

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### *Journal of Griffith Evans, 1784-1785*

The close of the Revolutionary War saddled many perplexing problems upon the new-formed American states. The treaty of peace with Great Britain made no provision for relationships between the new nation and the Indians, who had been former allies of England. It was imperative that some satisfactory alliance with them should be made if the United States were to avoid a long border war. Congress was handicapped by the intrigues of those states that wished to make separate treaties with the various tribes. It was uncertain of its own authority to deal directly with the aborigines, since no good precedent for such negotiations existed. It was plagued by the demands of former members of the continental army, who wanted back pay or its equivalent in free land. The members of Congress were unable to agree among themselves concerning the most satisfactory policy to be followed, or the most desirable boundaries of the Indian lands. White settlers had long since usurped territory west of the old treaty line agreed upon at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, and they exerted a steady pressure upon the national and state governments with the design of extinguishing all Indian titles to such lands.

Congress moved deliberately in the face of these difficulties. Under Washington's strong influence, the question of relations with the northern tribes (the Six Nations) was settled first. The representatives from New York and Pennsylvania were delegated by their respective states to meet with the continental commissioners and Indian chiefs at the old treaty place at Fort Stanwix on September 20, 1784. Later in the year it was planned to treat with the western nations, the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottawas, meeting at some point on or near the Ohio.

The writer of the following journal, Griffith Evans, was in a fortunate position to observe the consummation of both treaties,

and thus the beginnings of a federal Indian policy in the United States. He was born in Warwick, Chester County, on September 3, 1760,<sup>1</sup> and served as clerk in the medical corps of the continental army when he reached maturity. At the close of hostilities, he was appointed secretary and storekeeper to the Pennsylvania commissioners who represented that Commonwealth at the treaty discussions. Evans' duties involved the care of treaty goods which were to be delivered to the Indians at the end of the conclave. After his return from the western treaty in 1785, he again served in a similar capacity in 1787, accompanying Timothy Pickering to the Wyoming Valley in an attempt to settle the controversy over land titles in that region. Still later he was responsible for some of the adjustments of British claims which were made under Article VI of the treaty of 1794. He was in Paris in 1796, but his later years were spent near Philadelphia, where he purchased a house in the Germantown district in 1818. He died on January 20, 1845.

The manuscript of Griffith Evans' journal is now a part of the collection of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. It is listed as MS. HM 608, and consists of one small notebook, 7½ x 6 inches. It was evidently written during the course of his journeys, for abbreviations are frequent and some words are illegible. In transcribing the document, some alterations were made: A few changes in spelling were desirable; punctuation was added; paragraphs were arranged; abbreviations in superior letters were expanded. Evans' capitalized nouns were changed to lower case, and the opening word of each sentence was capitalized. Revisions of the text were kept to a minimum; where they involved additions the words were bracketed, and deletions are indicated thus ~~xxx~~. Omissions due to illegibility are indicated . . . . . Deletions made by Evans himself are not included.

Limitations of space make it impossible to print the whole of Evans' journal, consequently those sections describing his travels from Philadelphia to Albany and, later, from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh and from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia have been omitted. In each case Evans was describing well-known routes and his notes, while entertaining, add little new information. With these excep-

<sup>1</sup>Townsend Ward, "Griffith Evans," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI. (1882), 432-43.

tions, however, and with the editorial emendations noted above, Evans' journal is printed here exactly as he wrote it.

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HALLOCK F. RAUP

*Journal of Griffith Evans, Clerk to the Pennsylvania  
Commissioners at Fort Stanwix and  
Fort McIntosh, 1784-1785*

[September 22, 1784] We came too at Albany wharf, 3 O'Clock P.M. Landed, was very hungry; went immediately in quest of a tavern. Here houses, streets, inhabitants dress and mien were curiosities or rather prodigies. I was instantly in surprize with everything, and continues to be so. I'll next soon as possible try for dinner. Proceeded to Mr. Denniston's tavern; was introduced to Mr. Arthur Lee, commissioner; a gentleman from Virginia of great report, about 35 or 40 years of age; good person; very sensible; polite and apparently agreeable. Met Genl. Butler; was very glad to see him. Dined with the Continental Commissioners.

From Schenectudy to Fort Stanwix is by water 109 miles, by land about 98, being the limits of the navigable water of the Mohawk river, which I am informed runs about 50 or 60 miles north of Fort Stanwix amongst a number of mountains from whence it takes its course southerly till near to Fort Stanwix where its direction is changed to east inclining a point or so to the southward. 30 miles on its passage from Stanwix the country being very level the river mostly deep and narrow and very crooked insomuch that in the said distance the length by water exceeds that of the land 8 or 10 miles. The remainder of the river to Schenectudy is straighter, and generally a greater current. The difference in the size of the stream at Schenectudy to that of Stanwix is very considerable; at the latter perhaps about 20 yards; the former 300 and very deep. The Mohawk continues on the same course and forms a junction with the North river about 16 miles below Schenectudy at the falls called the Cohoes. This fall is about 70 feet nearly perpendicular and effectually cuts off the communication between the Mohawk and the North river. The passage on the Mohawk from Schenectudy

to Stanwix is about 6 days to about 2 or 3, but might in my opinion be much improved.

I have frequently mentioned the uncommon verdure and fertility of the lands on the Mohawk as far as it is settled, which is within        miles of Stanwix. The residue thereof will if anything outvie it when cultivated and settled. The good [land] must be more extensive the mountains lying farther from the water. From below old Fort Schuyler to Fort Stanwix [Rome], 16 miles in length, may by little industry comparatively speaking all be thrown into a beautiful extent of meadow interspersed with necessary creeks and pretty eminences, and I think mowed almost forever without manure. The inhabitants on the river we had an opportunity of acquainting ourselves generally with. From Schenectady to Fort Harkimer or rather 3 miles below [that is, Little Falls, N.Y.] were all Low Dutch, a people who I always found unsociable and disagreeable to strangers, and their hospitality is the product of importunity rather than a voluntary discharge of the duties of humanity. In neither of characters are they inflexible but mend very much upon acquaintance and [I] have generally found them [to] swallow the bait of flattery with unsuspecting satisfaction. They settle a country richly and cultivate it well, but in their buildings, furniture or dress there is little appearance of wealth or elegance and less of ostentation. This I adopt as a maxim, that they always (or nearly) exceed your expectation. If they receive you indifferently they'll use you tolerably but if you make way into their graces you get princely usage. The idea of cleanliness I think is applied to them rather too generally; some certainly merit the title but not all. Their patriotism is uniform and respectable but less enterprizing than their neighbours. Their young women I think are possessed of a small share of pride or vivacity, essential ingredients . . . . all to render them delighting or engaging. This settlement is very old and [I] am told was flourishing in point of plenty; nay, tis evident that they have suffered greatly and supported the calamities of the war with a meritorious share of fortitude. They chose rather to stay and in small parties defend than abandon their possessions, which was done at the price of their lives frequently.

From below fort Harkimer (the beginning of the German flats)

upwards is peopled by Germans. The distinctions of the nations are very obvious here; the German are prouder, more enterprizing and determined than the Hollanders. This country and these people to all the usual commotions and troubles of the late war, have had the additional experience of the most horrid internal savage one. The savages, having a knowledge of the country, aided by the water communication, and stimulated by their infernal abettores the Johnstons, Butlers, etc. have inflicted on them the most unheard of cruelties and murderous barbarities. Many places and buildings [were] entirely razed by fire; every one of the others have been garrisons defended by blockhouses, stockades, etc., so that almost every house here appears a fort. These inhabitants are more agreeable and hospitable to strangers than is generally reported of the nation. Their patriotism from appearances and information have been uniform and inflexible, and [they] continue to preserve the greatest detestation and enmity against those of their countrymen who joined the enemy, not suffering them to return yet to live amongst them on any conditions, and no wonder if their vengeance towards such should never subside.

