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FORT WAYNE

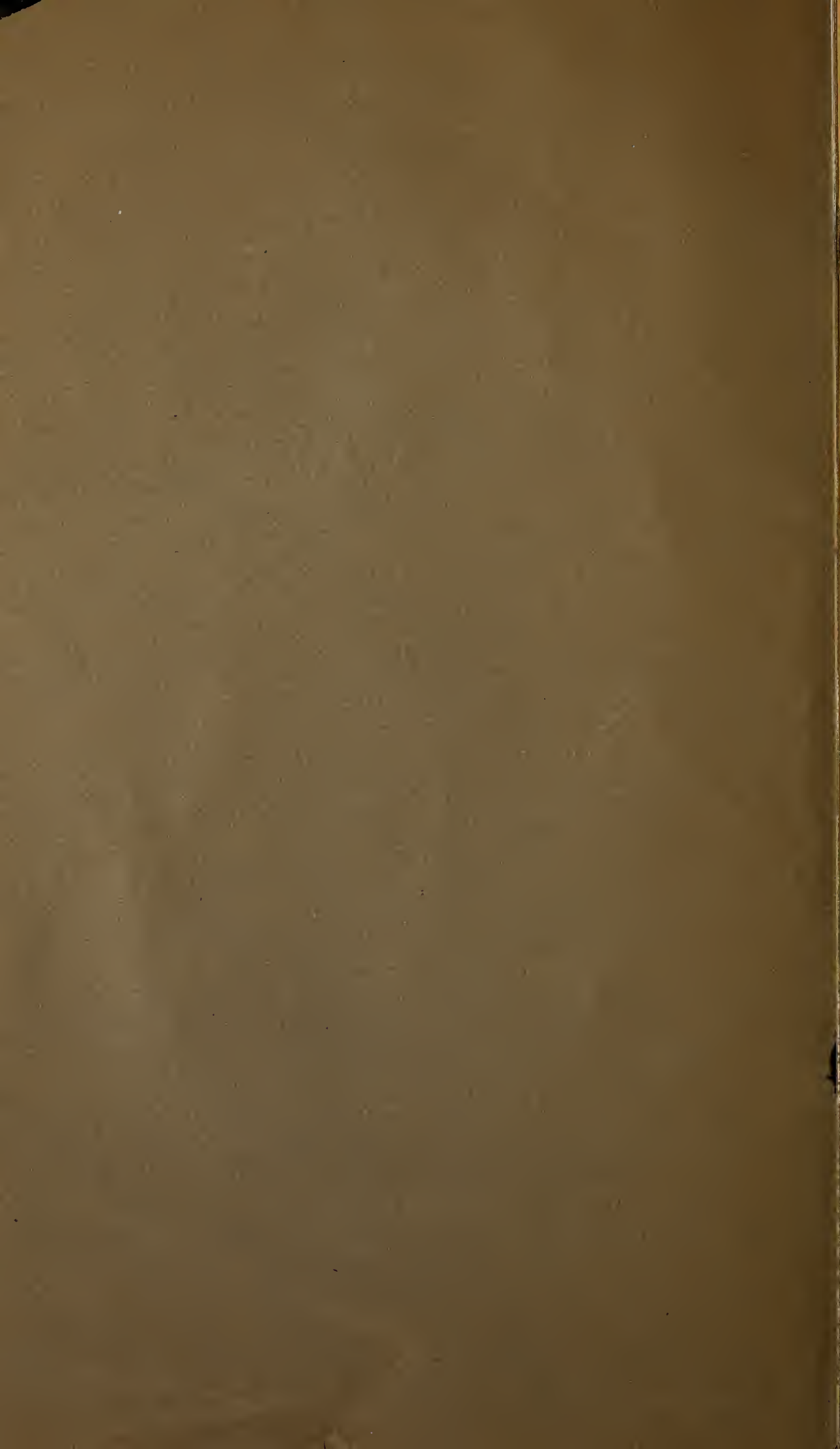
IN

1790

BY

M. M. QUAIFE

GREENFIELD, IND.  
WILLIAM MITCHELL PRINTING CO.  
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#### NOTE

The following journal of Henry Hay—son of the “Major Hay,” who was captured at Vincennes with General Hamilton, by George Rogers Clark—presents an intimate view of life at Fort Wayne in the winter of 1789-90. It was originally printed by Mr. Quaife in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society for 1914, under the title: “A Narrative of Life on the Old Frontier.” On account of its peculiar interest to Indiana it is reproduced here, by permission of Mr. Quaife and the Wisconsin Historical Society.

## INTRODUCTION

Probably the vast majority of Americans think of the Revolutionary War as lasting from 1775 to 1783. It is true the Treaty of Paris marks the formal conclusion of the struggle. But it does not mark the conclusion of angry debate with the mother country, nor the evacuation of American territory by British soldiery. Neither Great Britain nor the United States adhered scrupulously to its treaty obligations, and the former manifested no intention of evacuating the Western posts, lying within the borders of the younger nation. The real reason for this was commercial. On the fur trade depended the prosperity of Canada. To control the fur trade the British must control the Indians. Hence the obligation to evacuate the upper posts was disregarded, and for a dozen years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris the major portion of the country northwest of the Ohio River continued to be treated as British territory. The Indian tribes of this region were then numerous and powerful. Relying upon the British for material support they waged bloody warfare upon the Americans in the vain hope of confining the advancing tide of settlement to the south side of the Ohio. The government of the Confederation was almost a nullity. Its successor, the feeble Federal government, distracted by the many problems pressing for solution, was exceedingly averse to accepting the gage of battle thus thrown down. When at length it did, three successive armies and five years of painful effort were required to humble the belligerent tribesmen. Thus the Revolution in the West may not unfairly be said to have lasted a score of years, and to have closed only with the Jay and Greenville treaties.



A variety of reasons exist for publishing the Journal which is presented in the following pages. The incidents recorded day by day by this British partisan, sojourning in one of the chief of the hostile towns, shed a ghastly light upon the forays which goaded the American bordermen to madness and their government into reluctant war. A perusal of the details presented by our journalist—the heart of the American prisoner, pierced with a stick and preserved “like a piece of dried venison;” the plight of the captive, John Witherington, separated from his wife, “7 months gone with childe,” and seven children, who had fallen into the hands of other bands of barbarians; the destruction of forty souls, men, women, and children; the all night dance of savage triumph in celebration of such atrocities as these—prepare the reader to appreciate the indignation with which the militant author of *The Winning of the West* wrote of this period in our history.

Whether justly or not, the harassed American borderers ascribed to Great Britain the real responsibility for their intolerable plight. The present day opinion of well informed students of the subject inclines to acquit the home government of any positive agency in the matter. But the present day scholar, possessing sources of information denied to contemporaries and entire immunity from the gory scalping knife and tomahawk, may consider the subject calmly and philosophically; the American borderer’s opinions were based upon the acts of Great Britain’s agents in America and the visible facts of the situation on the frontier. Whatever the real motives of the home government in the premises, the conclusions drawn by the frontiersmen from the information at their command were not unreasonable. Whoever would understand the enthusiasm of the frontier for war with England in 1812 must take account

of the conditions revealed by such documents as the one which follows. When the Delawares threaten to remove to the Spaniards, and, "not go to war against the Americans any more;" the authority of McKee, the British Indian agent, is invoked to restrain them. When it is believed that the trader, Lasselle, is to be burned by the natives because of his supposed sympathy with the Americans, the affair is reported to Major Murray, the British commandant at Detroit; and Lasselle's good character is finally established by a certificate signed by all the villagers—living in the heart of the modern Indiana—that he is "a good loyalist" and "always for supporting his King." A trader going to the Wabash must have a British pass; one who speaks disrespectfully of the British officials at Detroit is reported to those authorities therefor; while the author of our Journal, a British partisan, dares not venture his "carcass" among the Americans at Vincennes.

Some interesting views are afforded by the Journal of the conditions affecting the conduct of the fur trade. The calling of the trader was one of toil and privation, his life constantly liable to forfeiture at the hands of the elements or of the fickle and impulsive red man. The sordid rivalry of the traders; the situation of Chevallier, "continually exposed to the malice and treachery of the Indians about him," the degenerating influence of the wild life, exhibited in the renegade, Montraville; the menu of acorns on which La Fontaine lived for five days in succession; the lying report about Lasselle, designed to compass his destruction; details such as these incline one to give the journalist's dictum that it was "a Rascally Scrambling Trade" a more general application than was intended by its author.

For the general reader the chief interest of the document

will lie, probably, in its picture of the life of the old French and Indian trading post, Miamitown. As I pen these lines my eye strays for a moment to the advertisement, on the page of a half-opened magazine, of a great manufacturing establishment of Fort Wayne; and as with a sudden rush I seem to realize how wide is the gulf which separates the life of the city at the forks of the Maumee today from that of its predecessor of a century and a quarter ago. The St. Joseph and St. Mary's still unite to form the Maumee, and still the spring-time flood, which drove the French habitants to their garrets and made the canoe the only vehicle of transportation from house to house, recurs to plague the modern city. But in all else the imagination can scarcely conceive a wider gulf than the one which separates the Fort Wayne of today from the Miamitown of 1790.

Our journalist presents, as with a moving picture film, a cross-section of life from what is commonly considered the most romantic period in the history of the old Northwest. To the critical eye of the conquering Anglo-Saxon the French settlers were slothful, vicious, and indolent. That there was a measure of truth in this judgment need not be denied. But the characteristic vivacity and gaiety of the French spirit shows nowhere to better advantage than when set off by such hard material conditions as those portrayed in the following pages. A careless reader of the *Journal* might well gather the impression that social diversion was the chief business of its characters. Feasts, dances, and ceremonies follow one another in close succession. The settlers assemble for midnight mass and for morning and evening prayers on Sunday, called there-to by the lusty ringing of cowbells. The musicians play the flute and fiddle indifferently for drinking bout and mass, and



at times go reeling from the one to the other. A "Pigg" is stolen for a joke and the victim composes a ballad on the subject. The order of the "Friars of St. Andrew" is organized for purposes not sanctioned by the rules of St. Benedict, furnishing the subject for another ballad. Not even the flooding of the town suffices to quench the gaiety, for before the flood has subsided the ladies are taken for a row on the river to the accompaniment of fiddle and flute.

Interesting, too, are some of the quaint customs of the time. Men appear at a ball wearing fur caps adorned with "Black Ostridge Feathers" and "amasingly large" cockades of white tinsel ribbon. On New Year's day the journalist makes the round of the village kissing all the ladies "young and old." That temperance reform had as yet made its appearance at the forks by the Maumee can scarcely be affirmed. On December 25 our journalist and his companions became "infernally drunk;" at an entertainment the following evening all except the writer became "very drunk;" the next evening the celebrants are "damned drunk;" and the following forenoon finds them again at their cups. On the occasion of another evening party it is deemed worthy of record that none of the men became drunk, "which is mostly the case in this place when they collect together."

The original Journal is the property of the Detroit Public Library. For furnishing the copy here presented acknowledgment is due Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, a valiant laborer in the local historical field. The document is a small volume having a calfskin cover. It bears upon both sides the name of P. H. Hay but within the journalist preferred, apparently, to sign the name Henry. Without positive knowledge in the premises, I am inclined to think that P. H. Hay and Henry Hay were one and the same person, an opinion shared by Mr.

Burton. Pierre Hay was born and baptized September 11, 1765. The records of St. Anne Parish contain no further mention of him, but Henry is mentioned as a witness at baptisms in 1787 and 1792.

The father, Jehu Hay, was a Detroit citizen of much prominence in the generation of the Revolution. A native of Pennsylvania, he enlisted in the Sixtieth American Regiment during the French and Indian War, and in 1762 was sent to Detroit with a detachment of troops. He served there during Pontiac's War and later entered the Indian Department. In 1776 he was made deputy Indian agent and major of the Detroit militia. In this capacity he acted as Governor Hamilton's chief assistant in the latter's contest with George Rogers Clark for the control of the Northwest. Upon the triumph of the latter, Hay, like Hamilton, his leader, was consigned to a Virginia dungeon. Toward the close of the war, having been released from captivity and returned to Quebec, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit; he had actually performed the duties of his office for only a year, however, when his career was cut short by death, in 1785.

The nature of Henry Hay's mission to Miamitown is nowhere stated in the Journal. Apparently he was in the pay of William Robertson, the Detroit merchant; there seems to be ground, too, for the conjecture that he was acting in some public capacity for Major Murray. Possibly the missing pages would have supplied the explanation, but its absence does not affect materially the historical interest attaching to the document.

Miamitown, where Hay passed the winter, was in 1790 the most important center of the Miami Indians. Situated at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph rivers, and com-

manding the important Maumee-Wabash portage, it was one of the vital strategic points of the Northwest. Recognizing this the French, in their expansion over the interior, in 1722, established a fort on the St. Mary's, at the beginning of the portage. In 1747, as the result of an Indian conspiracy, Fort Miami was burned to the ground. It was shortly rebuilt, at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, and was occupied successively by French and English garrisons until the summer of 1763, when it fell before the followers of Pontiac. The garrison was not restored thereafter by the English, but the French habitants continued to reside here, and the traders to resort to the place. As one of the chief centers whence the Indian war parties issued forth against the border settlements, when the American government at length determined upon a course of retaliation, Miamitown was at once marked for chastisement. Over the festive traders a dire fate was impending. The Americans believed that they were engaged in hounding the savages on to their work of devastation and torture. The traders on their part denied this, and probably with truth, for the conditions of Indian warfare and the successful prosecution of the fur trade were mutually antagonistic. This fact in no wise altered the American belief, however, and General Harmar, commander of the army about to be launched against Miamitown, was promising, in the event of a successful issue of the campaign, to attend to the case of "the villanous traders."

When the American army at length approached, in October, 1790, the natives drew back a short distance in anticipation of the blow. Miamitown was burned and a series of bloody conflicts ensued. The stream whereon but a few months before the Canadian ladies had been rowed to the music of violin and

flute now ran red with the blood of the soldiers. Eventually the Americans retired, the net result of the expedition being a "mortifying failure."

