all *national* or *state* affairs. The *modest assurance* of Sectarians of all religious denominations is continually being evinced, in their resolutions, petitions to Congress, missions to all nations savage & civilized, and their impertinent efforts to regulate the conduct & manners of the whole people. They are now waging a war against *spirit, wine & beer*, & the slavery of the South. Each year brings some new object for their fanatical operations. May they ever be as harmless as we have experienced they were futile & ridiculous'; but a time may come, when such officious & impertinent interference with state & national affairs, may lead to disastrous consequences.

August 14 I passed the night with the Reved. Mr. Bliss, the Missionary to this band of Senecas. The Council was opened at ten & the Chiefs of the Senecas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Oneidas & Onondagas, spoke against & in favor of emigration, to the number of fourteen, & then the Secretary of War informed them that he should report the result of the inquiries, he had made to the President, who would decide whether the treaties were to be carried into effect or not. I made a farewell speech & the Council was concluded

between three & four oclock. I dined with Mr. Bliss & he was so kind as to take me in his wagon down to Irving, at the mouth of Cattaraugus Creek, where I arrived a little before sunset.

Mr. Kurtz, Chief Clerk in the office of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs, having accompanied Mr. Poinsett to pay the annuities to the Indians, performed that duty at the Hotel in Irving & we left in the Steam-boat at eight oclock for Buffalo, where we arrived at midnight.

August 15. I attended a review of several Companies of Col. Bankhead's Regiment of Artillery, with the Secretary of War, Col. Worth Majr. Hitchcock & many other gentlemen & ladies. At four oclock in the afternoon we left Buffalo for Niagara Falls in the Rail-Road Cars, where we arrived at six. Went down to the bank of the river & had one look at the mighty Cataract, then went back to the Eagle Hotel to supper. I passed the evening at Genl. P. B. Porter's, where I met the Secretary of War, several officers of the American & some of the British Army & other company.

August 16. I went with my nephew William Raymond Lee across the Niagara, just below the falls, visited the Battle-Field of Lundy's Lane & Table Rock & then returned, when we walked round Goat Island, dined, & took our seats in the Rail-Road Cars for Lewiston, where we embarked on board the Steam Boat United States, for Oswego.

August 17. We left Lewiston at five oclock & owing to a head wind did not reach Oswego until 8 this morning, when we immediately took passage in a Canal Packet-Boat for Syracuse, where we arrived at five oclock in the afternoon; entered the Rail-Road Cars for Utica where we arrived at eight oclock & put up for the night; but the Secretary of War continued on to Schenectady being anxious to join the President at Saratoga Springs the 18th.

August 18th. We left Utica at eight oclock & reached Albany at five. I was pleased at finding the Hon. Henry Clay at the Eagle Hotel, where I put up & passed a portion of the evening in his room. He introduced me to Mr. Griffen of New York, a lawyer of eminence, who requested

me to go into his room, where he read an account of a visit to the Battle-Field of Saratoga, which he made with Mr. Clay & some 30 or 40 other gentlemen, & among them General Morgan Lewis who gave an account of the two battles, that was interesting. It was for publication & he promised to send me a paper in which it should be printed.

August 19. Left Albany in the Steam boat Erie, on board of which was Mr. Clay, who was met by a large Committee in a Steamer with a band of music some 20 miles above Poughkeepsie, who had been sent from that city to escort him to the landing where he was received by a vast assemblage of people. We reached New York at dark, & put up at the Astor House.

August 20. We are obliged to wait for the Steamer for Providence & took passage in the Massachusetts at five oclock. Wrote a report to the Governor during the forenoon.

August 21. Arrived in Providence at eleven oclock & reached home at one oclock.

H. A. S. DEARBORN.

Roxbury August 21. 1839.