In this rich and beautiful settlement which is about 9 miles along has been many seats and plantations showing wealth [and] elegance but are most all demolished or perhaps quite destroyed. At the upper part, which I am told was a handsome little town called Germantown, now no remains of it being burnt by the enemy. But this Mohawk country from its natural advantages and the industrious dispositions of the inhabitants must in a few years be able to vie if not exceed any settlement I have seen or heard of.

Now to return to our present situation. Fort Stanwix (alias dictur Schuyler) is situate or rather has been on the south side of the Mohawk river, there being now remaining no more than 3 small blockhouses  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile below the ancient works, and some cabins near thereto, the fort being abandoned by Gen. Gansvort in being first burnt and demolished by accident. The ground wheron it stood is rising but no commanding though much pains and expence has been bestowed on it to make it strong. The abbettoes were very strong, the trenches deep and the bombproofs very considerable. It would require men properly to defend the lines. After surveying this I returned. Our boats were arrived. Received their

lading, found the same generally in as good order as could be expected. By the time I examined the stores the commissioners, continental and state, arrived all well save Genl. [Oliver] Wolcott who remained on the road sick. This gentleman, the first in the continental mission, lodged in the house with me in Albany where I was introduced to his acquaintance. He is from Connecticut, advanced in years, has the title of general; appears to be studious and of sound judgment and judicious in his motives but don't seem to be possessed of that lively imagination and immediately sagacity that distinguishes some. Made my arrangements with the stores for the succeeding night. Was by some letters I brought introduced to the gentlemen of the place, who were Doctor Elliott, Mr. Trimper (?), partners in trade here; W. Wilcocks who is engaged in business with Mr. Shirtliff and Rev. Mr. [Samuel] Kirkland, one of the interpreters. The two first gentlemen very cordially invited me to lodge with them which I accepted of.

*Oct. 3rd.* In the morning found the Marquis La Fayette, Mr. [St. Pierre François Barbé de] Marbois, a young French nobleman, and Mr. [James] Maddison, a Virginia gentleman had arrived before us. This day, the Indians for the first time were called together and a council fire kindled. The continental commissioners opened the business. A short speech delivered by Gen. Wolcott introduced the French gentlemen and our commissioners. In the speech he signified their design to treat their wish for peace and friendship etc., and deferred the particulars. . . . The several nations were represented when they would go fully into the business.

He was answered by Capt. Obale [Abeal], alias Cornplanter, a Seneca chief of great confidence and a man by all accounts of great abilities naturally. His speech was short and to the subject. He congratulated them on their arrival, expressed the willingness of the natives to treat, and the spirit of pacification that prevailed with them. The Marquis<sup>2</sup> arose and delivered his speech to them with

<sup>2</sup> LaFayette attended the Fort Stanwix conference, "and although his presence was the cause of some concern on the part of the British and was not entirely acceptable to the American commissioners, yet because of the Indians' attachment to the French, his influence was such as to induce the Indians to accede to the American demands." Walter H. Mohr, *Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788* (Philadelphia, 1933), 109. The general background for the conditions under which the treaty was signed is contained in Henry S. Manley's *The Treaty of Fort Stanwix* (Rome, N. Y., 1932). If Manley

much oratory and elegance calculated to serve the interest of his king and much to promote the continental business. He upbraided those that joined the enemy in the late war with reprehensive conduct and praised those that stood for their country against its unjust invaders very freely, and was answered by old Grasshopper, King of the Oneidas [Otyadonenghti] and by Onegenta Caghnauaga Chief fully with a great deal of volubility. The latter spoke fluently.

I now for the first time hear men savage in almost every respect harangue on important subjects with eloquence, force and coherence, which I found by explanation to be . . . . . and respectable in every sense, and was told 'twas far inferior to the original. Mr. Kirkland was interpreter (Vide the speeches). We drank healths, smoked pipes together and retired. 4th: this day Marquis and his company set off. I wrote by M. Marbois happy in the opportunity. He engaged politely to deliver the letter. Spent this day agreeably. Was taken into the mess with the commissioners, which till the departure of the french gentlemen was too throng and the accommodations not sufficient. 5th: this day an unfortunate contention arose between Dr. Elliott and Co. and the continental commissioners, they having advertized and forbid the disposing of any spiritous liquors to the Indians. The commissioners conceiving this company had transgressed their directions, some words passed between Genl. Butler and the doctor on this occasion and that warmly. All the real cause was the doctor's not humbling on the address of Genl. Butler, I believe, for all the liquor disposed was 1 pint given to an Indian for some turn or other. They sent Capt. Mouer to get an account of their liquor, which they refused. Their orders were then issued that the officer should seize their liquor and store it which was done. This was the subject of the day. It made me very unhappy, for I was on such good terms with the gentlemen and was hospitably treated to a degree that ensured my esteem.

6th: Spent in fishing; caught some fine trout in company with Mr. Crain. Did some business. 7th: Wrote a great part of the day in my marquee. 8th: a ditto of the last. I may observe that our living was sumptuous and agreeable. The greatest freedom and

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was aware of Evans' journal, it is not apparent in his publication. See also map of Fort Stanwix in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, V. 528; VI. 355.

amity subsisted amongst all of *us*. This day the continental commissioners had another council. A speech was delivered by them purporting some general things. 'Twas answered by Cap. O Bale like a Cicero for force, eloquence and accuracy as Mr. Kirkland informed me (*vide* the speeches). 9th: This day in company with a Mr. Fisher to Canada creek to trout. Caught a fine parcel. This creek abounds with this kind of fish in greatest plenty. A person of skill can take as many almost as he chooses. This stream comes [from] Canada. North of this place its size is that of a large mill creek and its current rapid and zigzag. We proceeded up the stream near a mile where I was really astonished with the performance of the beavers. Their efforts in making dams exceed the conception of one who never seen the like. Here I observed they had cut down sapplings 5 or 6 inches diameter of green tough birch, cut them in about 4 feet lengths and carry them to the river to form a dam, in which I am told they so far succeed that they turn large streams which I found effected in part. Their roads (?) are also curious.

This creek discharges its contents or forms a junction with Wood creek at this place 8 miles from Fort Stanwix. The road from Stanwix is down the side of this Wood creek, a rich bottom all the way, and might be improved into a country equal to the Mohawk. Up this stream [that is, Wood Creek] the boats come from Lake Ontario for the Mohawk. It runs down within  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile of Fort Stanwix to which place it is boatable. The sluice fixed here assists by flooding when the water is low. At this sluice is the landing place where the boats and cargoes are put on wagons and transported to the landing place on the Mohawk. This carrying place is a mile in length and a very good road and then the articles are put in batteaux, proceed down the Mohawk to Schenectudy, thence by land 16 miles to Albany; from thence down the North river to New York. Thus from this place you may by the way of Lake Ontario to river St. Laurence you may go westward to the Atlantic or by the Mohawk and North river eastward to the ocean by water carriage. The carrying place from Schenectudy to Albany is occasioned by the Cohoes which I have mentioned. I think [it] may be changed by a canal into water carriage. 'Tis talked of and probably will be done at some future period.