Harmar's expedition inaugurated a five-year period of warfare by the American government for the reduction of the tribesmen. Through it all, the site of Miamitown at the forks of the Maumee was a principal goal of endeavor. St. Clair was ordered to establish a large military station here in 1791; instead, he led his army to one of the most terrible defeats in American military annals. In 1794, a third American army at length succeeded. Miamitown was once more ravaged. Fort Wayne was constructed, and therewith the name of the grim conqueror became permanently attached to the place. With this change, this introduction to Hay's Journal may properly conclude.



## JOURNAL FROM DETROIT TO THE MIAMI RIVER

Left Detroit 9th. December 89, in company with Mr. Leith,<sup>1</sup> and attended by a French man and a negro. Got this night within 1/2 mile of Adam Browns,<sup>2</sup> slept in a deserted House, found it difficult to get a canoe to cross River aux Ecorse.

10th. Left this place about 1/2 past 8 o'clock. Crossed the River Huron very well, from that proceeded to River au Rozain<sup>3</sup> w[h]ere arrived about 1/2 past 4 o'clock in the Evening, found the roads very bad, creeks high, owing to the great falls of rain; slept at Capt. Bennacs<sup>4</sup> Justice of the Peace of this new Settlement who received us very well—saw my uncle Baptist Reaume<sup>5</sup> who promised to send my Maire into Detroit immediately.

<sup>1</sup>George Leith, a prominent Detroit trader. In 1788 he was represented to a government investigating committee at Quebec as a man "of liberal education and highly respected in the settlement [Detroit]." *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XI, 633. A number of his letters are printed in *Indiana Magazine of History*, V, 138 ff.

<sup>2</sup>According to one account of Pontiac's Conspiracy Adam Brown was at Detroit as early as 1763. He resided at Brownstown for a long time, later removing to Malden. In 1793 and 1794 he furnished supplies to the British authorities for use on the Maumee. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 366; XXXV, 63, 64; XXXVI, 358.

<sup>3</sup>The modern Raisin. On Thomas Hutchins' map of 1778 the name appears as "Au Rosine."

<sup>4</sup>Probably J. Porlier Benac, captain of the Raisin River militia company. After Jay's Treaty Benac was one of those who elected to remain a British subject. See *Ibid*, VIII, 410, 498; XXIV, 248.

<sup>5</sup>Pierre and Hyacinthe Reaume, brothers, came to Detroit in 1726. They became the progenitors of a numerous line of descendants, who from Detroit spread over the Northwest. Baptiste Reaume was evidently the brother of Hay's mother, whose maiden name was Marie Julie Reaume.



11th. Left Capt. Bennacas this morning about 8 o'clock; it was with difficulty that we crossed the River Rozin the Water being very high—Rain this morning, which turned out into snow afterwards. Found the Roads damned bad about half way, arrived at the Foot of the Rapids at McCormicks about sun sete—found myself very tired; found Mr. Arthur McCormick here going out Trading—

12th. Left Mr. McCormick about 10 o'clock, stopped at Cochrans at Roch de Bout<sup>6</sup> gott a Venison Stake & proceeded to the Prierie des Maske<sup>7</sup> were we made a large fire & encamped, found the roads pretty passable.

13th. Left this place this morning about 8 o'clock and proceeded to Glaize,<sup>8</sup> w[h]ere we arrived about ½ past 3 o'clock—we were received very graciously by Mr. McDonnell who lives there; he gave us good venison stakes & cyder—grogg &c. for Dinner;—Roasted venison for supper. &c.

14th. Left this place about 11 o'clock; but we were obliged to send our little baggage on to the little Glaize about three miles from this bigg Glaize which [a] canoe crossed us over—and we swam our Horses—the water was very high. Slept this

<sup>6</sup>Roche de Bout was the name given by the early French travelers to a rocky point projecting into the channel of the Maumee about a mile above the modern Waterville, Lucas County, Ohio. It was also the name of an Ottawa village in the immediate vicinity. Wayne's decisive victory over the tribesmen in the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, occurred a short distance down the Maumee from Roche de Bout. See C. E. Slocum, *History of the Maumee River Basin* (Defiance, O., 1905), 461; F. W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907).

<sup>7</sup>Prairie du Masque was a camping station a short distance above the Grand Rapids of the Maumee; so called from the fancied resemblance of the grass-covered bank to the form of a woman. The early American settlers, with unconscious humor, transformed the name into Damascus. Slocum, *op. cit.*, 553.

<sup>8</sup>At the junction of the Au Glaize River with the Maumee; commonly called by the American Grand Glaize, or Glaize. Fort Defiance was built there by Wayne in 1794, and later the place became the site of the modern city of Defiance.

evening about 8 Leagues from the place we sett out from upon a Hill—Mr. McDonnell and one Blanchet<sup>9</sup> an ancient Canadia[n] Trader came with us as far as this and slept with us; Mr. McDonnell had a horse load of Indian goods and was going to trade them at the Indian wigwams a few miles in the woods—a small distance from the place we encamped we met with some Indian Hutts which Mr. McDonnell visited, on his coming an Indian asked him if he was hungry; answered yes, then says he I'll roast a Rackoon for you & asked w[h]ere he intended to encamp that he might know w[h]ere to bring it—Mr. McDonnell told him—Mr. McD. told us his story. I believe the Indian wanted to do it, but Leith did not.—However about 8 o'clock in the evening, just after we had supped, we perceived a fire brand coming thro' the woods, which proved to be the Indian with a roasted Rackoon cut up in a wooden dish which he delivered to Mr. McDonnell. He seemed to be a very merry fellow, he left us about 10 o'clock—left his wooden dish, it being their custom, they come for it when they find you are gone.—Haile and raine this evening & part of the night.

15th. Parted with Mr. McDonnell & Blanchet this morning about 8 o'clock—rain and hail till 11 or 12 o'clock, found the Road very bad. slept at [illegible] about 7 leagues and a half from the Miami Town—a little snow this evening.

16th. Left this place this morning about ½ past 9 o'clock

<sup>9</sup>Possibly Joseph Blanchet, a French-Canadian trader who assisted in the ransoming of O. M. Spencer at Grand Glaize in 1792. See *A True Narrative of the Captivity of the Rev. O. M. Spencer by the Indians in the Neighborhood of Cincinnati, written by Himself* (New York, 1834 [?]).

and arrived at the Miami Town<sup>10</sup> about 10 o'clock, found the roads very bad. I visited Mrs. Adamhers<sup>11</sup> family.

17th. Wrote to Detroit to my brother Meredith & Baby, gave them an account of my jants & this place etc—visited a couple more of the french familys at this place found them very decent & polite—particularly at Mr. Adamhers who gave me a very friendly invitation to their house sans ceremonie.

18th. Wrote Mr. Robertson,<sup>12</sup> with respect to my  $\frac{1}{2}$  pay certificates not being able to send them in by Mr. Sharpe<sup>13</sup> who left this place for Detroit this day—but promised to get them made out the 25th Inst & forward them in by the first opportunity—We have had most delightful weather ever since

<sup>10</sup>The site of the modern Fort Wayne, Indiana. According to Capt. John Armstrong, a member of Harmar's army which raided the place in the summer of 1790, there were seven distinct villages in the vicinity of the junction of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph rivers. One of them was the Miami village, in the fork of the St. Joseph and the Maumee. Here the French traders lived. See H. S. Knapp, *History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo, 1872), 66.

<sup>11</sup>Probably the name should be spelled Adhemar. La Balme, who plundered the traders at Miamitown in 1780, lists one "Admer," a merchant, as "a dangerous man." This meant, of course, that according to La Balme's information he was loyal to the British cause. In March, 1779, one Adhemar who had been sent by Hamilton to Miamitown with ten perogues and thirty men to get provisions forwarded from Detroit, was captured by George Rogers Clark. In 1788 St. Martin Adhemar was appointed one of the commissioners of the newly-created District of Hesse. William Robertson, the spokesman of the Detroit traders who memorialized Lord Dorchester against the new act, gave as the objection to Adhemar that he was settled at Vincennes "in the American states." See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 622, 632; Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, 132; *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 194; for a brief sketch of Adhemar's career, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 159.

<sup>12</sup>Probably William Robertson, a prominent merchant, who settled at Detroit in 1782. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 627 ff; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 272.

<sup>13</sup>George Sharp, also prominent as a trader at Detroit. Robertson describes him as "of liberal education and highly respected." *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 633. Sharp was with Matthew Elliott when the latter ransomed O. M. Spencer at Grand Glaize in 1792. The picture which Spencer draws of him on that occasion is far from flattering. For further facts about Sharp, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 279, 291.

our arrival here. I think upon the whole this is a very pretty place—the River that this town is built upon is called the River St. Joseph which falls into the Miami River very near the town at the S. W. end of it. This day a prisoner was brought in here; Rather a elderly man was taken better than a month ago at a place called the little Miami—the Americans are now making a settlement at that place<sup>14</sup>—this man was engaging to work for one John Phillipps, one of the settlers, was out in a field about two miles from his masters, saving fother for the cattle when he was taken—last Spring was the first time they came to it. Lower down the river towards the falls of the Ohio about five miles from this settlement where the Americans are now very busy building redoubts & block Houses ever since last Summer—they have three companies of regular Congress Troops—the number not known<sup>15</sup>—Those three companies came from three different places viz:—Capt. Pratt<sup>16</sup> from Fort Pratt, Capt. Strong<sup>17</sup> from Muskingum, the other he does not know his name came from the Fall of Ohio, this place is called Licken<sup>18</sup> after a small river about the width of

<sup>14</sup>This was Columbia City, founded in November, 1788, three-fourths of a mile below the mouth of the Little Miami. Its projectors fondly hoped to see it become the metropolis of the surrounding region, and for a year or more their dreams seemed in a fair way of being realized. But the greater natural advantages of the site opposite the mouth of the Licking river destined this point, where Cincinnati was shortly founded, to be the site of the future metropolis. In 1873 Columbia City, still a small town, was annexed as a suburb to its successful rival.

<sup>15</sup>The settlement of Cincinnati was begun in the late autumn of 1788. The following summer Fort Washington was constructed at this point by a force of troops sent down the Ohio from Fort Harmar for this purpose.

<sup>16</sup>Lieut. John Pratt, enlisted from Pennsylvania.

<sup>17</sup>Capt. David Strong, enlisted from New York.

<sup>18</sup>The Licking River. Apparently Hay's informant was unfamiliar with the more imposing designation Losantiville given by the Kentucky pedagogue, John Filson, to the infant settlement. This hybrid, compounded for the occasion from Greek, Latin, and French elements, was intended by its compiler to signify "town opposite the mouth of the Licking." In 1790, at the behest of Governor St. Clair, Losantiville gave place to the modern Cincinnati.



this which comes from Kentuck and falls into the Ohio. This place has been commanded lately by one Major Dotty,<sup>19</sup> who is gone up to Muskingum for his health as supposed; the Governor (St. Clair) was expected down in his place for a short time.<sup>20</sup> Capt. Strong, he supposed comm'd in the absence of the major until the arrival of the Governor. The full compliment of the subaltern officers of the compy's he thinks were present for their appeared to him to be a great many of them—particularly in Capt. Strong's he thinks he saw at least three of them. He never was w[h]ere the troops are but one Sunday, therefore cannot give a certain account. This man is an Irishman born in the County of Tipperary came to America about Twenty years ago—never served with them or for them, lived the greatest part of the war in Virginia at a place called Fort Quire County<sup>21</sup> a country place—they had a Court House there—came down to this place (the little Miami) in July last. Last place he came from was Stantown<sup>22</sup> Augusta County—in Virginia. Aged about upwards of Forty. lost his father and mother very young. The Indians who took him are Delawares—did not use him ill nor did they took him with that intention, only to learn intelligence of what those People were about; he has his liberty, is to live with us the whole Winter as a servant and in the Spring the Indians have promised to take him safe back. It seems that he would prefer remaining

<sup>19</sup>Maj. John Doughty, commander of the force which built Fort Washington. On December 28, 1789, General Harmar, descending the Ohio from Fort Harmar, reached the new fort, and named it Washington "on account of its superior excellence." Fort Washington now became the military headquarters of the Northwest. On being relieved by Harmar, Major Doughty took command of Fort Harmar, which guarded the new settlement of Marietta.

<sup>20</sup>Governor St. Clair reached Cincinnati on January 2, 1790.

<sup>21</sup>Fauquier County.

<sup>22</sup>Staunton.



in this country had be but his cloaths and some money to the amount of Ten Pounds Virginia Money which Mr. Phillipps owes him. He was allowed from him for his work 40/ that currency per month and provisions—Virginia money is the nearest to sterling of any money in this country except Halifax is 6/ to the Dollar. Visited Mrs. Adamher and family this morning—This evening, also visited Mr. Rivarr's<sup>23</sup>—Miss Rivarr is a very pretty girl, inclined to be stoute, very fair, black eyes, but rather aukward. un peu a la Paysan.

19th. Froze hard last night. Ice comes down the river But still a very fine day—This day arrived here the *Little Turtle*<sup>24</sup> a chief of the Miamiae with his war party consisting of about fifteen or sixteen—they had made two prisoners (a negro and a white man) the negro was left with a few whites at the Little Miami. They rest went out looking for more, they left their baggage & four Horses—during which time the Americans came on them, retook the negro, plundered the baggage, horses &c. The Indians made off & joined the others. Went and paid a visit this afternoon to Mrs. Adamher—drank Coffee

<sup>23</sup>The papers captured from La Balme upon the destruction of his force near Miamitown in 1780, contained a list of the French inhabitants of the place, including one Rivard. Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, 132. Rivard is also mentioned in a letter from Detroit to David Gray at Miamitown, March 23, 1785. *Indiana Mag. of Hist.* V, 142, 143.

