

Lieut. James Gorrell's Journal

[Introductory note by the Corresponding Sec'y of the State Historical Society of Wis.]

The late venerable Robert Gilmer, of Baltimore, obtained from Horatio Ridout, Esq., of Whitehall, near Annapolis, Maryland, quite a collection of rare and curious manuscripts relative to the old French and Indian war, and among them this journal of Lieut. Gorrell. Mr. Ridout's father was John Ridout, who was Secretary to Gov. Horatio Sharpe of Maryland during the French and Indian war, and thus became possessed of these valuable papers. Mr. Gilmer presented them to the Maryland Historical Society.

Francis Parkman, Esq., of Boston, when collecting materials for his able work on border history, the Conspiracy of Pontiac, procured a copy of Gorrell's journal, and has kindly communicated a transcript of it for the use of our Society. So interesting a memorial of the early history of Wisconsin, never before published, cannot but be received with favor.

Of Gorrell himself, it is to be regretted that we know so little. In addition to this journal, he left another of Maj. Wilkins' expedition from Niagara to Detroit, in the fall of 1768. This is the last trace we get of him. As his name does not appear in the British Army Register for 1780, of which we have a copy, it would seem that he had died prior to that date.

A few explanatory notes are added by the editor to the journal.

L. C. D.

Lieut. James Gorrell's Journal

Commencing at Detroit, September 8th, 1761, and ending at Montreal, August 18th, 1763, containing an account of several councils held with the Indians;—also, showing the villainy used by the Canadians to corrupt the Indians, and excite them against the English, with a brief account of the number and strength of the Indians, and their commerce in that quarter.

Detroit, Sept. 8, 1761.—Captain Belfour of the 80th Regt., was ordered to march with a detachment of the 60th and 80th Regts., to take possession of, and leave garrisons at the posts on Lakes Huron and Michigon, viz., at Mishamakinak, La Bay,* afterwards called Fort Edward Augustus, and St. Josephs.

Sept. 28th.—We arrived at Mishamakinak, when Capt. Belfour called a council of what chiefs of the Indians were then there, and gave them a belt and some strings of wampum. Here we left Lieut. Lealie, of the Royal American or 60th Regt., with one sergt., one corporal, one drummer, and twenty-five privates of the same regiment.

Oct. 1.—The rest of the detachment sailed with a fair wind for La Bay; went that evening sixteen computed leagues, and notwithstanding we were detained by contrary winds, &c., four days at the Grand River, we arrived at La Bay on the 12th, which is computed eighty leagues from Mishamakinak, at a time when there was but one family of Indians in the village—they being gone a hunting, according to their custom, at this time of the year, and return commonly in the months of April, May, and June, according to the distance they go, and the openness of the season. There were several Frenchmen who had gone up the river that forms the

*This taking possession of these western posts previously occupied by the French, was in consequence of the conquest of Canada the previous year by the English and Colonial forces, and the surrender of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada; and La Bay was our own Green Bay of Wisconsin, or, as the early French writers termed it, *Is Baye des Puants*.

Bay which comes from Lake Puan,* about fourteen leagues up. These traders have since gone up as far as the Soust† country, near two hundred leagues from La Bay, and as they went past this post, notwithstanding those very Frenchmen were employed by the English traders from Montreal that came to Mishamakinak by virtue of Gen. Gage's license, did all that laid in their power to persuade the Bay Indians to fall upon the English on their way, as they heard of our coming, and telling the Indians that the English were very weak, and that it could be done very readily. Some of the young warriors were willing, but an old and great man of the Sack Nation whom they call Aking (and whom the French call Dirdo), told them they were the English dogs or slaves now that they were conquered by the English; that they only wanted his men to fight the English for them, but he said they should not, and called the French old squaws, and obliged the warriors to desist, which they did, and went to their hunting. I was informed by an English lad, and a New England Indian that was with them, of this in the spring following, but when I got an English interpreter, the Indian told me of it, as will appear hereafter.

We arrived at, and took post at La Bay, the 12th October; found the fort quite rotten, the stockade ready to fall, the houses without cover, our fire wood far off, and none to be got when the river closed. The 14th, Capt. Belfour departed, leaving me with one Serg't., and corporal, and fifteen privates at La Bay, a French interpreter, and two English traders—viz: Messrs. McKay from Albany, and Goddard from Montreal.