This evening the sub-sheriff of this county, Montgomery, served

a writ upon Capt. Mouer at the suit of Dr. Elliott and company in consequence of his seizing their liquor by order of the commissioners as I have observed. 10th: October. The commissioners being informed of the process against Mouer, consulted upon the occasion. Their result was to disavow the authority of the writ and forbid Mouer to obey it. The sheriff insisted on his prisoner going with him, but the commissioners finally gave Capt. Mouer orders if the sheriff persisted any further to confine him instantly, which with threat and persuasions I believe frightened the officer and off he went, with this sentiment as I was told, that he had seized the defendant and that he was rescued "viat Armis." This was the subject of the day. At the same time letters passed between the continental commissioners and a Major Skyler [Peter Schuyler], a commissioner from York State who was by the state stationed on the ground to observe the movements of the commissioners on part of the continent and to oppose what he might judge would essentially injure [the] wealth of his state. This they considered as an insult and took great umbrage at it.<sup>3</sup>

The evening of this day the gentlemen Elliott and Co. were ordered totally out of the room which they possessed. They decamped accordingly. In most of these transactions that created those contentions between us and the York citizens I was determined to rest as neutral in the contention as possible. My uniform opinion was that the commissioners might have used more . . . . and preserved as much dignity. This prudence I thought would have facilitated the business of their mission, which when completed, more leisure and opportunity would have offered to punish the disaffection and opposition made to their measures by the State of New York which they were continually charged with. I thought I sometimes discovered a degree of counter action in the people of this State to our pursuits but generally my opinion is that it was more ideal than real. I modestly offered these sentiments to some of my intimates on the mission but was warmly opposed; therefore [I] determined to remain mute on the subject.

<sup>3</sup> Major Peter Schuyler's instructions from the governor of New York: "Where you find they have in view anything that may eventually prove detrimental to the State [of New York], you are to use your best endeavours to counteract and frustrate it." Quoted in F. B. Hough, *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs* (Albany, 1861), I. 63.

*11th day:* Amongst ourselves we still continued on the best of terms. Nothing extraordinary happened. *12th:* This morning ushered in with an account that Capt. Mouer (pursuant to an order of the commissioners the night preceding) had seized and stored all the liquor on the ground, including particularly what was possessed by Maj. Schuyler, the property of the State of New York. This measure as it was founded on I don't know what. If the people had disposed of liquor the commissioners hadn't convicted them in it; therefore it must be moved by a jealousy of consequences that might happen and not what had happened. So I think it was premature and attended with more severity than was essentially necessary; nay, I always questioned their authority. If I was wrong in that, in this I was not I trust; that is to say, the jealousies that I have mentioned being commenced, this must serve to nourish and bring them into an open and violent contention, and that with a people who had influence with and possessed much of the confidence of these Indian tribes, and at the same time furnishing the savages with a proof of our want of unanimity and system, from which would naturally grow suspicions in their minds and consequently would mar the treaty or render it less effectual, which might I think be all eluded by a less severe line of conduct. I now dismiss this subject by leaving it to the event.

We are just going to a council. At this meeting the commissioners read their commissions, requested them soon as convenient to point out the boundary line of A . . . ion, told them the delivery up of the prisoners was an essential preliminary or previous step. They were very explicit of pointing in every matter. It made the Indians stare. The speech was delivered by Mr. Lee and in a language by no means accomodating or flattering; quite unlike what they used to receive. After pressing them to a deep and serious deliberation on the subject, and requested from them an explicit answer, raked up the council fire. While this business was transacted, Maj. Schyler, a commissioner from York (whom I have mentioned) upon his appearance on the ground, the commissioners instantly ordered him off.

*13th:* This day about noon a wounded man came in, who with others, 5 in number, had been attempting a voyage to Niagara, who gave this intelligence: that whilst they were at dinner on a beech

on Burdels (?) river 24 miles from Long Point on the carrying place from Detroit to Niagara, they were fired upon by 4 young Indians of the Mohicken tribe which fire killed 3, 3 wounded. This messenger, Isaac Arnold by name, upon which the surviving 2 [got] into their boat, hoisted sail, the wind being fair, [and] made their escape. The Indians on hearing this called a council, told the commissioners not to be effected with it; 'twas the action only of a few ill disposed persons. Capt. [Derick] Lane arrived with 50. Thus introduced to him Lt. [William] Pennington and Ford [Mahlon Hord?]. Appears to be sociable worthy companions. 14th, 15th, and 16th, a sameness in the occurrences. From the time we arrived at this place till now we had exceeding fine weather, living in the highest style rather, too sumptuous for my constitution or inclination, and generally passed my time agreeably, enjoying unremitting health.

17th: This day met in council. Capt. OBale received advice of the death of his son. Then a condolence according to ancient custom was necessary, which they went through in presence of us all. 'Twas curious indeed; vide the speech of that day. Our commissioner at the close of this business was anounced in their official character in consequence of pressing solicitations I was told. Capt. Aaron spoke this day very audaciously and by no means agreeing with what was expected. He seems to be an enterprizing warrior but impolitic statesman. He indeed assumed all importance in his speech of a emperor and parr'd himself at least with the American potentates in power and strength. In some instances his assurance was as much as could be borne with abounding with ridiculous ostentation and arrogance. 18th: This day met also in council. Capt. OBale arose and made a long and artiful speech in which he marked out the line between the which he proposed and wished to be ratified. The whole was couched in evasive and undecisive terms and the line which he described in these words beginning

was a mere farce upon the design, attempting to cede great [part] of the State of Pennsylvania long ago purchased of them. His proposition about the exchange of prisoners was absurd; his reasons for taking the the hatchet altogether inadmissible to common sense, and more especially in the business of a treaty. At the close of this

day's business, sundry of our gentlemen were named by them and published(?)

Here I may observe somewhat generally on their mode of conveying ideas. Their ideas are very original and mostly expressed by something natural and familiar, the metaphorical, as for instance, when Capt. OBale had advice of the death of his son, "he said that while the Good Spirit had brought them together and seemed to have opened their breasts or lungs to speak clear, and to understand each other well and disposed their minds to friendship and peace, the Evil Spirits without a face had come amongst them and struck a hard blow behind and sent one of [their] young men under the earth, which had very much darkened their minds, but hoped they would soon be cleared from the thickness that hung over them; and also when the word arrived of the murder committed by the Indians, Capt. OBale said that while the business of peace was going on the Evil Spirit had come among them and struck a blow on them behind, but he hoped his brothers of the United States would suffer it to drive it back, etc.

*18th:* We were entertained this day with a game of wicket played by 2 nations of Indians, the Oneidas against the Caghnawaugas; 12 of each side select young men. This game seems well calculated for the Indians. This being national the parties engaged . . . . themselves, bound by pride, honor and interest (the bait was 20 dollars). The ball being brought forward, the players prepared themselves by stripping and taking plentifully of rum. The play began by 2, instantly became general, and I have not seen such exertions, dexterity and apparent ambition. The parties were well matched and the scene very entertaining; however, after a considerable time and after every possible and ardent attempt being made, the Caghnawagas gained the wager, which was announced by a most hideous shout. This game of ball, skittles and dancing appears to be their principle mode of diversion. Their dances are performed as follows (which is generally or always after night) viz: a fire is erected, a jug of rum if possible brought forth. They drink, then form a circle around the fire and commence by a principle character pronouncing aloud an insignificant phrase as "honey aw haw he you"; the rest of 'em strike in with a grunt which is to answer the purpose of beating in

music. They are all now in motion, running around stamping without any particular step observed more than what is natural, only the more action the harder they stamp. They go 3 times round then shout aloud, raise their hands, turn their faces to the fire, stoop half bent, and increase the rapidity of their steps. Next [they] proceed to repeat the same, sometimes running into a spiral line, then into a circle again, which all the variety no . . . . . for whilst they sit they at times change places. The females do not often enter the list; but if they do their appearances are very reserved, their gate slow and mien stiff and awkward. We generally stepped in their circle when present, which appeared to please them very much. Nay they would think us churlish if we did not. They continue the dance with intermissions all night perhaps.