<sup>24</sup>Little Turtle was born on Eel River in 1752, and died at Fort Wayne in 1812. One of the ablest leaders the red race has produced, he was an inveterate foe of the Americans until the Treaty of Greenville, of 1795. He bore a leading part in the negotiations over the treaty, contending stoutly for the interests of his race. Convinced of the hopelessness of further resistance he pledged a religious observance of the treaty. Until his death, eighteen years later, this promise was kept, and Little Turtle was a firm friend of the whites. His greatest military exploit was the destruction of St. Clair's army in 1791 by the warriors under his command. He opposed making a fight against Wayne in 1794, and consequently the leadership of the red men in the battle of Fallen Timbers passed to his kinsman, Blue Jacket.

with her. She showed me a further mark of her Politeness & attention, by telling me as it was very difficult to get cloaths & Linnen washed at this place, begged I would send her mine that her Ponnie wench should wash them.<sup>25</sup>

20th. Little rain & snow last night which has made it very slippery. Rather a darking day. Saw this day the Rifle Horn & Pouche Bagg belonging to the American that was murdered by the Indians. It seems that he was rather an elderly man & very tall—had some money both Silver & Paper of Virginia. I find that this man was immediately killed after he was taken by one of the party who struck him twice or thrice in the back an side, in consequence he said of having some of his own relations killed lately. This is their way of retaliating; the young fellow that had taken him offered to hinder the other, but could not he was in too great a passion.

Paid a visit this morning to one Mr. Payetts<sup>26</sup> family, think nothing of Miss—She's very brown.

Passed an agreeable afternoon & evening at Mrs. Adamhers in company with Mrs. & Miss Rivare & Mrs. Ranjard; I played the flute and sang. Mr. Kinzie<sup>27</sup> the fiddle, & all the ladies except two sang also, Mrs. Ranjard has a fine voice. We drank tea & coffee about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 o'clock & a light supper

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<sup>25</sup>A pani (panis, pawnee, paunee, etc.) was a slave of the Indian race. This designation was due to the fact that most of the Indian slaves belonging to the Algonquian and other Indians of the Great Lakes and the Middle West were procured from the Pawnee tribe. *Handbook of American Indians*.

<sup>26</sup>Possibly the same person who La Balme's list of the inhabitants of Miami-town in 1780 designates as Paillet.

<sup>27</sup>This was John Kinzie who has acquired posthumous fame as the reputed "father" of Chicago. For a sketch of his career, see M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), 145-52. When Harmar's force destroyed Miami-town the summer following Hay's sojourn there, Kinzie apparently retired, with others of the traders to Grand Glaize. The captive, Spencer, speaks of his house here in 1792, and describes Kinzie as "a Scot, who, in addition to merchandizing, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the

about 9 o'clock and then broke up. The French settlers of this place go to prayers of a Sunday, morning & evening, at one Mr. Barthelmis<sup>28</sup> which is performed by Mr. Payee; the people are collected by the Ringing of three cow bells, which three boys runs about with thro' the village, which makes as much noise as twenty cows would. I went this afternoon to their prayers it being Sunday. A little snow this evening.

I forgot to mention the 19th inst. that on the arrival of the warriors the other side of the river, the Gree<sup>30</sup> ordered a Pirogue (which happened to be just arrived from the forks of the river with wood) to be unloaded by some of the french lads who stood on the bank, and sent one of them over with it; on their arrival he Billeted them like Soldiers so many in each House according to the bigness of it, and took care to trouble the families as little as possible—we had six;—This he

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Indian his brooches, ear-drops, and other silver ornaments, at an enormous profit, for skins and furs." Spencer, *op. cit.*, 30. Kinzie later established himself at Parc aux Vaches on the St. Joseph River, near the forks of the Chicago-Detroit and the Chicago-Fort Wayne Indian trails. In the spring of 1804 he removed to Chicago, where Fort Dearborn had been constructed the previous summer. Except for the four years from 1812 to 1816, this was his home until his death in 1828.

<sup>28</sup>One of the oldest inhabitants of Miamitown. His name is included in the "census" of Indiana of 1769, and also in La Balme's list of the inhabitants of Miamitown in 1780. See Illinois State Historical Society, *Trans.*, 1909, 132; Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, II, 439, 440.

<sup>29</sup>Probably the priest, Louis Payet, who was born at Montreal in 1749, and came to Detroit in 1781. He made trips to the missions at Vincennes, Cahokia, and other outlying points. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 493.

<sup>30</sup>Le Gris was the French nick-name of the Miami chief Na-ka-kwan-ga, or Crippled Ankles. The name appears as Nah-goh-quan-goh in the treaty of Greenville, and Naquakouande in a speech of 1773. (*Mich. Pion. Colls.*, Vol. 19, p. 310). Antoine Gamelin, who visited Miamitown in April, 1790, on an embassy for the Americans, speaks of him as "the great chief of the Miamis." *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1832-61), I, 94. His importance among the Miami is sufficiently evident from the following pages. He was prominent in the warfare with the Americans which closed with Wayne's victory of Fallen Timbers, and in the negotiation of the Treaty of Greenville the following year.

ordered in a very polite manner, but quite like a general or a commandant.

21st. Monday. The weather rather mild and foggy—much inclined towards rain. This morning Mr. Leith told me the Gree was going off immediately after breakfast with his people a hunting—& that this hunt was to bring in meat for me, and that consequently I should be under the necessity of giving him a small two gallon keg—which I did; as rum is very dear at this place no less than 40/ a gallon. I borrowed it to be returned at Detroit. The reason I gave them the rum now is, that they may not drink it about the village; it being against Major Murray's<sup>31</sup> positive orders to give Indians rum at this place or sell &c., And as I'm for supporting those orders as much as lay in my little power was my particular reason for giving it to them at present; for they no doubt will not expect anymore—If they do I must say they shall not get it from me,—not only to prevent quarrels which might happen in the village if they got drunk and also supporting the Major's orders, but its an expense to myself which I shall not be able to support. Capt. Johnny Shawnee Chief<sup>32</sup> arrived yesterday morning; from his village according to the message we sent him by an Indian woman which we met on our way here, the day before we arrived. The Gree introduced me yesterday to his Son, my brother and old play fellow as he called him. And this morning when a[t] breakfast after I had given him the rum, he & his wife both directed me to look at my brother what a dirty fellow he was.—He also introduced me to his grand

<sup>31</sup>Major Patrick Murray, Sixtieth Regiment, British commander at Detroit at this time.

<sup>32</sup>Captain Johnny was a Shawnee chief of some importance. A number of his speeches are preserved in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 385, 519; XXIV, 597, 598; XXV, 242-44, 690-92.



daughter who had formerly made me some small Indian Present, which I had repaid with rings—his own and only daughter died some years ago, whom he said had been my very great friend.

I was shown this morning the Heart of the white Prisoner I mentioned the Indians had killed some time ago in the Indian Country—it was quite drye, like a piece of dryed venison, with a small stick run from one end of it to the other & fastened behind the fellows bundle that killed him, with also his Scalp.

Another party of the Miamies and one Shawanie came in from war This day with one scalp the[y] danced over the River, one with a stick in his hand & scalp flying; it being their custom.—Some of the warriors came over in the evening, to our House. It was rather a dirty morning; it thawed very much; we had a little rain—however it turned out a pretty clear afternoon.

22nd. *Tuesday.* Very fine beautiful morning. Froze very hard visited Mrs. Adamher this afternoon

23 *Wednesday.* Very fine morning more like Spring than fall weather, grass quite green—not the least frost last night—I never observed 'till this morning that a Man may easily walk over this River it being very shallow, Very few Indians here at present—most of them are gone a hunting. There are two Villages at this place one on this side the River & one on the other—the former belongs to the Gree—the other to Pacan<sup>33</sup> who's now in Illinois, but in his absence is Commanded by his

<sup>33</sup>Pacan was for many years head chief of the Miami. As a young man, in 1764, he rescued Captain Thomas Morris from impending torture at Miami-town. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 366, 367; Thomas Morris, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (London, 1791), 22, 23. For a stirring speech of Pacan's in behalf of the English, in 1781, see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 595, 596. To a speech to Sir Wm. Johnson, in 1773, is attached the name "Pakane Junr.," who is probably the man who signed the Miami Treaty of 1809.



nephew one Mr. Jean Baptist Richerville, son to one Mr. Richerville of *Three Rivers* in Cannada by an Indian woman—This young man is a Trader here—his Father has wrote for him to go to him which he means [to do] next Spring. His mother is now gone into the Indian Country (*dans les Terre as the french term it*) to trade; She lives with him when she's here—the young man is so very bashful that he never speaks in council, his mother who is very clever is obliged to do it for him.<sup>34</sup>

This evening the Gree's Brother arrived from his hunting Ground—his name is the *Deer*. He formerly was great Chief of this Village but chose to give it up to his Brother—he's very clever—his Brother never does anything without consulting him.—Capt. Johnny left this place this morning for his Village.

24th. *Thursday*. Very fine day—but cold—froze hard last night. Several Potewatomies arrived here this afternoon with skins, meat &c. Visited Mrs. Adamher was pleased to desire I should send her any linnen or any thing else that I may want to mend. She asked me to go with her to the midnight mass—and also asked me if I would play the flute which I did. Mr. Kinzie & myself went to Mrs. Adamhers about 11 o'clock—he brought his fiddle with him—we found a french man there who played with us.

25th. Came home this morning about two o'clock from mass; Mr. Kinzie & myself called first at Mrs. Adamhers on

<sup>34</sup>Richardville, or 'Peshewah" (Pin-ji-wa—The Wildcat) was born near Miamitown about the year 1761, and died at Fort Wayne in August, 1841. His later career indicates that he bravely overcame the bashfulness of which Hay speaks. From the death of Little Turtle in 1812 until his own death in 1841, Richardville was head chief of the Miami. At the time of his death he was accounted the richest Indian in North America, his weaith being estimated at half a million to a million dollars. See *Handbook of American Indians*; Knapp, *History of Maumee Valley*, 361-64.

our return home, who gave us some venison stake and roasted rackoon—Played the flute & Kinzie the fiddle with the french man this Morning at Mass; being a particular desire of the Peoples. We left our instruments at the House w[h]ere prayer is said. I cannot say much indeed for the Trade of this Place their's but few skins comes in, and almost every individual (except the engagés) is an Indian trader, everyone tries to get what he can either by fowle play or otherwise—that is by traducing one another's characters and merchandise. For instance by saying such a one has no Blankets another no strowde or is damned bad or he'll cheat you & so on—in short I cannot term it in a better manner than calling it a Rascally Scrambling Trade &c &c.

Somehow or other I lost a Silk Pocket Handkerchief this morning coming home—which I never expect to see—and my Brother Johnnys<sup>35</sup> fine travelling knife stole last night, which I also give for lost.

Very hard frost last night, a great deal of ice floating down the river this morning, there was also a small *Boredage* indeed one place so wide and strong that several boys were sliding upon it, however its not extraordinary quite the contrary—for the fine weather we have had here ever since our arrival & which still continues is very much so & what I have never yet seen in this Country—however at this moment (1 o'clock) it has much the appearance of Snow which is much wanted for the Indians hunts—for deer and rakoon.

Play again this afternoon at Vespars.

<sup>35</sup>John Hay became later a prominent citizen of Cahokia, Illinois. R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908), 130.

26th. Got infernally drunk last night with Mr. Abbott<sup>36</sup> and Mr. Kinzie—Mr. A.—gave me his daughter Betsy over the bottle. Damnation sick this morning in consequence of last night's debashe—eat no breakfast—Kinzie & myself went to mass and played as usual.—Mrs. Ranjard gave us a cup of coffee before mass to settle our heads.

Very little frost last night—a very mild day—but rainy and disagreeable—and muddy in the bargain—very little ice floating this morning.

Mrs. Grie having made us a present of a very large Turkey Cock weighing about 30 pounds, we proposed having a Dinner among us Englishmen here.

Mr. Abbott fetched some Maderia & Mr. Kinze a Piece of fine newly corned pork—upon which we made a most excellent dinner at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 o'clock after Kinzie & I had played at Vespers as usual—

After K— and I went to see Miss Rivarre & found the miss Adamhers there, the old people were out of the way.

George Girty<sup>37</sup> arrived here this day from his wintering

<sup>36</sup>James Abbott was born in Dublin in 1725. On coming to America he first settled in Albany, removing to Detroit about the year 1763. He engaged extensively in the fur trade, conducting operations at Mackinac, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Fort Wayne, Ouiatanon, and Vincennes. He was the father of Robert and James Abbott, leading citizens of Detroit in the first half of the nineteenth century, and of Samuel Abbott of Mackinac. James Abbott Jr. married Sarah Whistler at Fort Dearborn in the spring of 1804, thus furnishing the first recorded marriage at Chicago. Elizabeth Abbott, the "daughter Betsey" of the diarist, was born at Detroit in 1777, married James Baby, and died at Sandwich in 1812. See P. Casgrain, *Memorial des Families Casgrain, Baby et Perrault du Canada* (Quebec, 1898), app. G.

<sup>37</sup>George Girty was the younger of three brothers—Simon, James, and George—who for a full generation were objects of loathing and terror along the American frontier. Natives of Pennsylvania, the brothers were captured, along with the other members of the family, by an Indian raiding party in the summer of 1756. Reared by the Indians, George Girty married among them, and became practically an Indian himself. He died near Fort Wayne, Indiana, shortly before the outbreak of the War of 1812. See C. W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1890).

ground which is only four miles from here—its called the Delaware Town—he desired I should write in to Capt. McKee<sup>38</sup> by the first opportunity to acquaint him that in consequence of the Miami Indians upbraiding the Delawares with telling them that the Ground they occupied now is not theirs and that upon which the Delawares answered, they were great fools to fight for lands that was not theirs and consequently would not go to war against the Americans any more; but that they will for a certainty leave the Country and go down to the Spaniards and put themselves under the protection of that Government. That he had already sent word in some time ago that they were talking of going which he hardly believed at that time—but at present can safely say that there is not the least doubt of it.—Begs at same time that Capt. McKee may not make mention that this Intelligence came thro' him—and that if Capt. McKee would Immediately send in a String of wampum to hinder them from taking such a step it would no doubt immediately stop them. Turned out a pretty good afternoon.

27th. Sunday. Kinzie & myself were invited to sup with a Mr. Barthelmie (the man of the house w[h]ere prayer is said) last night, with Mr. and Mrs. Adamher—Mr. de Sanlaren<sup>39</sup> a french gentleman a Trader at this place who formerly

<sup>38</sup>Alexander McKee, like the Girtys, was a native of Pennsylvania, who sided with the British in the Revolutionary War. He became an agent in the British Indian Department, where his influence over the natives, which he employed to incite them against the Americans, made his name one of sinister omen to the frontiersmen until the close of the Indian wars in 1795. For a sketch of McKee, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 434.