When I left Detroit for St. Josephs, and had received my orders from Capt. Donald Campbell, of ye 60th or Royal American Regt., I found in his orders very little respecting Indians, for which reason I applied to him to know if he had any other instructions, upon which he referred me to Sir Wm. Johnson‡, who was then there, to whom I applied. He told me verbally that unless I did my best to please the Indians I had better not go there;

*Winnebago Lake. †Sioux. ‡Superintendent of the Northern Indian Department.

he told me he would leave belts of wampum with Capt. Campbell as soon as the council was over, to be sent to the different posts, though I never received any, as I imagine the captain never had it in his power to send them. Understanding shortly after my taking command of the post, that there was a vast number of Indians dependent on it, more than was ever thought of, I found that I should have to send to Detroit for belts to give them on their arrival in the spring. For this purpose, I at three different times attempted sending expresses, both by way of St. Josephs and Mishamakinak, but I could never do it.

Therefore, as I could not get any from Detroit, and could not do without it, I was obliged after getting what Mr. Goddard had, to borrow of the Indian squaws, and pay them some twelve hundred for a thousand. I also made use of some I had from Lieut. Brehm, which was for his own use. That borrowed from the Indians, I was obliged to repay on the arrival of the first trader that brought wampum. So that I had six belts made, one for each nation that visited that place, but I found that some nations required two, some three, and some four, as they had towns. The French, in their time, always gave them belts, rum, and money, presents by which they renewed their peace annually.

Nothing material happened from this till the May ensuing.—We mostly busied ourselves during the winter in repairing the fort, houses, etc., as we had by the Canadians many various accounts, differing from one another, of the Indians intending to attack us, which accounts we had all the reason afterwards to believe were propagated to hinder the trader from coming up to that post.

Some few young men of the different tribes or nations of Indians came at different times to know how they would be treated, and were agreeably surprised to find that we were fond of seeing them, and received them civilly, contrary to the account given them by the French. They asked for ammunition, which I gave them at different times, as also sent flour to some of their old men, who, they said, were sick in the woods. There being no

chiefs here at our arrival, we had no council with them until the 23d of May, 1782, on which I delivered the following speech, the chiefs of the Folles Avouines,* and of the three Puan chiefs, being present; and agreeably to my orders from Capt. Campbell, I gave them belts of wampum, and strings of the same, for the return of prisoners:

BROTHERS!—As you may have lost some of y'r brothers in the war in which you imprudently engaged with the French against your brothers, the English, and tho' by it you ought to have brought a just indignation upon you, yet we will condescend so far to forget whatever hath happened, that I am glad to take this opportunity to condole with you on the loss you have met with. At the same time, by these belts, I wipe away all the blood that was spilt, and bury all your brothers' bones that remain unburied on the face of the earth, that they may grieve you no more, as my intention is henceforward, not to grieve but to rejoice among you.

BROTHERS!—I hope also by these belts to open a passage to your hearts, so that you may always speak honestly and truly, and drive away from your heart all that may be bad, that you may, like your brothers the English, think of good things only. I light also a fire of pure friendship and concord, which affords a heat sweet and agreeable to those who draw nigh unto it; and I light it for all Indian nations that are willing to draw nigh unto it. I also clear a great road from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, and clear it from all obstructions, that all nations may travel in it freely and safely.

BROTHERS!—As you must know the arms of the great King George have entirely subdued all the French dominion in Canada, as you must also know the just causes that obliged him to make those conquests, in consequence of which, and agreeably to terms of capitulation made last year, by which, as before mentioned,

*The French name given to the Menomoussees, meaning Wild Oats, alluding to the wild rice, which grew abundantly in the country, and from which they derived their name.