19th: nothing worthy of notice, the Indians sober for want of an opportunity to get intoxicated. 20th: this day Mr. Lee delivered in Council a most spirited grand speech. It alarmed us very much but had a very good effect and deserves great credit, describing the Line of A . . ion and terms of the peace offered. 21st: Good Peter, a great speaker of the Oneidas, delivered an elegant speech on behalf of the 6 nations expressing that they had agreed to the proposals of the continental commissioners. 22d: had conference with 'em today held by the state commissioners which continued all the morning. 23rd: another conference this morning. We brought them to accept of our offer. This day met them in council . . . . ready the council business completed, we made a long speech to the Indians. Received their answer, had our deed executed and our business concluded to our great satisfaction, credit, and to the advantage of the state. 24th and 25: busy in preparing the goods to deliver to the Indians. Nothing very extraordinary turned up.

26th: this being the day appointed to distribute the goods, I accordingly repaired to the store and they having appointed persons amongst them to receive and distribute the same they sent men to carry the goods from the store to the green, to whom I delivered them without description discrimination or exception. In about half or a whole hour 'twas completed. Previous to this those delegates who received the goods had appointed old Grasshopper to sign the receipt on the deed for the consideration thereof. I took a walk up to the green to view them dividing the goods and observed the

greatest decorum and apparent impartiality prevail amongst 'em, and apportioned the goods to each tribe with much exactness [and] not a word of dispute or dissatisfaction. In this they very much exceeded my expectation. Whilst I was accomplishing this Colo Johnston and Mr. McClay were to pack the stores and load the boats which being done we immediately embarked, Mr. Maclay and self in one boat, we first, but to our grief and disappointment found one of our boatmen so intoxicated as rendered him incapable of any kind of duty. Our only alternative was to officiate ourselves which we did and soon got lost. Where the other gentlemen overtook us we turned the drunken man on shore and with help got off. Went down about 6 miles [Utica] when night coming on we came too and encamped in the woods, where the other boat overtook us. Here for the first time we lodged under a linen roof but making up a good fire slept very well. Next day all started and kept together.<sup>4</sup> About 12 came to Fort Harkimer. Here was surprized with the sight of Major Parr from Philadelphia. We rested here a little, set off again.

I must again observe of the land for about 40 miles no houses to speak of, and hardly a tree cut, but of all the natural luxuriance and show of verdure and prolificacy of soil this excels. Oh, what a most valuable country. I view it as almost having its covering of gold and still is remaining wild and useless. Came this night to the falls [Little Falls] where we encamped; a wild romantic place. An extravagant fancy could paint to itself palaces having . . . . vaults, pillars, fluted columns, pyramids, urns and sepulchres. All nature had prepared of the rocks around us, Indeed the most variety crowded us on all sides that I have seen. Rested here as well as usual. Set off in the morning, cold and somewhat uncomfortable. Down the [river?] this variety in rocks continues a considerable distance, piled one on top of the other, an amazing perpendicular height and the river meandering through them. These falls are not great and I think with a moderate expence might be rendered navigable. This place one day must by its situation be [a] very valuable spot. Proceeded on down the river, arrived at one Mr. Roof's, 36 miles from Schenectady. I ought to have mentioned our route. The commissioners agreed on conclusion of the business at Fort Stanwix,

<sup>4</sup> Marginal note: "went about 30 miles encamped as the last night. 28th: Across all well and set off."

which was to return down the Mohawk to the nearest place to Lake Otsego, there to land and transport our stores and baggage across the country to the lake, thence to proceed down the Sasquehanna to some place most convenient to journey from thence to Pittsburg, from [there] to Cayahoga, the spot appointed to hold the 2d treaty.

30th: last night lodged very comfortably at Mr. Roof's. He seems to be a very hospitable good kind of man. He engaged wagons for us, which we loaded this morning, 5 in number with the batteaus and all our stores and baggage. Just previous to our starting the high sheriff of the county came to the house in quest of Capt. Mouer who was with us. He took him and insisted on his going with him as his prisoner, which the continental commissioners all opposed. Mr. Lee girt on his sword and went in between the sheriff and Mouer, and said he had given it under his hand that the officer should not be subject to him or the command of his writ, and while he had a sword he would support the same. The sheriff called evidence that it was a rescue and went off without him. After this, started the waggons, hired a horse for myself and pursued them for Otsego Lake, and find the road the worst I ever travelled or at least equal to any. I'm now waiting for the wagons at one Burdick's by the roadside. The outside of the house recommended it to me but find the inside by no means [to] correspond. I see every [?] in the house, I believe. I don't think it all worth £3. Their furniture: 2 pewter basins, small; a tea pot and a little broken ware; a small box; 2 splint baskets; a piece of an looking glass 2 inches square and 2 pieces of furniture paper stuck one above and one below to ornament the glass; 2 old chairs and 1 table all broke; 2 old piggins and 2 small pots completed the whole, but what was worse than all, myself and horse are very hungry and can't get anything at all to eat for this plain reason, that they have nothing for themselves. The man of the house had but one eye, a despicable creature. The woman gone abroad. The rest of the family were 4 fine beautiful little children. Here rested a while. When Col. Johnston and Mr. Maclay, the latter of whom was very sick, [came up] he retired to the nearest house.

We, when the wagons came up, proceeded on to Bowman's creek; there encamped. This evening a very warm dispute arose between Col. [Samuel] Atlee and Major Montgomery which I was afraid

might have disagreeable consequences, but the continental gentlemen took part with Atlee and poor Montgomery had to have sundry severe reprimands from Mr. L. and Mr. B. and then sink in silence. He was much in the wrong and the other by no means right for there was no apparent cause for contention. We lodged very well. In the morning, the 31st: proceeded about 3 miles which is about midway of the route by land. I stopped here to view the salt springs [Salt Springville] which are worthy of notice. The water I tasted; 'tis quite strongly impregnated with salt. It appears contained in a kind of a shallow well and drawn up by a balance bucket which discharges its contents in a trough that leads it to a boiling kettle. After remaining there awhile to evaporate, it's conveyed to 2d, then to a 3d kettle which is all the vessels now [in] use. There used to be a 4th: when all properly carried on would make a skipple of salt per day. These springs were certainly of great and singular advantage to the inhabitants in this remote country during the late war and continue to be so but in a less degree. I think the salt made here appears very similar to that made in the Delaware Capes.

On a little farther, viz, 4 miles. We stopped at a place called Springfield [East Springfield], probably from 2 springs of a very great magnitude that rise here, one of which, the principle one, I went to see, a most beautiful large spring rising by ebullition on a perfect level out of a limestone rock clear as crystal, perhaps 15 feet deep and 20 wide; the other [is] nearly similar but not so large I am told. These springs are the primary source of the great river Sasquehanna. This Springfield is a small beautiful fertile spot consisting of a few handsome farms, but the buildings are entirely demolished, done by the enemy, the savages in the late war. The planters are just beginning to rebuild and [it] must soon be a pretty little settlement, but I can't, when I reflect on what ravage, destruction, and barbarities committed in the late war by those infernal savages and on the most distressed and defenceless families just beginning the settlement of the wilderness under almost every disadvantage. 'Tis like bruising a youthful tender ozier, containing much of the vitals of a growing structure. I say can't, when I think of this, reconcile our forgiving or treating with them without the greatest exertion of philosophy and New Testament principles.