<sup>39</sup>Probably Céloron, one of the sons of Pierre Joseph Céloron, formerly commandant at Detroit. During the Hamilton-Clark campaign on the Wabash, Céloron was sent by Hamilton to take command at Ouiatanon, a short distance below the modern Lafayette, Indiana. Clark sent a detachment to capture him, whereupon Céloron beat a hasty retreat up the Wabash. He met Hamilton's army at the mouth of the Maumee, en route to capture Vincennes; Céloron here so conducted himself that Hamilton later charged him with treachery. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1912), 281; *Illinois Historical Collections*, VII, 130, 179.



was an Officer in the french Service before the taking of Canada &c. &c. and Mr. Baptist Lassell—we had a roasted Turkey and to my great surprisè and indeed every one else we had a roasted Loine of Veal—a kind of wilde sallad which they have here all winter on the other side of the River which was very good & also some very [good] cocumbers pickels cheese &c. Grogg the only drink.—everything served up in the french Stile—The miss Adamhers came and joined us after supper from Mr. Rivarres. Gentlemen & Ladies every one sung a song—after which I proposed walking a minuet with Mrs. Adamher which was accepted of & followed by a Smart Gigg Kinzie the fiddler. Then K. & Miss Adamher relieved us & play the Piper & So on—until about 11 or 12 o'clock when it was proposed on cachèt, by Mrs. Adamher to give Kinzie a *bouquet* as it was the Eve of St. John—his name being *John* which was done in the French Stile—a man was posted at the door with a loaded gun ready to fire when ordered.—Mr. Adamher carried the bouquet on a plate which was made in this manner viz: A large cake with a stick in the center and some blue ribbon tied about it and three charges of powder and ball on the plate also. I proceeded in front of Mr. Adamher playing the freemasons March (Come let us prepare) Mr. K. being a freemason & just as Mr. Ad—delivered him the bouquet with the Common compliment upon such an occasion, I immediately stepped forward opened the door and gave the word fire which was done, I then took the three charges of Powder & Ball of[f] the Plate and thro' them into the fire successively, which made three very good explosions—Kinzie got very drunk and so did every one except myself—K. was obliged to sleep at Mr. Adamhers—was too drunk to go any further—so much for last nights business.



Rained all last night and continued so to do—a very great fogg this morning—the weather very mild, in short the most unaccountable weather I have ever yet experienced at this time of the year—if it continues the Fur Trade will be very bad this year and no doubt its impossible for the Indians to hunt in this kind of weather; they may get a few Rackoon, Otter & beaver with Traps. They only kill a few deer & Bears in this wett weather particularly Bears—but not equal to as when the snow is on the ground.

Played as usual at mass. Kinzie told me this morning that Mr. Abbott requested that I should dine with him to-day.—which we did and had a good Tea Pye & a drink of Grogg.

28th. *Monday.* Last night I supped sans ceremonie at Mr. Rivarrs about 5 o'clock.—After which we repaired to Mr. Adamhers, and from that went according to appointment at Mr. de Selerons were we danced 'till about 11 o'clock—it being St. John's day & Mr. de S—a freemason, a bouquet was presented to him—upon which he and Mr. Adamher got damned drunk.—Visited the ladies this morning, also Mr. de S. who I found drinking with Adamher and some others—did not stay long as they wished me to drink at so unseasonable an hour as 11 o'clock in the morning—but promised to joine the Corum in the afternoon.

Made out my Half-Pay certificate this day—was sworn by Mr. Leith—Mr. Ironside<sup>40</sup> made out the Bills of Exchange for me; So that every thing is now ready to send to Mr. Robertson

<sup>40</sup>George Ironside, at this time a leading trader of the Maumee Valley, was born in 1760, and died at Amherstburg in 1830. For many years he was in the British Indian service. He was an M. A. of King's College, Aberdeen. In 1792 he had a house at Grand Glaize. O. H. Spencer, whom Ironside befriended during the former's captivity there, speaks highly of his humanity and hospitality. See Spencer, *op. cit.*; *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 737.

at Detroit by the first opportunity. [Page missing.] time; but having eat a good dinner upon a young wild Turkey with a couple of glasses of Port Wine, drove it off immediately. This evening about five the Gree & his Brother in Law, the Little Turtle arrived from their wintering Place; they drank tea, also maderia Grie who came in after them and who presented us with a couple of Turkeys—The Grie told me his young men would be in in a few days, that they came first to inform us of it.—It being near the New Year, and a common custom among them to flock in about that time from their wintering places, to Salute, and of course expect some little matter.

30th. *Wednesday*. Bad cough all night—the same today—Little or no frost last night—Very mild day—but cloudy and Dark—very muddy &c.—

The Grie & Turtle visited us this morning.—Began to raine about 2 o'clock this afternoon and continued 'till near 10 or 11 o'clock.

31st. *Thursday*. Little Snow this morning, and rather cold—Very little or no frost.—The Grie and Turtle Breakfasted with us this morning.—The sun begins to Peep, all the appearance of a fine day.—The day did not turn out as I expected—it got cloudy about 1 o'clock & a little Snow.—Cold. Began to freeze about 4 o'clock this afternoon

1 January 1790 *Friday*—

Most Beautiful Sun Shiny day—Froze hard last night. High wind & pretty cold &c &c.

It being New Year the Indians who are in great number, more so indeed than I could ever have thought, also the Woman—came into the house in great numbers by three o'clock this morning which prevented Ironside & me from Sleeping—one lady came to shake hands with me when in bed.—The

House was quite full at Breakfast time—The Grie & Turtle came to visit us & breakfasted with us as usual.

I forgot to mention that last night about 5 o'clock I was sent for by the Grie with Mr. Ironside. When I went to him, he informed me that his Son my Brother as he calls him, had sent me in something to eat, which was a Carcass of Venison & four or five Turkeys which he begged I would accept—His Son could not come in on account of his rather young child being unwell.

The Grie asked me this morning for a bottle of Rum, I was rather loath at first to give it him, but having informed me it was only for the reception of myself or any few friends that might come to see him—as he has always been accustomed to it, I told him that in case he should have it, and that I expected he would not make a bad use of it—He answered that he had more respect for the recommendation I had brought him from Major Murray than to do any thing of the kind—for says he who's to protect you from any insults that might be offered to you by any hot headed Indian but myself—and should I get drunk—I know myself not capable of it.

Visited most of the Principal families of this place this morning & kissed all the Ladies young and Old—The Grie did not keep his promise with me—he was rather drunk towards the evening.

2nd. Jany. *Saturday*. Danced last night at Mr. Adamhers—no other strangers but madam Ranjard & Kinzie & myself—During the time we were dancing a french man arrived from Marie Louisas<sup>40½</sup> Trading Place about 25 Leagues from here—

<sup>40½</sup>Marie Louisa was the baptismal name of the youngest sister of The Little Turtle. Her Indian name was Ta-kum-wa, or The Parrakeet. Ta-kum-wa literally, as the Shawnee Tecumtha, means going across, or crossing over. The parrakeet was very common in Indiana at that time, and the Miamis evidently gave it this name on account of its parrot beak.

this M. Louisas is mother to yo[u]n[g] J. Baptist Richerville mentioned in my Journal some days ago. He brought word that Mr. Antoine Lassell (who is traveling at a place called le Petit Piconne<sup>41</sup> Six Leagues from the Ouias)<sup>42</sup> is made Prisoner by the Ouias Indians—supposed for having wrote a letter some time ago to Fort Vincennes apprehending them of a Party of Indians that intended to strike there—that this Party was in consequence of it taken Prisoner by the Americans at a Post<sup>43</sup>—that Lassell had also mentioned that one of the Party

<sup>41</sup>Antoine Lasselle had been a resident of Miamitown for nineteen years at the time this journal was written. When General Harmar destroyed the place the following October, Lasselle followed Little Turtle's band to the new Miami village on the Little Glaize. He was an active partisan of the British-Indian cause, and served, garbed as an Indian, in Captain Caldwell's company of Canadian militia which fought against Wayne at Fallen Timbers. Too corpulent to keep pace with his dusky allies in their rapid retreat before the points of Wayne's bayonets, Lasselle concealed himself under a log, thinking to make his escape after nightfall. He was discovered, however, and promptly tried as a spy. The story is told that, finding the trial going against him, he gave the Masonic signal of distress, whereupon Colonel Hamtranck, president of the court-martial, threw his influence in his favor, resulting in a verdict of acquittal. Whatever the truth as to this may be, Lasselle, together with his brother Jacques, shortly afterward secretly entered Wayne's employ, and labored zealously to bring the Indians to conclude a treaty of peace with the Americans. See J. P. Dunn, *Indiana* (Boston, 1888), 436—40; W. A. Brice, *History of Fort Wayne* (Fort Wayne, 1868), app. 16, 17; *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 494.

<sup>42</sup>Petit Piconne is an unique corruption of Ki-ta-pi-nong, meaning the town at the mouth of the Tippecanoe (Ki-ta-pi-ka-na) river. This is the name of the buffalo fish. At this time there was an important Indian village here, where resided a number of French traders. The Ouias was a village in the vicinity of the old French post Ouiatanon, near the site of Lafayette, Indiana, Ouiatanon was founded by the French after 1722; there had been no garrison here since Pontiac's War, but it was still an important center of the Indian trade. These places were raided by an American army under Gen. Charles Scott in June, 1791, and again in August, by a force commanded by Gen. James Wilkinson. See *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 131—33; "Ouiatanon," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, II, 319—48.

<sup>43</sup>Vincennes. The post which the French established here in the first half of the seventeenth century was designated "poste au Ouabache," or, more commonly, simply "au poste." The early American settlers transformed this into "the Post" or "Opost."



was Son to the Indian who burnt an American Prisoner at the Ouias last Summer.—The Indians having understood that the Americans meant to Burn this Indian, is the reason they have fallen upon Lassell and mean to burn him—his men are also prisoners—they will of course plunder him &c.—I'm sorry for it and so is every one at this place—tho' he certainly has brought [it] upon himself—

This morning after Breakfast—Mr. Adamher Mr. Leith & myself with all the Principal traders of the place collected ourselves in this house and met the Grie which was sent for for that Purpose—After he was made acquainted with the matter and his Advice asked—he answered that he was extremely sorry to hear such news, and that he had always given his advice to the people here how they should act when they went into the Interior Parts of the Indian Country—but that the french had frequently gone without letting him know or asking his advice; And that particularly Mr. Lassell who altho' he had advised not to go to that part of the country did absolutely go without acquainting him of it—for says he, had he mentioned it to me I should have sent one of my Chiefs with him, or given him a belt, as a Guard and which would have prevented any thing of this kind happening—However says [he] no time is to be lost as I am now immediately going off to my wintering Camp I shall detach three faithful warriors of mine with a belt from me to inquire into this matter which if true will effectually put a stop to it—(*if it has not already taken place.*)

Mr. Dufresne a french trader who is concerned in that part of the Country—gave him about two fathoms of Smoking Tobacco—Virmillion Provisions &c—Mr. A. Lassell has all

his goods from Mr. Baby<sup>44</sup> which concerns me much on his account if any thing should happen.—As Mr. Kinzie means to go to Detroit on Monday next I wrote this day to the Major with respect to this affair—and to Capt. McKee with regard to the Delewares.—

Beautiful Day—froze hard last night—Wrote Mr. Robertson of Detroit this day inclosed him my bills of Exchange and certificates for my  $\frac{1}{2}$  pay Wrote my brother also.

3 *January Sunday.* The Grie & Little Turtle went off on horse back for their wintering Camps, after breakfasting with & thanking us for the reception they received from us during their stay—I gave them a bottle of Rum. For it must be observed that they have nothing here to live upon—everything they possess & have is in the woods; they all come in in the Spring to the amount of four or five hundred—

Began to raine a little this Evening—Not the least frost last night—Thaughed all day.

4 *Jany. Monday.* Mr. Kinzie went off for Detroit at day break this morning. Raine all last night, which turned into Snow towards morning.—Very disagreeable dirty day—the Snow & Raine which we had last night has created a great quantity of mudd—wind a little high and sky Cloudy.—Danced and Supped at Mr. Adamhers, sans ceremonie as usual last

<sup>44</sup>The Baby family had long been prominent in Detroit and Canada. The founder of the Detroit branch of the family was Duperron Baby, who was born at Montreal in 1731 and came to Detroit twenty years later. In 1760 he married Susanne Reaume. He was the father of no less than twenty-two children, several of whom achieved prominence. A natural daughter by an Indian mother married the chief, Blue Jacket, who figures in Hay's journal. The eldest son, James Baby, married, as we have already seen, Elizabeth Abbott. Another son, Francis, married Elizabeth Abbott's sister, Frances. Duperron Baby died at Detroit in 1789. Whether Hay's allusion is to him or to one of his sons must be left to conjecture. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XV, 704-6; Casgrain, *op. cit.*, app. G; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 44.

night.—Little Snow this afternoon—Last night while we were dancing at Mr. Adamhers his Pigg was stolen out of the Penn.—this is the 3d he has lost in the like manner the last one before this was stolen on the very same day last year.—However this one turned out to be a good story which is as follows—Mr. De Seleron & two or three french men & Mrs. Ranjard were in the secret—it was Seleron & two others who took him away—Mr. Leith as a Justice of the Peace having every reason to suspect White People as well as myself, gave me a search warrant thro the Village attended by Mr. Ironside & one La Chambre a french man, we had almost gone thro' the whole, when we came to Mr. De Selerons were we found Mr. Adamher & the people who had taken, they were telling him the story when we entered the House to Search.—we were immediately made acquainted with it—but stile continued our search to the other house we had not been at, keeping the secret, we even went to Mrs. Adamhers—own house & found the Poor woman very much affected at it, it being their only support when the fresh meat is killed, and what hurt her more was, that she intended to kill it tomorrow, and that the like had happened to her last year—however about an hour after she was very agreeably made acquainted with the joke and I never in my life saw such in a womans countenance when they told her of it—Mrs. Adamher is a woman who is amasingly fond of playing her jokes upon other people, she's always serving some one or other a trick; for which they were fully determined to play her this one, which we premeditated upwards of three weeks ago.

After I had made my report to Leith—Ironside & myself undeceived him about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour after at which he laughed very much. Its a good joke and it will at the same time put

those people on their guards who are apt or may intend to make robberies.

5th. *January Tuesday.* Very fine day, but cold, the weather quite changed.—Began to freeze very hard about 2 or 3 o'clock this morning.—Ironside & myself having mentioned last night that it would be a good thing to steal the Hogg back again from those that stole it which they heard; and mounted a Guard over him one of the party actually slept in the Penn with it—

This day about 2 o'clock arrived here one Tramblai from the Ouias—He left Mr. Ant. Lassell very well at the Little Piconno the 29th December, and contradicts everything that we heard the 1st. Inst. with respect to that Gentleman, so far from it, that Mr. Lassell writes Mr. Adamher by this Tramblai that he never Traded better nor easier, that the Indians are perfectly quiet in that part of the Country—Such a Damnable lying Report. I never experienced before in my life, —because in general, altho' Indian Reports are never to be believed, there is always something similar to what is reported—but in this affair not even a single quarrell happened—The Grie seemed to put but very little confidence in it—I believe the french People here mean to send an express immediately to prevent this message being sent.

6th. *January Wednesday.* Froze hard last night—& very cold all night. Turned out quite mild about 10 o'clock and began to snow very hard.—all appearance that the winter is now setting in.—am much afraid Kinzie will not get to Detroit by water.—After snowing about a couple of hours pretty smartly—it began to raine & continued 'till 10 o'clock this Evening.

7th. *January Thursday.* It began to blow amasingly hard



last night about 11 o'clock & froze very hard.—Very cold winday day—a great deal of Ice floating down the River.—This afternoon about 3 o'clock arrived the Indian sent to apprise the Grie respecting Lassell's affairs—they were just going to set out when he arrived their. He presented the Grie with a Carrott of Tobacco, telling him—here's what your Brother, the french sends you & desires me acquaint you with the good news they have received, & that you need not trouble yourself with sending your message.

The three Indians pitched upon by the Grie—were *The Little Turtle*, *The Little Turkey* & *Le Jollie*.

8th. Jan'y. *Friday*. Very fine Sun Shiny day—Pretty Cold.—a great quantity of Ice floating down the River—Froze hard last night.—Invited all the principal people of this place to play cards with me this Evening.

9th. Jan'y. *Saturday*. This is the coldest day we have had since my arrival. But very fine over head—Wind began to blow excessively hard about day break & continues so to do. I scated for the first time yesterday upon a marrai about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile at the back of the village—this marrai falls into a creek which goes by the name of *le Rouisso de Rioll*. which falls into the Miami—This creek takes its name from a Frenchman who once had a hutt close by it.

Supped this Evening at Mr. Dufrennes in company with some of the Principal French of this Place & then we all went and played cards with Mr. Abbott.

10th. Jany. *Sunday*. A most excessive cold day, quite severe—but very fine over head.—River closed some time in the night—Indians walked across this morning—Turned quite milde this afternoon. Dined with Mr. Abbott, Leith also, Mr. Ironside being unwell could not go. We were joined in the

afternoon by Miss Adamher, Rivarre, De Seleron & Lassell; we drank six Bottles of wine; the two first Gentlemen preferred drinking Grogg. It must be observed at same time that we three had already drank four bottles before any of the wine drinkers came in.—We were all pretty merry.—It began to Snow about 9 or 10 o'clock this Evening.

11 *January Monday.* A great quantity of suow fell this last night and still continues to fall.—Its very mild at the same time. Turned out fine weather about 4 o'clock this Evening.

12 *January Tuesday.* Froze hard this morning about day break—Turned out a very fine Sun Shiny Day—Tramblai returned this day to Little Piconno.—This day the roofe of the House got on fire—lucky it was not in the night or we should all been burnt.

13th. Yesterday about 2 o'clock arrived here Mr. Antoine Lassell accompanied by a french man & one Blue Jackett<sup>45</sup> a Shawanie Chiefe. He is come in consequence of the report spread about him, which we received the 1st. Instant.—He was made acquainted of it by the following Letter which he received the night before he came off viz.

<sup>45</sup>Blue Jacket, an influential Shawnee chief, was born about the middle of the eighteenth century. After Little Turtle, he was probably the most prominent leader of the Indians in the destruction of St. Clair's army in November, 1791. Since Little Turtle counseled peace when Wayne appeared on the Maumee three years later, the chief command in the battle of Fallen Timbers fell to Blue Jacket. Defeated, he yielded to the Americans and was one of the signers of the Treaty of Greenville the following year. According to the *Handbook of American Indians* he disappears from sight after signing the treaty at Fort Industry, 1805. Other accounts represent him as again raising the hatchet against the Americans in 1812, and as present at the River Raisin massacre, January 22, 1813. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XV, 6292, 693; Casgrain, *op. cit.*, 100.

From La Riveere a Languielle<sup>46</sup>

6th. January,

1790.

My Dear Friend

Yesterday Evening arrived here two Indians sent by the Grie to the Ouia to desire the Indians of that place to take you Prisoner and take you to the Miami Town, saying that you had writ a bad letter respecting them to the Americans.—It seems its one La Lache a Uuia Indian (*half blooded*) who has reported this against you among the Ouia's and other wintering Camps; That the Soldier<sup>47</sup> & The Porcupine two Chiefs of Riviere a Languile have sent the messengers back to the Grie, saying that they would inform themselves of the matter—that as far as this they had not heard anything of the matter but thro La Lache who is a great Rascall—The messengers did not intend to stop here, but having a letter from Young Mr. Coco Lassell from Mr. Durfrense was their Reason for stopping—This letter was apprising young Coco of such a report being here which Mr. Dufrense sent by a Ponnie lad who I suppose mett with these people & gave it to them, which is a lucky circumstance for you.—The Soldiar & the Porcupine desired me to write you immediately in case some rascalls w[h]ere you are might hear of it and use you ill.—They desire me at the same time to tell you to write to the Grie or to make the *Petite Face* or any of the Principal Indians acquainted

<sup>46</sup>Eel River. Logansport, Indiana, is situated at its junction with the Wabash. The Indian town was strung out along Eel River for several miles above its mouth.

<sup>47</sup>"The Soldier" is the literal translation of Ci-man-ka-nis-si-a, who was chief of the Eel Rivers. The name is made Sha-me-kun-ne-sa in the Treaty of Greenville.

with it and desire them to send by you Strings of Wampum to the Grie to undeceive him of this matter.

I am &c.,  
Jacque Godfroy.<sup>48</sup>

Mr. Lassell could not bring any Strings with him from little Piconno because the Chiefs were not at home, but he stopped at La Riverire a Lanjerielle<sup>48½</sup> from which place he has brought a string accompanied with a paper mentioning the meaning of it—from the Soldiar & The Porcupine to the Grie. But he has brought with him the following certificate, signed by all the french Traders, and Indians then present at the Little Piconno, viz—

We citizens of the little Piconno certify that the bearer Antoine Lassell is a good loyalist and is always for supporting his *King*.

	his	
	Diaum X Payette	
	mark	Lamoureux
X his		
Jean Cannehous	his	
mark	Etienne X Pantonne	Henri Rainbeare
	mark	
Jacque X Dumay		his
his mark		Toop X Maisonville
		mark

<sup>48</sup>Probably Jacques Godfroy Sr. He figured in the events attending Pontiac's siege of Detroit in 1763, and the following year saved the life of Capt. Thomas Morris. He was at Miamitown when Harmar fell upon it in October, 1790, and carried to Detroit an account of the ensuing battles. The following spring his goods, to the value of £500 were destroyed by the American army that raided the Wea villages. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 283—85; XXIV, 106, 107, 166, 273; XXXVII, 448, 453; Thomas Morris, *op. cit.*

<sup>48½</sup>Lanjerielle is an evident miscopy of L'Anguille, the French name of Eel River.



his  
Lamoureux X fils  
mark

his  
Piere X Clairmont  
mark

his  
Jean X Coustan  
mark

his  
(Little X Egg)  
mark  
(Ouia Indian)

his  
(The X Sirropp)  
mark  
(Peria Indian)

The Two considerable Indians of the little Piconno for the Present.

The following is what the two above Indians say to the Grie—

The Grie.

We are much surprised that you harken to the Doggs of the Villages, and if the above news were True we should send you sensible men to acquaint you. Its La Lache who is a bad Indian & a Runner from one Village to another—He does not belong to our village—we beg you will not believe those bad Birds, who goes from one village to another creating very bad things & disturbances—as the Little Face, Chief of this village of the little Picanno is not here; he gave us power to act in his absence.

A True Copy taken by me this 13th day of January 1790.

*Henry Hay.*

Very fine warm day, Rather inclined to raine—

This day Mr. Lassell sent of[f] a messenger to the Grie desiring his presence at this place immediately. This has been a very curious matter altogether—However Mr. Leith and myself are of opinion that one Persons name has been taken for the other. There is one Fouché a french man, who has no doubt acted exactly in this manner as Mr. Lassell was Represented to us to have acted, on the 1st. Instance. Mr. Lassell nor does any of us believe that The Grie had anything to do with it, quite the contrarie, we are of opinion its some other Indians who has an antipathy against Mr. Lassell & who changed the name of Fouché to his, purposily to hurt him, and that those Indians made use of the Gries name in hopes of carrying on the matter to their wish.

A great thaugh this day—

14th. *Thursday*. Very fine day—a little frost last night; In consequence of the great thaugh we had yesterday the snow has melted off the Ice & the Water coming over it froze so hard last night, that it afforded me the pleasure of Skating upon the River this morning—Turned out a very warm beautiful day—Thaw's a good deal and I'm afraide will carry off the Ice.—Wrote the Major<sup>49</sup> this day an account of Mr. Lassells arrival at this place and every thing respecting his affairs as mentioned in this Journal yesterday.

15th. *Friday*. Rain'd very hard most part of the night, Very high wind, &c. A very disagreeable day—a little frost this morning which makes it very slippery. I never experienced such an Evening as this at this time of the year—It began to Thunder & Lightening about 6 o'clock, Then it began to Blow & Raine as if heaven and earth was coming together which lasted till about 11 o'clock.

<sup>49</sup>Major Murray, commandant at Detroit.

16th. Played cards last night at Mr. Dufrenes in Company with all the principal People of the Village, did not come home untill this morning about 4 o'clock rather Drunkish—Froze hard about day breake—Rather an obscure day, not very cold.—

This day the Grie arrived about 2 o'clock. This Evening Mrs. Adamher and Mrs. Ranjard made a Bouquet which we all Presented to Mr. Dufresne in Honor of St. Antoine, he bearing that name—It was then carried from that to Mr. Adamher, Mr. Rivarre, Mr. Barthelmies, Mr. Selerons & then back again to Mr. Dufresne we danced in each house, the Ladies being with us.

17th. Froze hard last night—Most beautifull day.—This evening we had a Dance at Mr. Dufrenes by Mr. Anto'n Lassells invitation were all the Descent Ladies of this place were Present.—Signified to the Canadians this day my wish for them to fire three Vollies to morrow in consequence of its being Her Majestys Birth Day, which they unanimously assented to, to my utmost expectations.

18th. Jan'y. Her Majestys Birth Day.<sup>50</sup> God Bless her—We accordingly fired three Vollies as was proposed yesterday. I gave them the word of Command myself—Posted Mr. Adamher as an Officer on the Right & Mr. de Seleron on the left—Gave the young fellows a Gallon of Rum—a bottle to the Grie at his own Request—The Snake<sup>51</sup> & some of the Principal Shawanies are here—I made them & the Grie acquainted with the Reason of the Rejoicing.

<sup>50</sup>The birthday of Queen Charlotte of England was May 19. I am unable to suggest an explanation of Hay's apparent error in this respect.

<sup>51</sup>The Snake was chief of a band of Shawnee whose village in 1792 was in the vicinity of Grand Glaize. O. M. Spencer, who saw him on the occasion of a visit to Blue Jacket, describes him as "a plain, grave chief, of sage appearance." *op. cit.*, 29.

About 2 o'clock this afternoon I was apprized by Mr. J. B. Lassell that the young Canadian Volunteers intended to come & thank me & give me a Vollie in the front of the House—I immediately went home & they appeared in about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour to my great surprise with a Drum & the fiddle we had in the morning; they were headed by one of the Serjeants I made in the morning.—After they had fired their Volley, they begged I would head them & march to the Houses of Mr. Adamher Mr. Seleron & Mr. Leith to pay them the same compliment which I did.—I proposed to Mr. Leith that he and I should give dance this Evening which he assented to, consequently Mr. Ironside & myself immediately went round to all the Ladies & Gentlemen of the place and invited them.

19th Sunday. I never enjoyed myself at a Dance better than I did last night. The Gentlemen & Ladies all appeared dressed in their best bibs & Tuckers, & behaved very descently not one of the men the least in Liquor, & which is mostly the case in this place when they collect together—As Mr. Leith never walks a minuet I opened the Ball with Mr. Adamher—When Mrs. A.—entered the room I desired the fiddler to play, *God save the King*. I made Tangrie for the Ladies, and Grogg for the Gentlemen. Between 10 & 11 o'clock we gave them Coffee, which Mrs. Adamher was so good as to make for us.—We danced some *Dance Ronby*, one particularly a very curious one—It was sung by Mrs. Rangard, the chorus was rather Bawdie—that is a good double intendre which was—*Avee sons grand viesous viesous, avec sons grandpasse par-tous*—at the end of the first chorus; the plant a foot, the 2d two feet—the 3d a knee the 4 both knees, 5th and elbow, 6th bothe, 7th your head and 8th your bomb—so that the last summons the whole up—your right foot plant, then left, 1 knee, 2d knee, 1 elbow, 2d elbow, your head & your bombe.



As this is three nights now that I have danced, I find myself very tired this morning, my feet much swelled—And what with dancing, catching cold & given the word of Command yesterday I am quite hoarse.—I forgot to mention that yesterday was rather a disagreeable day—very muddy, misty, & now & then a little raine—began to Snow last night about 11 o'clock.—This is a very mild day.—Rather cloudy & Thick.—Mr. Lassell sett off this morning for Little Piconno, The Grie & Blue Jackett also for their different wintering Camps.

One Robidos a french man which Mr. Lassell sends express to Detroit, is likewise sett off this day.