However, we proceeded on. Overset the wagon that hauled our

boat and met many difficulties and arrived at Lake Otsego just before night. This was certainly the most disagreeable day that could be conceived of. Rained all day and passed the worst road in the world, all hills and marshes, mud up to the axles of the wagons. The distance from the Mohawk to this lake is about 18 or 20 miles, the land on an average pretty valuable, mostly inclined for grass and pasturage. Few farms of any note at all. On our left we passed a settlement called Cherry Valley, a very ancient and valuable place, but the buildings were all destroyed by the enemy and many of the inhabitants massacred at the same time. The land I am told is very good. At Lake Otsego we found one or [two?] settlers, particularly one Capt. Staats who has a grist mill and saw mill. He was building a house which we got in and made ourselves very comfortable. Capt. Staats was very kind and endeavoured to accomodate us to the best advantage. He owns 6,000 acres [of] land and has a beautiful situation and in a few years with the help of society can make himself as happy a life as man can expect in this world, fishing, fowling, boating and sleighing here in their seasons to the greatest perfection.

*November 1st.* Lake Otsego is 10 miles long and from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 miles wide, the ingress of the water on the north and the egress the south end of the lake. The water that composes this lake is produced by those springs I have described, sundry other adjacent springs, as also the waters of the lakes called Weaver's and Young's lakes on the west, the former the most westerly which is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles long and 1 wide, lying parallel to Otsego, 3 miles distance; the latter about a mile square. There (?) both lakes are surrounded with good lands and beautifully situated and discharge their contents in Lake Otsego. This day being rainy and we having our boats to cock and sundry preparations to make we agreed to lay up till the morrow.

*2nd:* The rain having ceased, and cleared, this morning is very fine. We loaded the boats and all things ready and ourselves on board. We took a grog, gave three cheers and set off. Now was my genius hostile, here it would descant. What romantic beauties here; now does nature flourish and outstrip every conception. A morning equal to any in May; a most superb range of mountains approaching by a gradual descent to the water; a beautiful large lake below, as transparent as crystal and as smooth as as a sea of glass. Here a

sporting feathered squadron; there a spangled fishing tribe first to please and next to feast the jolly sportsman. The waters appear like a rendezvous of an innumerable number of springs. I imagine the furthest spring head can't exceed 10 miles. The lands about this lake are mountainous, some of it very fruitful but for the most barren and not to be cultivated to advantage. There is hardly sufficient between the hills to form a very good settlement.

Passed on. The land, I'm told, mends very much a little back from the water. In about 3 hours came to the egress of the lake, which produces the River Sasquehanna, this lake being its principle source. Just at this mouth of the lake was the seat of the late Col. Croghan [Cooperstown] but [it] is now burnt and entirely destroyed though yet retains its natural beauties in full view of the finest land on one side, the most beautiful lake on the other, diversified with mountains, vales and levels.

Here would my Muse delight to roam  
t'indulge . . . natural lay  
but duties chide the Goddess home  
and time forbids her stay.

This youthful state of the Sasquehanna affords a very indifferent navigation. This day was moderate and 'twas well that it was so for we all had to plunge in the water and drag the boats most all the way. We got about 2½ miles then encamped. Next morning we set off, the water low, yet commenced the day with rain, and very cold. Received the Red run [Red Creek] 3 or 4 mile from the lake. Here Mr. Campbell straying from the boat got lost. I ran in search of him without success till I was wearied and had most all gave him up, when at last by accident he made his way by our going to the boats. Now received the river Oaks 7 or 8 miles from the Otsego. This river [Oaks Creek] comes out of a lake I have called Schyler's Lake (alias Oaks) [Canadarago Lake]. At the mouth of this river is a fine bottom and all the way up it to the lake and around the same. Land is exceeding good, I am told. Before this I had been in the river hauling the boat. Wet from the river and from the rain and cold from the climate I was unhappy and fatigued beyond description. The Oaks is a large stream and had a pleasing

effect in our almost forlorn situation, for after this we had a very excellent boatable stream. Rained all day. At night encamped.

*4th*: This morning showery. Proceeded on, good boating and good land. Received Cherry Valley Run. This 21 miles below the lake, a pretty creek and situation, fertile land. Point possessed now by one Carr. Next to the White and Black rifts 4 or 5 miles long, 31-6 below the lake. The stream is wide, shallow, rapid and rocky, exceedingly bad and must require an amazing deal [of] work and expense to render it any how tolerable. Here at the end of the Black rift came too. Stayed all night at Mr. Vanolston's. Were hospitably received. A pretty situation, good land. I may observe that after we began with the rifts the land became more indifferent.

*5th*: Last night a very sharp and warm dispute arose between Mr. A. and Mr. B. about a pilot. It arose to a great height. Its consequences may yet perhaps be considerable. They after a while ceased. I think they were both wrong. Be that as it may, they both acted quite puerile. This morning we had to pass a place called Hell Gates just below Vanalston's. They are produced by a great rapid; the channel crooked and much crowded with logs and trees, etc. They certainly make the passage very dangerous. However we got through all safe. Now rapid after rapid and shoals. Two miles below the Black rift received Schenevas's [Schenevus] creek, a smart stream inclosed with fertile bottoms. Now along the Sasquehanna the bottoms are not so good as above the White rift. I ought to have passed an encomium on the river. From thence up to the Oaks is a most beautiful stream to boat. If cleared of logs no stream can exceed it, but very crooked. The river yet very bad. Received the Charlotte river 4 miles from Schenevas's creek, a large pretty stream. Fine land up this river and some say gold dust has been found in considerable quantities up this water but for this I have poor authority. The river the same. Came too at Mr. Scremlin's. Rained this day to be in uniform with all the days we have. Cold and wet from morning to night and at lodging we hadn't even an opportunity of drying our clothes for the ensuing day. Our hardships were extream. Lodged and tolerably well.

*6th*: Rainy still. Set off. 7 (?) miles, received Attoga [Otego], a small creek from the west        miles from the lake. The first 3 miles were shoaley rapids and of very difficult passage. The next 9

miles very good still water, then 3 miles rapids which brought us to Auleout [Ouleout] creek from the east. Here a few Scotch settled before the war but soon abandoned it on the approach of hostilities, and fastened themselves to the cause of our enemy, one amongst many proofs that that nation can't bear freedom. Five miles further to day to Unandilla, an old Indian settlement, a handsome place by nature. There was here one small improvement. We staid here. I may observe that the two contending gentlemen I just above took notice began to treat each other politely again and I believe there will be no more on that subject. This day we passed much good bottom land where the water is still and deep. The land is much better than where the rapids are.

7th: 'Tis one Fuller that has settled here. A sick traveller at this place informed us of the depredations and hostilities of the Yankees at Wyoming, particularly their having murdered Lts. Reed and Henderson, the latter on a sick bed and sundry other horrid outrages. We left the Unandilla 8½ O'clock. About a mile further received the Unandilla river from the west, a fine large stream not much inferior to the Sasquehanna. Our river had now become very large and as yet [we] have very little difficulty on our passage. We see this day many fine bottoms rich and groaning for cultivation. In the evening came to Auquaga [Onaquaga]. This is a pretty place, fertile land and . . . to be tilled; a large quantity cleared and under good grass. A small settlement may be planted here. This is 30 miles from Unandilla. Here we found Mr. Maclay who had stopped with the horses, having lost the way, etc. I consented to take horse being extremely tired of the boat. We set off, Mr. Maclay, self and 3 servants. Crossed hills [and] mountains, barren as possible. The bottoms were of no consequence. 18 miles to Chonango, a beautiful river and of a tolerable size; spacious fertile plains on its banks of a great extent sufficient to form a settlement [Binghamton] in time. This is under twenty miles by land and near 50 by water. Next to Choconut [Union]. Ten miles over barrens. Here we intend to lodge.