Mr. Adamher & Mr. De Seleron made their appearance at the Ball with very fine fur caps on their heads, adorned with a quantity of Black Ostridge Feathers—Cockades made with white tinsell Ribbon, amasingly large—As their was a great deal of Mudd—Mrs. Payette who is an extraordinary large woman was sent for in a Carte, accompanied by her Husband & Daughter—Began to Snow again about 10 o'clock.— & Continued till the evening. Spent this Evening at Mrs. Cicotts in Company with Mrs. and Miss Payette.

20th *Wednesday*. Began to blow excessively hard last night about 11 or 12 o'clock—froze very hard; this is the coldest day we have had yett. Payed a few visits this morning and Dined sans ceremonie, with Mr. Dufresne.—Went and drank coffee about 4 o'clock this afternoon with Mrs. Adamher; The cold seem to increase as the sun setts.

21 *Thursday*. Froze very hard & excessively cold all night.—Something milder this morning—The Suns out which makes the weather very fine over head.—It became rather cloudy & thick about 10 o'clock, & in the Evening a very large ring round the moon—however about 8 o'clock it cleared up &

began to freeze pretty smart but not so cold as yesterday-night.

22 Friday. Very fine day, not the least cold. It Thaws a good deal.—Young Mr. Lassell caught a Rabbit this morning in one of the snares he had laide for the purpose.

Several Putewatomies arrived this afternoon with Peltry & a great quantity of meat—viz. Venison, Rackoons, Porcupine, Bare & Turkeys &c. the most of which Mr. Abbott bought; the Blanket its what the Indians want most at present & no one else except Mr. Dufresne has any at this Post but Mr. Abbott.—Beautiful Evening, not the least cold.

23 Saturday. Most beautifull day, quite warme—Scated about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour this morning on the River. Thaws a good deal which will soon carry off what little snow we have on the ground.

The Grie & Son arrived this afternoon from his wintering camps—He immediately sent for Mr. Ironside & me; when we went to him, he addressed himself to me—Son says he, here is my Son your Brother who has brought you a little meat to make you some broth which he beggs you will accept, I should not says he have come myself, but my Son who is very bashfull asked me to come with him.

24th Sunday. Very fine day, quite warm but dirty under foot owing to the great thawings.

We played cards & supped at Mr. Adamhers last night, there was a good many Gentlemen their. The Gries Son's present consisted of four Turkeys, two leggs and two sides of Venison exceedingly fatt. Sent a Turkey in a present to Mrs. Adamher—The Grie & Son breakfasted with us this morning according to invitation.

25th Monday. Very fine day—Froze hard last night. Spent the last Evening at Mrs. Scicotts—Mrs. Payett & Daughter

were their—Mr. B. Lassell, Francis Lassell<sup>52</sup> & Mr. J. B. Richerville & myself went together—the fiddler came in about 7 o'clock and we danced 'till about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 o'clock, then we broke up—took Mrs. Payett home & played her the Cuckold March. Frome that we adjourned to Mr. J. B. Lassells with the fiddler, w[h]ere we drank Grogg, & from that we went and Serenaded the young girls & women of the Village.

Turned out cloudy & Gloomy about 12 o'clock and continued so 'till the Evening & most part of the night—

26th. No frost last night. This morning early it began to blow very hard & Snowed a little—Played cards last night at Mrs. Cicotts & serenaded the women again about 11 o'clock. Mr. Adamher informed me this [day] that a letter came to him yesterday directed to the *Grie* and to the *Pishew* (this last is Mr. J. B. Richerville) from the *Porcupine* & *Soldier* Chief of La Riviere a Languielle, telling them to have an eye over their young men & not to believe any false reports that goes about the county, that everything with respect to Lassell was totally false, & for the future not to believe those false reports, that they may depend upon it when ever any thing occurs they would send notice of it themselves, and never to hearken to any thing any one says except when it comes from people of character and chiefs who may be depended upon—for they cannot tell a Lye—

The Grie breakfasted with us this morning & went off immediately after for his wintering camp. Begins to freeze about 2 o'clock. a very fine Evening.

<sup>52</sup>Francis Lasselle was a nephew of Antoine; his father, Jacques Lasselle was Indian agent at Miamitown from 1776 until 1780. When La Balme attacked the place in the latter year he fled by boat down the Maumee River with his family.

27th. *Wednesday*. Very fine day—froze very hard all Night ; left off blowing about 8 o Clock last night. We had a little hopp last night at Mr. Adamhers sans ceremonie. Turned out thick & cloudy about 1 or 2 o Clock—and about 5 began to blow very fresh—freeze hard and a little Snow—The *Gros Loup* (a Mohicken Indian who has lived amongst the Miames ever since his Infancy), gave me a love letter which he picked up in some place or other—Its dated New Madrid, May 6th, 1789 signed by J. S. Story and directed to Miss Betsey Gray, Ipswich Massechusech.

This is my mothers Birth day—God bless her—42 years of age.<sup>53</sup>

28th. *Thursday*. A very bitter cold day, froze hard all night. Yesterday Evening arrived here a Mr. Lafontaine<sup>54</sup> a Trader who left this about 36 days ago—He went down the Wabache River then turned into the woods towards White River & their traded with the Indians.—he made 80 Deer Skins and about 500 Rackoons.—which he brought upon the horses he took out his goods upon—however he did not trade all his goods away, for he fetch'd some back—Its very extraordinary that meat was so difficult to be had that he & the Indian that

<sup>53</sup>Marie Julie Reaume was born at Detroit in 1748. She married Jehu Hay and became the mother of several children in addition to our journalist. She died at Detroit, March 23, 1795. In 1793 Henry Hay petitioned for 5000 acres of land by way of a pension for his mother, which was granted. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 691; XXIV, 557.

<sup>54</sup>Probably Francis La Fontaine, who had been engaged in the Indian trade at Miamitown at least since 1780. According to La Balme's information, La Fontaine was then in charge of the warehouse of Charles Beaubien, the principal trader of the place. Beaubien had married the mother of J. B. Richardville, the Marie Louisa of Hay's Journal. Enraged over the plundering of their warehouse, Beaubien and La Fontaine incited the Indians to make the attack upon La Balme which resulted in the destruction of his little force. La Fontaine had a son, Francis, who married a daughter of Richardville and upon the death of that chieftain in 1841 succeeded him as chief of the Miami.



was with him were five days feeding on acorns on their return home. The fifth day in the Evening he sent the Indian on the look-out for Indian hutts to purchase meat, who fell in with a large Rackoon Tree which he cutt down & found five in it, which was a great resource; nothing extraordinary in the Indian Country.

29th. *Friday*. Exceedingly cold all night, rather cloudy & thick this morning, about 10 'Clock began to snow.—Messrs. Adamher, Dufresne & La Fontenne played cards here last night— Turned out rather milder this afternoon; about 8 o'clock this Evening it began to blow & Snow very hard— The snow drifted a good deal—The wind did not continue long.

30th. *Saturday*. Very fine day over head—a great deal of Snow fell this last night—Not quite so cold as yesterday morning.—Began to freeze about 5 o'clock this evening—very clear sky.

31st. *Sunday*. Mild snowy morning, took a ride on a carriolle this day with Mr. J. B. Richerville, as far as Mr. James Girtys House which is about two miles—Several Indians arrived this day from different places with peltry—This afternoon about 4 or 5 o'clock arrived here Mr. George Girty from his wintering camp with two loaded horses of Peltry. Brought with him his wife & two sisters in law (*Indians*)—He confirms the intention of Delawares going to the Spaniards in the spring, but says not many of them. Snowed the whole blessed day & part of the Evening.

1st *February*. *Monday*. Snowy morning & very mild. Mr. G. Girty returned this day to his camp; Mr. Ironside accompanied him & returned in the evening with his horses loaded with Peltry.—The Snow did not continue—very gloomy day—

Mr. James Girty<sup>55</sup> told me this Evening that Capt. Johnny Chief of the Shawanees was collecting all the Indians together to a Grande Council—He also shew'd me a red scalp which he got from a Delaware Indian; the meaning of this Scalp he does not know as yet, but it seems it must be sent into Detroit by the first opportunity.

2d *Tuesday*. Frooze exceedingly harde last night—Cold & Snowy morning—Turned out a very fine Sun Shiny day about ½ past 1 o'Clock—Still continues to freeze hard—Wind N. Several Ottawas came in this morning from hunting, & brought their furr with them—Mr. Cicotts man arrived this morning from their excursion to la Riviere a L'anguille. Left Mr. Cicott about three Leagues from here, his Horse having given out; This man is to return to him immediately with a fresh one. Mr. Abbott, a Trader, of this place one of our disaffected subjects has been I'm told trying to traduce his brother Traders, by telling the Indians that every trader here was a Soldiar that the Good[s] they had was not theirs & that they were selling for other people—but, says he is quite different with me every thing that I have here is my own & I owe no one anything whatsoever—

It seems that he collected some Indians this day at his House & told them that every Trader here has a pass & that they were obliged to have one, but as for him he had no such thing as a Pass. (*which by the by is the case*).<sup>56</sup> I'm further in-

<sup>55</sup>On James Girty see *supra* note 36. For a comprehensive sketch of his career, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on Upper Ohio*, 234, 235, O. M. Spencer gives an unpleasing account of Girty's brutality toward him while a captive at Grand Glaize in 1792. *op. cit.*, 43.

<sup>56</sup>For a contemporary account by William Robertson of the practice of issuing passes to those wishing to trade out of Detroit see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 639. Robertson stated that at that time, (1788) passes were no longer required. Hay's statements on the subject seem to contradict this.

formed that he spoke to the Indians of Major Murray & Capt. McKee in so disrespectfull a manner that they are determined to send Strings of Wampum into Detroit immediately to informe them of it. There is several other things that has passed which has not as yet to come to my ears. Mr. Cicott arrived about 3 o Clock this afternoon.

3d. *Wednesday*. Froze very hard all last night—Cold morning Wind N. Rather thick over head. Spent the Evening last night at Mr. Dufresne's played cards.—Mr. Abbott proposed my going with him as a Companion in the Spring to Port Vincennes—I told him I could not think of venturing my Carcass to such a place as that, among a parcel of renegards—This day about 12 o Clock arrived here Mr. Kinzie from Detroit which he left the 23d of last month—Received a letter from Major Murray and another from my Brother—also one from the Glaize from Mr. Sharpe acquainting me of his being obliged to leve my horse at that place as he had given out; and was in a bad condition—However Mr. Kinzie informs me that he's in a fair way at present owing to the good care of Mr. McDonnell who stays at the Glaize.—

Mr. Kinzie tells me the Major is very well pleased with my conduct, for having informed him of what passed at this place & a great deal of party work at Detroit, Damn'd glad I'm not amongst them. I look upon it that I'm far better off at this place, tho' ever so much out of the World. Haile and Raine this Evening about 7.

4th. *Thursday*. Snowed and froze hard from 12 o'clock last night & till this morning early—Began to snow again about 8 o'Clock & still continues. Cleared up about 3 o'clock this afternoon—freezes hard this Evening, Very Winday. Several Indians, (Principally Shawnee) arrived this Evening with a quantity of Peltry. The Snake has passed three days with us

here—He returned to his Camp this afternoon.—As we began some few days ago to establish a society, call'd the Most Light Honorable Society of the Monks, we have this Evening completed it—Mr. Leith is appointed Grand Master and Commissary—Hay Secretary, J. B. Richerville, J. B. Lassell, Francis Lassell, Geo. Ironside & J. Kinzie, La Chambre, Musician to the Society. Rules are to be drawn out for which hereafter no one will be allowed to be a member without he gives his Honor that he will truly & voluntarily stick by them, and support them with all his might &c &c &c.

5th. *Friday*. Little snow this morning early. Rather thick over head. The weather much milder; but still pretty cold—Saw Mr. Cicott yesterday—nothing in that part of the Indian Country that he's been in.—Turned faire about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past ten o Clock. The sun out.—Mr. Ironside & James Girty are gone down this afternoon to the Shawanee's village about 3 miles from here to try & get their peltry.

Turned exceedingly cold about 12 o'clock—Very high wind—N. W. Mr. J. B. Richervilles mother arrived this day from her wintering camp—Went & paid her a visit about 1 OClock—She has been a handsome woman—

6th. *Saturday*. Supped last night with J. B. Lassell, Kinzie, Richerville & F. Lassell were there—we played cards till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 oClock—Froze much harder & the cold much keener this last night than it has been this winter. Very beautiful Sun Shiny day & quite calme. Very mild Evening.

7th. *Sunday*. A Little Snow this morning—High wind—S. Quite mild—It Thaws. Snow & very high wind this Evening.

8th. *Monday*. Cold morning—Froze very hard most part of the night. The Rules of our Community (which is now call'd the Friars of St. Andrew) are drawn out by the Grand Master



and this day to be copied and translated into French by the Secretary. This Evening Mr. Leith collected the Friars of St. Andrew and made them acquainted with the articles they are to abide by, after which each member got a copy of them.

9th *Tuesday*. Froze very hard all night & exceedingly cold—It continues very cold—altho' the Sun is out. Wind W. and very Strong all day, this day is absolutely the Coldest we have had this winter as far as this, & its the opinion of every one as well as myself.

10th. *Wednesday*. Froze hard last night; Very fine clear day over head, but still very cold. Wind W. but not so strong as yesterday. Not quite so cold this Evening as the last.

11th. *Thursday*. Much milder than yesterday; Rather Cloudy & Thicker over head.—It was an excessive cold night notwithstanding. Visited Mrs. Adamher this afternoon—Copy'd off the two french songs that she made; respecting her Stolen Pigg,—And the Miamies Recollects.

12th. *Friday*. Very fine day over head, Rather colder than yesterday, Not very cold this last night; it began to freeze hard about day breake. This afternoon arrived here one Clairemont from the Petit Piconno, says Mr. Lassell arrived there about 15 days ago. Nothing extraordinary in that part of the Country—was 8 days on his way here.

13th *Saturday*.—very beautifull day, not the least cold.—Some Indians have lately been near the Ohio—on this side of it it seems they fell in with a Party of Americans, killed some of them & stole their horses, and took a negro Prisoner, one of those Indians a Shawanee who goes by the name of the Horse Jockey was wounded in the breast & hand by his own Tomyhawk which the American had wrested from him. The

Indian however got the better & killed him. The above account we got several days ago.

This morning about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 o'clock a Party of warriors of the Shawanies Nation brought in a Prisoner—They took him on this side of the Ohio at the mouthe of Kentuck.

The Party that took him were out hunting last Spring, during which time some Miamis went to war and returned a different road they went & passed by this hunting party, the Americans pursued them & fell in with the Hunters & killed several of them women & Children &c. one Joseph Sovereigns who had been a Prisoner from his infancy was killed at that place;—These People went out last fall to revenge themselves & took this Prisoner who was out hunting much about the same place w[h]ere their own people were killed. Mess. Leith, Ironside & myself went down to the Chilicothe village of Shawanese<sup>57</sup>—They were then in council—that is the young man who took the Prisoner was given a very minute Report of all what passed—which they are obliged to do—This party is not of this village, they belong to the Messessinoue<sup>58</sup> Village. The Reason for bringing him here is, that he's given to a man of this village.

Little Raine & Sleete this afternoon, turned out Snow this Evening.

14th. *Sunday*. Very disagreeable day. It thaws very much.—The Prisoner will not be hurt—Black Bairde Chiefe of the Chilicothe Village is not at home; Theirs will be a ceremony whe[n] he arrives to adopt this Prisoner—I forgot to mention that when they came in with him yesterday, he held in his hand

<sup>57</sup>Two miles below Miamitown.

<sup>58</sup>The modern Mississinewa. The Miami name of the stream is Na-ma-tci-sin-wi, meaning "it slants," i. e., there is much fall in the river.

a Shishequia which he kept ringing in his hand. (its made of deer's hoofs) singing out lowde the words *Oh Kentuck*. His face was painted as black as Divils—which will be rubbed off as soon as he is adopted by one of the Roy'l Family—He'll be washed & cleaned up &c. When they came into the Town they stopped at a French mans house—Several Indians of their acquaintance went up to them & shook hands with them & the Prisoner, which was a good sign respecting the latter;—For we were apprehensive that they would burn him, as they went to war upon a revenge. They have its seems got a good many Horses this Trip.—Mr. Kinzie & Mr. James Girty went down this afternoon to see this Prisoner; Kinzie informed him that he need not be upon any apprehension for his life & that he was very lucky in being in hand that he was; Kinzie asked him where he was borne he answered Richmond in Virginia, that he left that place a little better than a month that he came thro' the Wilderness to Kentucky to get a debt that was due him in that Country that he was Several' days in Kentucky—& not more than two at the mouthe of the River, when he was proposed by two other young men to cross the Ohio & hunt Turkey saying there was a great number of them, they had not been crossed but a very little time after separating themselves in different parts of the wood, when he perceived the other two making for the River, he did the same, but too late for they had already got into the Canoe & were actually crossing over, he attempted to take the woods but could not, the Indians had him between them & the River, however he tryed what he could do, & attempting to look round he received a knock in the forehead with a War Billet, (which was thrown by one of the Indians with an intention of hitting him in the Neck) he was immediately seized by another Indian, the other called out

not to hurt him; which they did not.—The Chiefe who was out hunting heard of a prisoner being taken sent word immediately that he should not be hurt—Its about fifteen days ago since he was taken—They have washed his face—but not his boddy, which will be done & also cleanly dressed when the Chiefe Black (Bairde) arrives, a Belt of Wampums is now making which will be thrown over his head when he's adopted & which he'll ware. He's being lately from Virginia shews very plainly that he was not in the action last Spring, and that some evil minded people who wanted to hurt him in the mind of the Indians—He's quite a young man, his name is McMullen.

15th. Monday. Rained, Hailed, Thunder'd & Lightened about day breake this morning as if heaven & Earth was coming together—Still Rains—Did not raine much after 10 o'Clock, but Springkled which made it very dis-grable—The weather much changed, we were obliged to open the windows almost all day.—Dined with J. B. Richerville in company with J. B. Lassell, F. L. & Kinzie.

16th *Tuesday*. What with Thaw & Raine the Snow is almost off the Grounde. Rained pretty smart this morning—Rained very hard all day—

17th *Wednesday*. Yesterday being *Mardi Gras* the Friars of St. Andrew, supped together at Mr. Richervilles. Mr. Ironside being unwell could not come. They sang a good many songs & retired to their cells in good time—The water has risen exceedingly this last night—at least 12 feet. Breakfasted this morning at Mr. J. B. Richervilles—Rained most part of the night.

18th. *Thursday*. Water much higher, it now runs thro the Village in such a manner that it separates it in three parts—the place that it runs in at, is quite rappid; This part of Vil-



lage is quite low & small rising ground on each side, occasioned by the great flood last year, when it seems the people were obliged to desert their houses & take for the Rising Hills in the woods & their encamp. The water is now within two feet of being level with the bank of the River which is not less than eighteen feet high, the River is at present about twice as broad as it was, before the water began to rise. Weather quite Milde *but Clowdy*. Water enough in the River for the Rebecca<sup>59</sup> to Swim in. The rappid so very strong, that its as much as two men can do to bring up a Canoe.

We are obliged to make use of Peerogues or Canoes to go to see those people who live on the other two Islands occasioned by the water—Sun shined about 4 o’Clock, turned a beautifull Evening untill about 8 or 9 o’Clock when it became Clowdy & Thick. After sun sett Mr. Leith, Ironside, Kinzie & myself and some french men, carried a long flatt piece of Timber & placed it across the narrowest part of the run & fall which enters from the River for the purpose of crossing more at our ease, as we are often obliged to be going backwards & forwards from our house to that of Mr. Leiths—it makes a very good Bridge.

19th. *Wednesday*. Raine this morning early—Pretty smart—a thin sleety raine continues which makes it very disagreeable—Rather a Raw day. Water still Rising. This afternoon about 2 o’clock arrived here from Detroit one *Jerome* a french man in Mr. Leiths employ with a Horse load of Blankets and Robedoux who left this for Detroit 19th. Jany on Mr. A. Lasells affairs—They came as far as Roche de Bout in Slays—

<sup>59</sup>The “Rebecca” was a government armed vessel of 136 tons, built at Detroit in 1782. When used as a merchant vessel she carried a complement of fifteen men; when equipped as a war vessel, thirty-five men. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 12.

Received letters from my Brother, Meredith, Baby & Mr. Robertson—the last respecting one Chevalier at Petit Piconno, which Mr. Robertson had heard was dead, but no such thing. The ice began to float down the River about 3 o’Clock this afternoon but soon stopped. 8 o’Clock the River is quite choaked up with Ice & the water Rising very fast, its now equal with the Banks of the river. 9 o’Clock some of the Ice entirely over one part of the Bank.—My Horse which Mr. Sharpe left at the Glaize is dead,—not owing to the fatigue he got, but a small worme which has killed a great number of Horses—he was fatt when he died. Played cards at Mr. Dufresne’s this Evening, with Mr. and Mrs. Adamher.

20th *Saturday*.—Began to raine this morning about day breake excessively hard & left off about 8 or 9 o’Clock—A great fogg this morning. Our bridge across the Run carried off—The Ice has totally choaked up the entrance of Run so much that it answers in lieu of the bridge, the River is choaked up in the same manner, a Person might easily cross the River upon it.—Fogg cleared up about 10 o’Clock & began to blow pretty fresh.—Went to Mr. Cicotts this day to inform myself Respecting Piere Chevallier trader at Tipiconno for Mr. Robertson, from one Cleremont who lately came from that place but he could not give me so good an account of him as Mr. Cicott who went there himself this winter—he says some time in December last this Chevallier was robbed by the Potuatomie Indians, in the night when asleep owing to his not making his door fast, that he got some of his goods back, and that what they got was not considerable—Mr. Cicott says that its risking Property too much, to let him have it, as he lives in the woods with only one man with him continually exposed to the malice & treachery of the Indians about him—

that he means to come to this place very early in the Spring and will send in a few packs to Mr. Robertson.

11 o'Clock. Wind seems to increase— About 3 o'Clock this afternoon the Ice floated down the River & the Run all in a body, I don't think I ever saw a grander sight; a number of Loggs & Trees, stumps of trees &c came down upon it. The River is now pretty clear except the run which is full from the mouthe till about halfway. The water which ris immediately on the ice's going, is—now lowering much—I must observe that a little time before the Ice went off that two Miami Indians walked over it, a third was on his way when the Ice began to move, he was obliged to return immediately; The Ice made a great noise when it came down. The water touched Mr. Payett's step into his house and very near that of Mr. Cicotts—The Ice was by large lumps jumbled up together which occasioned the noise, as they Ran one over the other.—Rather Raw this Evening.—Raine from 7 to 9 o'Clock.

21<sup>st</sup> *Sunday*. Beautifull morning. The River quite clear of Ice—The Run still choaked up— Water about four feet lower.—about 10 or 11 o'Clock the Run got clear of Ice. About 1 or 2 o'Clock it began to raine & continued 'till the Evening.— A Great deal of Ice came down this afternoon, a good deal of it went thro' the Run—Water rise a good deal this afternoon.— a great quantity of Ice at the bottom of the Run, a great quantity of Wood, Old Trees &c. came down with the Ice this Evening. This evening I was sent for by Mr. J. B. Lassell to be a witness to his marriage with Miss Rivarre. Mr. Adamher, Mr. De Seleron and Mr. Barthelemie were also witness.—

22<sup>nd</sup>. *Monday*. The finest day I have seen for some time— A good deal of Ice still floating.—The Centre of the Run

choaked up.—a great quantity of Trees, Stumps &c. floating down this morning—Froze a little last night. 12 o'Clock—Mr. Leith got the people to make a Bridge with the loggs that floated into the mouthe of the Run—Very little Ice floating at Present.

23rd. Tuesday. Damn'd disagreeable day. Rained most Part of the night, Thunder a little at a distance; Snowed about day breake. Yesterday rote Meredith, Jack Robertson, Wm. Robertson & my Brother, and this morning wrote to Thoms. McKee.<sup>60</sup> Not the least sign of Ice on the River. Raine most part of the afternoon—Thunder & Lightning about 5 o'Clock, & rained exceedingly hard. Mr. Ironside shewed me how to know when the Lightning & Thunder is near—As soon as it lights you Count the number of Seconds between it & the thunder, & each second, its 1120 feet off—multiply this by the number of seconds, divide by 3 & it will give you yards and by 1760 & it will give you the distance in miles should it be 10 far.

24th. *Wednesday*. Some time in the night Mr. Kinzie came in to informe us that the water was rising very high that it was already at his Step—He came in again about day breake & told us it was entirely in his House, desired he might bring his apprentices here & also stay himself with us—The water is amasingly high obliged to make use of a canoe to fetch Mr. Leith here, the water rising close to his Door—Mrs. & Miss Payee obliged to fly their House about 12 o'Clock in the night & take refuge at Mr. Barthelmies, Mr. & Mrs. Cicott were obliged also to go up to their Garrett. Mr. Lorains, Mr. Lafontaine Houses & Mr. Kinzie's Shopp where he works is

<sup>60</sup>Son of Alexander McKee, and for many years in the British Indian Department.



an Island of itself. A river runs on each side of them the same at Mr. Leiths, but the last will soon be overflowed— 9 o'Clock, Its at present not far from our own door—Obliged to cut down Picketts & make a road thro the different yards, the Streets and Bank entirely overflowed—Blows excessively hard—Raine most part of the Morning— Our House quite surrounded with water— Runs amasingly in the cellar—Mr. Leith obliged to desert his.— Every House almost in the village is in the same Predicament—we are all obliged to put our trunks & things in the lofte—We are now Prepared for its coming in the House— Mr. Leith & Kinzie put up a stove in the loft of the Company's House— Mr. Ironside & myself joined them this afternoon— The water came into the house about 3 o'Clock, a good deal came up from the cellar. After Supper which was about 6 o'Clock Mr. Leith returned to his own Garrett. Mr. Ironside & myself got under way in the Canoe to return to our Garrett, but we were very unfortunate, just as we came into the rappidest part of the water, a whirl Pool very near oversett the Canoe, Mr. Ironside who was steering, slipped backwards & fell into the water, the canoe had then greate way & lucky enough arrived close to the upper part of the Picketts of the Grave Yarde which I immediately took hold of & held fast by them standing on the ribbon, pushed the Canoe off immediately with the lads that were in it, who got down the Current in time to save him. He says when the canoe came up to him, he was just gone—The lads took him into one Mr. J. Morris—& came immediately back for me—I got some dry clothes for him at Mr. Adamhers.— Water not rising much.

25th. *Thursday*. Water very little higher than it was—Blue and froze excessively hard this last night—Very fine sun

shiny day. As I'm not overfond of Canoes I do not mean to return to the Compys House.—Breakfasted at Mr. Adamhers & I'm engaged to dine there also. 11 o'Clock, Water seemingly Rising—

26th. *Friday*. Very little frost last night.—Gloomy day—Water rose a little last night & is still rising.—Canoes goes thro several yards ever since the day before yesterday. There is not above three Houses that you can walk to without wetting yourself or going in a Canoe. Went in a Pirogue with J. B. Richerville & F. Lassell & paid a visit to Mr. Leith in the Friponne,<sup>61</sup> also to Mrs. Cicott in her Garrett—This last House has at least water half way up to the Garrett Floor—Sun shined about ½ past 12 o'Clock. Pd. J. B. Lassell a visit alone. The water had obliged Richerville to quit his House & go to his mother's, Her House is very high from the Earthe, which prevents the water coming to it as soon as the others.

27th. *Saturday*. Wind began to blow very hard last night about 10 o'Clock & continued the most part of the night.—Froze very hard—Water lowered a little—Very fine day—1 o'Clock—Water still falling. High wind this afternoon, S. W. About Sun sett the wind dyed away & it became a perfect Calme; A very beautifull Evening— Water has fallen about 4 inches at least this day.

28th. *Sunday*. Froze very hard last night. Water fallen about 15 Inches since last night. Very fine Sun shiny day—

<sup>61</sup>Probably this term is used in the sense of warehouse. Toward the close of the French régime in Canada royal storehouses were established at Quebec and Montreal. Because of the officials peculations that developed in connection with their administration both the storehouse at Quebec and the one at Montreal became popularly known as La Friponne, or The Cheat. See Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1885), II, 24. It seems probable that the term passed into more or less general use as the designation for storehouses at the French posts.