9th: This morning arose very well. Choconut is a clear plain close on the river, once an Indian town. May be yet formed into a settlement. Got off, came to Owego, a pretty little place and a smart stream. Next for Tioga. We lost the way; an Indian puts us

right. We arrive at Tioga [Athens], 34 miles. We choose Genl. Sullivan's old block house<sup>5</sup> for habitation tonight. No roof. Now in Pennsylvania for our comfort. Awakened in the morning, wet bed and all. 10th: crossed the river Sasquehanna at a great rush, the current being very swift. Tioga [Chemung] river is a large stream. About the point [Tioga Point] is some very good land. Being now on the east side of the river we came to a house, the 3rd day since we had seen one. Proceeded on to Capt. Spaldwin's [Spaulding]. Stopped; was hospitably received. Breakfasted; proceeded on. Passed Breakneck hill [opposite Towanda] properly so called. By heading six inches aside would instantly decide on the mode of your departure by plunging down rocks 100 feet almost perpendicular. Passed some small flats; came to one Fitzgerald's, 3 miles below Wysock [Wysox] creek, 24 miles from Tioga. Here the boats overtook us, the water having grown better and the roads worse. Mr. Maclay left me, went on board, and Maj. Montgomery became my partner. We repeated to each other our several difficulties, dangers and fatigues and passed (?) mountains and tremendous precipices and then continually it appears that we descend one for the express purpose of ascending another, and what is worse these hills are barren in the extreme; a few scattered pines. It absolutely supports them so indifferently that they have neither the size nor beauty of that species of wood in other places. Arrived at Tyler's, 25 miles from the last stage. The road this day passed over a continued series of barren mountains. Few bottoms of any note, so much so that I have not been particular in my remarks thinking it unnecessary. Proceeded on.

Arrived at Tunkhannock 12 miles from our last stage having crossed Myshopping [Meshoppen creek] 4 from Fitzgerald's. A mill stream and a small rich bottom. Tunkhannock is double as large as the last stream. At the mouth is space for 3 or 4 very good farms though small and I could observe the appearance of bottom up it a distance. Proceeding on, passed by a falls on a small stream 4 miles from the last, called Buttermilk falls. The fall is about 10

<sup>5</sup> General Sullivan's blockhouse had been destroyed by his troops after his successful expedition against the Six Nations in the summer of 1779. It was supposed to have been leveled, and it is surprising that enough of it remained five years later to offer ~~that~~ commonwealth, and to disclaim the boundary sought by Connecticut.

feet and that perpendicular from the edge of a rock; 15 feet cross which makes the most beautiful little cascade that I have seen, but every side is furnished with amazing high sterile mountains, on the summit of which you have a most romantic prospect, an unlimited region of heights and rocky caverns.

Arrived at Jones's, a small fertile bottom. The boats a small distance before us; the road now leading us through a very bad narrows. Night come on. With very much difficulty we could get along at all. Past by a curious spring falling 80 or 100 feet but the night prevented us enjoying the beauty of it. Arrived at Lanawany [Lackawanna river] very late having come 18 mile from Jones' since dark or nearly and 30 miles and more this day. We attempted by advice of the house we first found here to cross the creek and proceed on to the other side for lodging but we lost our way and returned to the same house. Had some high scenes. The women were amazing warm yankees and inveterate (?) to an extreme against the Pennamites. This place is settled by several families and extends up the Lanawany some distance. This stream is large enough for canoeing to advantage up to the falls on it and the land here is exceedingly good and a quantity sufficient to make a handsome settlement.

At every stage along here we were entertained with stories of the two contending parties here who were now at open war [Pennamite War]. We saw much distress as we came down the river, large families of women and young children flying at this inclement season to unimproved wilds for shelter and not a house to receive (?) them nor single atom to support them . . . excepting what they would take with them. Sure the wrong must be great lie where it will before this could happen. Set out; passed a country not very good but tolerable; may all be cultivated and has been settled before the war but destroyed by the Indian, the houses, etc. Arrived at Wyoming [Wilkesbarre] 10 mile from last stage. Here to be sure opened to us a scene of horror, distress and detestation. We went first to the garrison which was then commanded by German D . . . called Maj. Smith from Northampton County. His command was the most dirty despicable unmilitary set I ever seen amounting to 30 perhaps. However they were as hospitable and kind to us as they could be. The Yankees are the other side the

river placed in block houses, more in number perhaps; perfect Banditti of ——. I won't spend my time in describing them but assure my reader they are the most villanous contemptible set in my opinion that the continent could furnish, but however they let us pass on with some difficulty and so I'll leave 'em. Wyoming is a small town on a beautiful rich plane but it has suffered from every quarter. The Indians burnt it in 1781-2 to the ground. The flood last spring swept off and deluged all that was rebuilt and utterly destroyed. Since it has been a little improved. The land here is very good and extends 5 or 6 mile down the river including the Shawanee flats and 2 mile or upwards in breadth. A valuable place indeed if rid of those infestors of the quietude of the state.

Proceeded on, crossing bad narrows and barren country. Came to a little place called Shickashinny 3 miles short of our intended stage but night compelled us to stop 12 or 14 M from Wyoming. Here we found a humble shed raised and occupied by two familes drove from Wyoming by the Yankees. We applied and obtained liberty to stay with 'em and glad we were of it too. Cold rain had poured on us most all day and we were very uncomfortable. The house poor as it was built only of brush and bark kept the storm off effectually and we dried our clothes and slept well. I might now observe richly (?) upon . . . . . and contentment found in poverty, for these people absolutely enjoy more of it than those in 3 story houses in Philadelphia, but I hav'nt time. I had a curious dream here which is remarkable to me.

Set out, went 4 miles . . . wanted breakfast, but hungry as we were we chose rather to fast than eat with 'em. They were the dirtiest brutes that ever was suffered [to] exist. 11 O Clock, saw the boats. They hailed us and Col. Johnston and Mr. Maclay joined us. We set on expecting to gain Sunbury . . . . . better roads. Pass an indifferent country and thinly settled; passed Briar, Fishing creek, Mahoning; good bottoms on the two latter. From Wyoming to Sunbury is upwards of 60 miles.

Arrive late at Northumberland. Crossed the river, stayed with Maj. Wilson. He was very kind. Much fatigued. Here was a minister soon as we come in praying. I would rather had my supper and went to bed. In the morn went down to Sunbury, one mile.

Found many acquaintance here. Rested this day. Boats came up about noon. Northumberland Town is seated on a point of land that extends down to the junction of the east and west branch of the Sasquehanna. There are sixty houses here, perhaps, but none elegant. Sunbury is seated 1 mile . . . . . on the east side of the river; about as large as the other. Better buildings, but I think the situation is inferior. A very indifferent country about here in sight, generally mountainous.

*15th*: Set out in the boats having got a pilot. The first falls we came to had well nigh stove us. Struck a rock and turned in the midst of them. This convinced us of the ignorance of our pilot and the hands were all drunk so that our situation was alarming and disagreeable. We took the oars ourselves, Cap. Mouer and me and bid the men sleep. Past a bad falls 18 miles from Sunbury. Got about 38 miles, night came; encamped on an island. In the morning set off early. One or two O Clock received the Juniatta, a fine stream. Appearance of a good country on it. Came to Hunter's fall, a hazardous place. Got down safe. Passed Coxe's Town [Cox-town], a few scattering houses on the east side of the river. A little before night arrived at Harris' Ferry [Harrisburg], the long wished for haven, having been 16 or 18 days from the Mohawk, traversing a region of upwards 500 miles in length through a wilderness experiencing dangers, hardships, difficulties without number. Mouer and myself crossed to Harris'. Here we were well entertained.

*17 November*: rained so extremely hard could not do more than have the boats drawn out. Got up and engaged a waggon to carry our baggage etc. to Carlisle, our rout on the western tour. I ought to have mentioned that in coming down the river we seen amazing effects of the flood last spring. 'Twas a common thing to see houses removed almost entire and thrown on heights and afterwards dashed to pieces. The inhabitants I'm informed were in them at the time of the deluge. Barns, stables together with all kinds of cattle carried off indiscriminately and intirely lost. I imagin the perpendicular height must have been upwards of 50 feet. I have now purchased a horse. Tomorrow we set out on the western treaty. This night was very near being drowned in attempting to cross the river. Thus ends my journal of the northern treaty.

[On November 18, 1784, Evans and the Commissioners left Harris' Ferry and proceeded west by way of Carlisle, Shippensburg, Fort Littleton, Bedford, Ligonier, Hannah's Town to Fort Pitt.]

[December 2, 1784] Arrived in Fort Pitt 12 O Clock. The town is situated on an angle of land made by the junction of the Monongohela river with the Allegany. This angle is near 90 degrees of a circle and of course the Monongohela runs about north, course inclining little to east perhaps. This river is not quite so large as the Allegany nor so swift a current, and therefore preferable for boating. Up this river is very good settlements and country already beginning to flourish.

I am told the land is exceedingly good, *next the town*, which consists of about 60 or 70 or more houses pretty compact, regularly laid out, the streets running parrallel or crossing each other at right angles. The buildings are of wood, generally squared logs, none elegant, though some are tolerably convenient. The situation being lower than any part of the adjacent country (excepting the river it's necessarily very muddy especially in the streets that are frequented much. Up the Allegany from the town is a beatifull level green common. In short the situation of Pittsburgh is very engaging. Between the town and the garrison which is down on the extremity of the point, a part of the common extends, which affords a delightful little walk of 40 or 50 perches from the town to the fort.

The fort is a pentagonal form with large bastions at each corner, perhaps each side 150 yards long. The walls are built of stone and brick very high, surrounded by a deep trench. In the garrison is 4 rows of barracks, an elegant magazine, the whole work strong and handsome. It would require 2 or 3000 men properly to man them when no small arms could storm it, but there is no advantageous ground for the garrison to sally out on. But notwithstanding, the plan of the works is good, well finished, and that at an extravagant expence to the Crown of Great Britain; convenient to water to which was an excellent covered way, yet on every side it is commanded by heights so that one field piece on either shore might reduce the whole garrison. Besides that the very ground on which it stands must certainly in a very few years be entirely swept away

by the flowings of both rivers. This must convince every person the least acquainted with fortifications that the designs of the founder of Fort Pitt were other than the good of his country or else reflect on his ignorance. The fort is at present garrisoned by a few Maryland troops commanded by one Capt. Luckett, a worthy charracter.

Remained in Fort Pitt till the 22nd: lived well, spent my time very agreeably. We had plenty of company and good sociable circle but lacked on the female side. This day I was to set off with the goods for [Fort] McIntosh in a batteau my . . . . and so it proved. About 4 O'Clock, moved off, went 4 miles; a snow began to fall. Our boat much overloaded and very leaky, we put in at one Hamilton's to lodge. 23rd: In the morning a very deep snow had fell; violently cold, the river full and driving with immense cakes of coagulated snow. We unladed by advice of our pilote a part of our load. With much difficulty made shift to get out into the stream and for a while floated in the stream drove every way by the ice till about 3 or 4 clock.

We were drove on ground 14 miles down the river from Pitt. The ice driving tremendously soon accumulated against the side of our boats to a great height and threatened instant destruction of the whole. We endeavoured to remove her in vain and every minute found our state worse and more desperate. To remove the boat was not thought on; to abandon it I couldn't think of. My attachment to the preservation of the goods taught me [to] remain with them and trust to fate. I first sent the pilote to break the ice and make his way to shore with orders to run to the next house 2 miles off for a canoe to assist us. This, when he got on shore, he declared against attempting. The rest of the hands were ordered to follow him. The water was 4 or 5 feet deep most of the way and covered by this time with a thick ice and freezing extremely. Two now agreed to go for the canoe. This was fruitless. The man who owned it refused to venture out. The men returned, their clothes froze around them but with a great deal of resolution and fortitude struck up a fire to preserve themselves. Our situation was fixed and we were determined to make the best of it. Cap. Armstrong was chearfull. I was much depressed, having in addition to my safety, that of the boat, etc. Our boat was now fastened to that degree that unless the river

should rise she could hardly move but that was quite probable. We fixed ourselves for rest at last. I slept little but not so cold as I expected.

In the morning, 24th: I was transported with pleasing sight of a recent form bridge and now had the first hopes of saving the load, but feared the ice was not strong but of this experience soon informed us and on shore we went. A morning colder than this I scarcely every experienced. I detached our pilote with a note to Major Finney with an account our melancholy situation praying relief. We were now out of provisions. All lands and no houses come atable within 16 miles and the snow very deep. We are now waitingly patiently for assistance from the garrison. In the afternoon 2 pack horsemen came to our camp and told us they had taken up our messenger 4 miles off sitting down ready to fall asleep, his feet froze and his strength exhausted. The cold rather increasing the snow 14 or 15 inches, this occurrences convinces me of the truth that sleep feasts the perishing traveller with her flattering delusions till an eternal mantle of sleep covers him—but why do I touch such an observation today. This was tragical news to us indeed, hunger fastening on us more and more severe and suffering very much from the intensely cold weather, and no certainty that our next messenger would be more successful. However we prevailed upon the packhorseman for one of his horses that we might send . . . . . another for McIntosh.

The next morning, 24th [25th?]: The man started early. We had doubts of his success and weighed the event of a miscarriage. Found it truly alarming. Cap. Armstrong agreed to second the undertaking himself and I urged it this morning. The hands unlading the boat found a small piece of raw meat lying in the bottom. This we divided and I eat my share ravenously without bread, vegetable or any but the meat alone. I was now alone, disconsolate, and more unhappy than I yet had been. However in the evening Mr. Hulings came up on his way from McIntosh having left his boat below by reason of the ice. This was a most pleasing appearance to me. He bring a man with whom I could safely trust the goods and he also helped me to a little victuals being now almost famished or at least much reduced in strength of spirits. This night I wrote to Pittsburgh.

25th [26th?]: This morning I prevailed on Hulings to remain with the boat and I'd move off for the Fort McIntosh and accordingly about noon having loaded 9 pack horses which I had sent for with the most valuable things, I got a hunter's horse and proceeded on. Had some difficulty in finding the roads and arrived at the garrison 4 O'clock. Can the occurrences of a whole life, nay, can the human heart produce a greater transition or greater difference in prospects, from famine, cold, and desperation to conviviality, plenty, and almost luxuriance. I was instantly on my arrival surrounded by my most social friends mo . . . . rejoicing to see me. Welcomed ten times over every thing handed me for instant refreshment, and then taken into the dining room where was spread a grand and most sumptuous dinner, and a chearful and an elegance circle of guests. The luxuriance of Philadelphia would hardly outstrip it. A most delectable scene to me indeed. I enjoyed myself and contrary to my most flattering hopes spent my Christmas very happily. In the evening retired to lodgings as . . . . . as I ever found myself.

26th [27th?]: Arose, viewed Fort McIntosh. 'Twas built in '79 and '80 by a Brig. Genl. of that name. Its situation is on the north side of the Ohio 300 (?) yards from the river on a beautiful commanding spot, distance 30 miles from Pittsburgh. The work is built of wood in a pentagonal<sup>6</sup> form with small bastions at each corner. The buildings are made very strong and handsome as could be expected and serves at the same time for barracks and fortifications. Will accommodate a regiment conveniently, if it consists of 1000 men. I got by this time myself fixed with lodging etc. very comfortably, but much concerned about the goods, the commissioners not having arrived yet. But stop, stop, I'm a great way before my subjects, and back I must go.