Our floor quite dry—Payed a visit to Mr. Abbott this afternoon in comp'y with Miss. Adamher, Dufresne & Coco Lassell—from that we went to see Mr. Lafontaine.— Coco got damned drunk— After those visits, J. B. Lassell, J. B. Richerville & Francois Lassell & myself gave the ladys a row upon & down the River, the fiddler played a few tunes and myself on the flute.

1 March. *Monday.* Water has fallen at least two feet since yesterday— Froze hard and snow'd a good deal this morning. 10 o'clock Its now thawing which makes it very dirty & disagreeable— Water still falling very much.—6 o'clock— Little Raine & Sleete this Evening— The snow entirely gone.

2d. *Tuesday.* Very dark disagreeable day— Water fallen greatly, the Bank entirely dry—but very much worne away— particularly opposite to Blue Jacketts door its not above five or six feet wide—before it was at least 10 or 12. Mr. Leith & Kinzie have moved back to us this morning. Yesterday afternoon Mr. Ironside & Myself moved our baggage down from the Lofte.—This day *The King* of the Shawnee called the (*Wolfe*) Capt. Snake & another Chiefe of the same Nation came to this place—that a meeting should be made of the Principal Traders & Inhabitants of the place, which was done—He then got up and spoke as follows—Fathers & Brothers here assembled, this is to acquaints you that we are now going to gather all our stragglng nation together and build a village a little distance up from here— for which we have to request you will let us have a little Tobacco & Vermillion—by & when our village is Built we shall hold a grand Council & informe you of our Wants— What we want now is to rise the hearts of our young men. And you may be assured you shall lose nothing by it, for we mean to cultivate the land and rase a

good deal of corn & will recompense you for your present kindness to us— The people all of a voice announced that they approved very much of their coming to live together in one place— And gave them what they wanted— The String of Wampum was given to Mr. Adamher— The Chillcothy tribe of Shawaneese who have their village a little distance down from here are not to move.— Raine, Snow & Northerly Wind this afternoon. Snow's and freezes very hard this Evening.

3rd. *Wednesday*. Excessively cold all night & continues to be so—blowed also very hard all night & Ice floating down the River this morning— Water quite low, the entrance of the Gully dry. Amazingly cold all day & blew very hard— Two of the Shawanee Chiefs went off this day; Snake remained— Capt. Johnny came up this day from his Village.

4th. *Thursday*. Froze hard all night. A little snow— not near so colde this morning as yesterday—Rather an obscure day. No wind. Its very curious how the water has rise & spread itself in this Country in about thirty years— There is an old French woman in this place of the name of *Barthelmie* who says she recollects when the banks of the River were so near one to another and consequently the River so narrow, that at low water the children used to jump over it. Scated this morning at the Bottom of the Gully opposite Mrs. Payees. Turned out a very fine afternoon— Thaw's very much. Snake gone home.

5th. *Friday*. Froze hard last night. Windy, dark day— Thaws a good deal. To shew what rascalls their is in this place—one Lucie a Canadian who was in Mr. Abbotts service was seen carrying off a Bundle of Hay this morning by Mr. Leith & J. Forsythe which he stole out of the Friponne, thro'



the window.—(The Property of Mr. Leith's) The fellow at first denied it, but when he found there were such convincing proofs against him, he acknowledged it, by saying there was no harm in taking a little Hay. It's some time now that the Hay has been Perceived going damned fast; Mr. Kinzie has at the same time a good deal of property in the said House—Mr. Adamher however has sent him a summons to appear before him at Mr. Leith's desire. The fellow appeared is obliged to get security for his good behaviour hereafter.

Raine most part of the afternoon. This afternoon, the Little Turtle, the Grees wife & Brother arrived here with some other of their family from their wintering & hunting Ground. The Grie has been sick but is now getting better.

6th. *Saturday*. Raine & high wind all night— Very dirty disagreeable darke Clowdy day, Wind blows very hard. 4 o'Clock. Begins to freeze very hard.

7th. *Sunday*. Froze excessively hard all last night.— Very cold Windy day. This morning the Little Turtle, The Gries Brother &c. left this for their home—Sent a pound of Tobacco to the Grie with my Compliments. This afternoon Mr. Leith's pierogue arrived here from Roch de Bout, which left this the 24th Feby.

8th. *Monday*. An excessive cold day, Wind blows very hard &c A great deal of Ice floating down the River. Clowdy & a little Snow in the morning—but turned out very clear in the afternoon.

9th. *Tuesday*. Very fine Sun Shiny day—not so cold as yesterday and very calme. The River full of floating Ice.

Three months this day I left Detroit.

10th. *Wednesday*. Very mild day— Very thick over head—a great deal of Snow fell this last night. This day the Chili-

cothy young men came down from the place where The Town is to be built, they have already finished the Council House, which is by all accounts a very long one. This afternoon one Shirelock arrived here from his wintering ground, (he trades for Mr. Leith) in consequence of one Montroills stealing his Property to the amount of Twenty Eight Bucks he has brought the fellow with him— This Montroille is a fellow who has abandoned himself totally & lives amongst the Indians, those kind of people are of the worst, they are very pernicious to the Trade who fill the Indians Heads with very bad notions & think nothing of Robbin the Traders Property; when they have an opportunity, such Rascalls ought to be dealt with very severely and totally excommunicated from the Indian Country.

11th. *Thursday*. Rather cold this morning, but still thick and Cloudy over head. Montroille appeared this morning who ownes the deed. Shirelock told him it was no more of his business that the property he robbed was Mr. Leiths & that it lay in his Breast what should be done to him— He makes great promises and says that he will hire himself to Mr. Leith & work out what he Robbed; Mr. Ironside told him he would speake to Mr. Leith about it. I believe this matter is now settled the man is to work out the value of what he stole— Turned out a very fine day about 12 O'Clock.

12th. *Friday*. Sott up all night with Mr. Adamher & some more Gentlemen at Mr. Lorrains who has been very ill near Eight month<sup>s</sup>. He fell in a kind of a Trance last Tuesday afternoon about 4 o'Clock and continued so untill this day at 12 oClock and died—during the time he was in this situation he took no nourishment whatever, his Eyes were shut, had no hearing, kept constantly blowing & now & then coughed a

little.—He was the oldest Inhabitant of this Place & Environs, he has been here &c 40 years<sup>62</sup>—

Very disagreeable dirty day, It thaws very much. A good deal of Raine this Evening.

13th. *Saturday*. Very fine day, but very muddy & dirty under foot; Blows excessively hard. Mr. Lorain was buried this day. The young Volunteers of the place gave him three Vollies at the request of some of the Pincipal People here, in Honor to his services rendered to the King of Great Britains, and long Residence in this place. I shewed them how to Proceed respecting the manouvers, the word of Command was given by one Vivie who has been a Drummer in the late 84th. Regt. 1 B'n

14th. *Sunday*. Very beautifull day quite calme—Froze a little last night & a little snow before day Breake. This day Mr. Geo. Girty came down from his wintering Camp. Snake came down also to day from his village, he dined and got very drunk at Mr. Abbotts. It seems that that Gentleman wants Snake to accompany him to the Post, but he'll find himself mistaken for the other would not go with him upon any account.

15th. *Monday*. Very fine day, a little frost last night—Wind rather high.— Sherlock & Geo. Girty returned this day to their wintering place. Turned thick & Clowdy about 1 oClock— and quite calme— A very dark Evening.

16th. *Tuesday*. Rained most part of the night—Thunder at a Distance, about day breake—A great number of Pigeons

<sup>62</sup>The census of 1769 includes Lorraine's name among the nine heads of families then at Miamitown. In 1763 he, or another of the same name, was at Ouiatanon when the savages overpowered the English garrison. Lorraine and another Frenchman were instrumental in saving the lives of the captives. See Indiana Historical Society, *Pubs.*, II, 335, 440.

flying about this morning. Very calme but cloudy & thick. Began to Raine about 11 oClock & continued all day— The water has rose a good deal since last night.

17th. *Wednesday*. St. Patrick's— Rained excessively hard all night & still continues to raine a little— Water rose since last night at least ten feet & still rises very fast, it now runs into the Gully— Blows pretty fresh. I'm much afraide that we shall have a second flood. Left off raining about 11 or 12 o'Clock. Turned out a very fine afternoon and Evening. *Sent Mr. Abbott* a String of Potatoes.

18th. *Thursday*. Raw, Cloudy day. Froze very hard last night. Water has rose very high. even with the bank— Mr. Payees People obliged to quit theire House— and its equal with the step of Kinzie & Cicotts doors. However I believe the Frost will stop its progress. Cleared up about 10'Clock and turned out a very fine afternoon & Evening; Water still rose all day, altho' there was a Frost,—about a foot.

19th. *Friday*. Very beautifull day; Froze hard last night. Water has rose very little, Its almost at a stand.— Water began to fall a little this afternoon—

20th *Saturday*. Very fine morning, rather heazy. Wind at S. warme; Very little Frost last night, the water had fallen about 5 inches & better since yesterday afternoon.

21st. *Sunday*. Very beautifull day. Quite warme & Calme —Not the least frost last night; The water falls very slowly, not a foot since yesterday. A party of Shawanees arrived from war at their village the 19th instant.— They have brought three Prisoners & a negro man. It seems that another party of them attacked a boat wherein there was an officer & about 21 men. They killed every one of them; Sank the Boat & hid every utensill they found in it, in the woods. They also took



nineteen persons near Limestown which they have all Prisoners except 2 or 3. The first party were the Chilicothy People — & the others the Picowees. One of the above Prisoners told Mr. Kinzie this morning the General St. Claire came down the Ohio, to the Bigg Miami, about Christmas last. This man's name is John Witherington, comes from a place called Limestown. They also got a great quantity of Linnen out of this Boat— It seems that their was several other parties out, some of the Catawas or Cherokees were out also; at any rate their was at least 40 souls taken & killed. This John Witherington's family is separated from him, he has a wife 7 months gone with childe & 7 children, which some of the other Parties have got Prisoners.<sup>63</sup>

22 *Monday*. Cloudy morning, very hard shower of Raine in the course of the Night; Very calme— water falls so very slowly that its hardly perceivable—The Miamias of the opposite side danced from 7 oClock last Evening untill this morning at day breake; they were taken in what they call their *Natt*, which is with them, like the Colours of a Regiment, with us; they take it out to war with them, and when they return, there is a ceremony of taken it into the Council House, Chiefs House or Place where they keep their Trophies. It seems that this *Natt* has been out ever since last fall. Thus custom prevailes amongst all the Indian Nations. But there are a number of Tribes who have not those *Natts*.

23rd. *Tuesday*. Cloudy day. Quite calme & not the least cold— A little raine last night— water fallen a good deal since yesterday.— An Indian, a Miami arrived last Evening from the Post, brought a letter to Mr. L. Dubois from one

<sup>63</sup>For accounts of similar raids upon the Americans in the vicinity of Cincinnati at this time see *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 86—91.

Perret Gamlains, Notary Public of that place; Nothing extraordinary in that part of the Country; the Garrison consists of upward of one Hundred men, & officers &c. This Indian has passed the winter about the Environs of Post Vincennes.

Their seemingly is a very great want of Provisions in that place—the Garrison the same, They are obliged to kill the cattle belonging to the settlers.<sup>64</sup>

24th. Wednesday. Very Cloudy morning, but turned out a very fine day about 12 or 1 oClock. Water fallen greatly; The Gully clear of water, but very muddy—Geo. Girty returned this day from the woods. One John Thompson who was taken amongst the 19 mentioned the 21st Instant— came here this day— He informed me that their was a great talk of raising men to come against the Ind's; However General St. Clair who is now at the Bigg Miami with two boat loads of goods, means to call the Indians together at a Council at Post Vincennes— But if the Indians do not come to a settlement with them, they mean to fight them. He says that he understood about Christn—[torn] A War was [torn] between [four leaves missing] this morning of which a description is here with inserted in this Paper— Waited upon all the people of yeplace this morning, and bid them farewell. Dined at Mr. Adamhers & received the letters of that family, thanked them for the politeness and attention they paid me during my stay at the Miamies. Settled with Marie Louisa, respecting a Horse which she is to purchase and send in to me by her son Mr. J. B. Richerville. Left the Miamis about ½ past 12 oClock. had the pleasure at the same time of being told by Mr. & Mrs. Adamher that I was much regretted by every one in the village. Stopped about 9 leagues below the Miamis abt

<sup>64</sup>During the winter of 1789-90 the inhabitants of Vincennes were in a condition bordering upon starvation. See Dunn, *Indiana*, 269.

5 oClock in the afternoon; stopped a leake in our Peerogue, made a fire and put up our tent; Began to raine about 4 oClock; Rained very hard almost all the night.

2d April *Friday*. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 oClock got under way, the Rain being over & moon lighte. Stopped at 11 leagues below the place we slept at last night; at the Indian Wigwaum from whom we got the Rackoon last fall going out; The two frenchmen that are with us bought some sugar for Tobacco—The Ind'n gave Mr. Leith & me a large piece, for which we gave him some Bread in return; Mr. Leith promised to send him some Tobacco. Arrived at the Glaize at Mr. McDonnells about 4 oClock this afternoon— hich is 30 Leagues from the Miami Town. Just before sun sett Messrs. Sheppard & Sharpe arrived from Detroit, they left their Peerogue in the morning and walked up— They left Detroit the 24th. March. As they left the letters in the Pierogue we can not get them till tomorrow morning.

3d. *Saturday*. I cannot help mentioning how very hospitably we were received by Mr. McDonnell who gave us the best he had— he was also so obliging as to give me several cakes of Mapell Sugar one of which is for Richard with his Compliments— he likewise gave me a few Turkey wings. We parted with him & Messrs. Shepherd & Sharpe about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 oClock. Met with Mr. Shepherds pierogue about 2 leagues below the Glaize Mr. Leith took his letter out of Mr. Shepherds Trunk & I took one from my Brother out of Mr. Sharpes, agreeable to their desire— Arrived at Mr. J. Cochrans about  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 5 oclock which is 15 leagues from the Glaize. Stopped a little & got a little maderia & grogg, from where proceeded down the Rapids,<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup>Apparently the concluding portion of the Journal has been destroyed. In its present condition it closes abruptly at this point.









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