I spoke sometime ago of Genl. Clarke. He is originally from Virginia, a very celebrated partizan against the Indians in the late war, and resides now in Kentucke. I presume for my own satisfaction to essay the outlines of the Genl. as I find him. His stature and constitution are good and I believe his judgement to be so by nature, but 'tis a lamentable truth that all those joined with fortune and

<sup>6</sup> Interlineation: "this was a mistake; McIntosh is only four sided." See sketch in Justin Winson, *op. cit.*, VII. 499.

reputation and every thing dear and valuable in life are likely to fall a sacrifice to his unconquerable fondness for strong drink, but why do I say this; 'tis uncharitable. Had I omitted it, and shewd the sunshine side of his charracter 'twould have been liberal, sociable, entertaining and in his sphere informing but alas! and again which is unpardonable in me, I forgot to mention that on our arrival in Pittsburgh, the continental commissioners determined against holding the treaty at Coyahoga, the appointed place, which is the reason I am now at McIntosh. This decission was favorable to our expedition and fortunate for the country. I am now confident had we attempted the former place we should have found it impracticable and dissappointed ourselves, the country, and the Indians. This revolution in the con . . . . plan was I am told, carried much against the judgement and pleasure of a character from Pennsylvania who one should think ought to know better. A ——— for him in my book.

Well, now I'm up, all things straight and happyfying myself with a set of worthy clever fellows. Their hospitality and unequaled kindness I must ever gratefully remember or loose every grain of that fund of gratitude I suppose myself to possess. I now speak of the officers of Col. [Jos.] Harmer's regiment. This day I was fully entertained with the novelty of the place and in visiting my acquaintances in their respective messes.

27th: This being St. John's day the Masons agreed to dine together which separated and cut up the tables at night. We all met to close the day, but a jealousy or I don't know what else which often prevails between those of and those not of the fraternity, seemed to extend here and in the evening the masons were for announcing their toasts with discharge of a cannon. This was opposed by Maj. Finney who was commanding officer and of the other side, but at command of Cap. Duglass was nevertheless fired. At this the major was amazingly offended, ordered out the garrison, drove off the artillery . . . . loud words, swords drawn, helter skeltered, the devil to pay. I looked every minute for the most serious consequences. The soldiers were disposed of at length but the gentlemen were all this time at the highest and most severe language. Maj. Finney arrested Cap. Douglass for his conduct and after a

considerable time the disputes subsided. This gave us all great deal of unhappiness but so much for St. John's day.

28th: Maj. Finney being determined to adhere strictly to order, honor and discipline, was by no means relaxed this morning, but on the contrary compliment Cap. McCurdey with an arrest for his conduct the preceding evening also. The particular transactions of these gentlemen in this affair I have purposely avoided here. Time passed on lightly. 29th: The state commissioners arrived. They had in consequence of reports of the skipper of our boat conceived I had acted very improperly. This gave me much uneasiness when I was conscious of having acted at the risk of my life in the best manner possible (in those circumstances) for preservation of the boat, but these conceptions I soon dislodged by representing the matter by facts, for the insidious scoundrel had spread the most abominable falsities that could be thought on to skreen himself, but 'twas all unsaid by Cap. Armstrong, myself, and every one in the party. 30th: and 31st: Extremely cold weather. Entertained myself with shooting rifle and sliding etc. with the officers.

JANUARY 1, 1785: Huzza for the New Year. This seems to be ditto of yesterday and the day before only the Indians begin to come in. Their dress here much like that of the 6 Nations: viz, a cap, shirt, stroud, breech clout, leggings and maggasins, but I think their colour is darker and their features and conduct more savage. But stop, I must enter my protest to the commanding (?). Genl. Butler. This evening at supper him and the state commissioners had a warm dispute about the transportation of the goods in the boat I came from Pitt in, during which I said something in my defence, for he designed to use me extremely illiberal. If occasion offers I'll . . . . . on this; perhaps all the audience gave it against him as far as I could learn.

2nd: Mr. Huling, a principle during this time, set from Fort Pitt in a boat (the river having ceased to float with ice), took the remainder of the boat load of our goods and arrived safe  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile above McIntosh with 'em. The Ohio being froze all save a small channel in the middle, the goods were unladed on the ice 150 yards from shore and when we had  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the load on shore, the rest on the ice and the men rolling them to land, the ice around us to the

area of an acre or upwards broke from its confines and began to float rapidly, cracking and roaring hideously. We were most all on the ice, consisting of myself and a fatigue party [of] 12 soldiers. Some ran to the shore and by leaping made land; others too far off to the boat which remained yet by this new fashioned congealed raft and boarded her to save their lives. I was of the former part and just [had] time enough to get off. I thought the devil had got in the river sure enough, but however after floating 20 or 30 perches the cake lodged on a sand bar without breaking and then we got off the goods, so adieu, Mr. Ohio, for you've been as hard as you could be with me.

3rd: We have now formed a mess in which all of both commissions eat together as also the private gentlemen and the officers of the regiment . . . . . about in 2 classes, a jovial round and seems to flatter me with a happy time of it. From the time I think sociability began to increase, Genl. B. notwithstanding his treatment towards me, now appears fulsome with his politeness, but I know his heart pretty well and ever shall and I ought not to dismiss this subject without mentioning that when I was attacked on the first instant the commissioners eagerly embarked on my defence and suffered not a word to come unanswered upon me. This I gratefully remember, but they had propriety on their side.

The Indians continue to come in, but not a full representation. From this to the 8th: nothing extraordinary happened. This day I am informed we are to have a Council. The commissioners deliver a speech calculated to introduce the business informing them what had been done to the northward with their uncles, the Six Nations (for so they call them), congratulated them on their arrival. The Indians returned some complimentary nonsense. The state commissioners was then introduced and announced to the Indians by the continental commissioners and informed that they had come to transact some public business with them on the part of their state. Col. Atlee was desirous of speaking a few words, but Genl. Butler fearing to share dignity chose to do it himself. Council arose.

9th: I have until now been busily employed in repairing my hut for reception of myself and goods and is nearly compleated so that it will be warm and comfortable, and I promise myself a very agreeable situation. This I effected with the assistance of the soldiers

and by [my] own industry. The articles that had got wet coming down the river gave me much trouble in thawing and drying. Another Council to day so council after council, all the 21 when the business was compleated. Copy of these proceedings I have. 22nd: Busied in dividing off the goods, the two thousand dollars, the consideration agreed on not requiring all our cargo of goods. 23rd: At same employ and delivered out the goods to them. 24th: Engaged in disposing of the remainder of our goods which we bid to Cap. Brodhead. 25th: Took leave of the gentlemen of McIntosh and set off. Very cold. Met with much difficulty in crossing Beaver creek [Beaver river]. About a dozen sociable fellows. Sett on merrily; arived at Fort Pitt 8 or 9 OClock. This country upwards of 30 miles is very valuable. Crow's Bottom [Aliquippa] and Sewickley in particular hardly can be exceeded. 26th: Spent seeing my acquaintance in Pitt. The commissioners sett off having some business to transact. Busy in compleating it. Ready to sett out for Philadelphia to morrow.

On January 27, 1785 the journey from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia was begun. Evans reached home on February 8 after a heavy winter journey, having had as he writes, . . . "a journey of between 16 and 1700 miles and have had a tedious, hazardous and fatiguing tour of it but have had the good fortune to be attended with health [and] success in my undertakings, credit in discharge of my duties, and a pleasing opportunity of seeing a great [deal] of the interior part of the United States."