Canada, with all its dependencies, was ceded to the English king, my master and your father, I am sent here to keep the best order and administer the strictest justice amongst you, as also to protect all the Indians that will by their good behavior deserve his royal bounty. He hath also recommended it to all his subjects who are come amongst you to trade, to bring whatever necessaries you may want, and save you the trouble of going so far yourselves; in consequence of which, I have brought one along with me, who, you'll find, will use your people well and sell everything as cheap as possible to them, which some of them have already experienced. Therefore, I hope you will, on your part, behave well, and give convincing proofs of your good intentions to keep a good understanding with him by paying him always whatever he may credit you, as your brothers the English do. If you have any just complaints against him, or any others of the English or French traders, or people otherwise employed amongst you, let me know, and you may depend upon having justice done you. It is for these purposes that I am sent here, which you may plainly see by my bringing few men with me; and always depend that I shall be glad to serve you in doing justice. In one word, by these belts, I renew and confirm all the treaties and covenants of peace which formerly subsisted between your ancestors and ours, which was lately renewed by your neighboring chiefs at Niagara and Detroit. I expect you'll hold fast and often record it in your minds, as by that means you'll study your interest, and ever give us good proofs of your friendship and good meaning towards us. I also recommend it to you to take care and use well all who have or may come, and look upon them as your friends and brothers, as they are subjects of His Majesty, and we form one body and blood, and since we are joined by friendship, henceforth we shall be one people.

BROTHERS :—In consequence of this and the several treaties held with you and your neighboring chiefs at Niagara, Detroit and Mishamakinak, these strings are to open your eyes and hearts, to follow their example to bring in all the English prisoners who yet remain with you or your people, that they may be returned to us. You

know they are our own blood, and you are sensible that it would vex you to have your blood with any nation. Your great father, the King, will be very angry if you don't comply, and send as many men as there are trees in the forest to compel you to a compliance.

To this the Folles Avoines, on whose land the fort stands, answered:

That they were thankful for the good speech I had made them, as also for the presents; and said they were very poor, having lost three hundred warriors lately with the small pox, and most of their chiefs by the late war in which they had been engaged by the then French commander here against the English.

That they were very glad to find the English were pleased to pardon them, as they did not expect it, and were conscious that they did not merit it; but that I might depend they would adhere to whatever instructions the commanding English officers might give them, for the future, as they had always done with regard to the French.

They begged I would send for a gun-smith to mend their guns, as they were poor and out of order; the French, they said, had always done this for them, and their neighbors at Mishamakinak had had this favor granted them. They said the French commandant always gave them rum as a true token of friendship. In regard to prisoners, they said they had none amongst them, nor ever had; for what English prisoners they had taken during the war, they had always left at Montreal. They expressed great satisfaction that the English traders were coming among them, and seemed desirous that they should continue to come, as they found by experience that the goods were half cheaper than when the French were amongst them, and said they would use the traders well, oblige their young men to pay their credits, and assured me they would willingly partake the influence of the pure fire of friendship I had lighted for them. They thanked me for my advice in desiring them honestly and sincerely to speak their sentiments, which they always would do, and acquaint me with any

bad talk that might be amongst them, or the neighboring Indian Nations, as there were five more that depended on that post. They returned thanks to the great God for sending them such a day for their council, which they looked upon as an omen of lasting peace with them.

To which I gave the following answer:

That I would write to Capt. Campbell, commanding at the Detroit, for a gun-smith as soon as possible, and made no doubt he would send one. To their request for rum, I told them that their great father, King George, knowing that they were poor, by being so long at war, had ordered no rum to be brought amongst them to sell, lest they should neglect their clothing, their wives and children, until such time as they might be clothed, which I hoped would be in a few years.

The Puan Chief returned the same answer with the rest, with a demand for a gun-smith; and added, that he would send the good road I had given him, meaning the belt, to the two other chiefs of his nation, and he did not doubt they would come down very soon.

No Indians came here till the 29th, when a party of Toways,* who lived at Little Detroit, arrived. I spoke to them as I had done to the rest, and gave them strings of wampum for the return of prisoners, and made them some small presents. As they lay between this and Mishamakinak, they promised they would use the English and French well who would be coming thither. They went away well pleased.

June 5th, 1762.—Ambassadors from the Sacks and Reynards, with a chief belonging to the second Puan town, arrived here, to whom I made a speech to the same purpose, and also gave them each a belt and strings of wampum. Their answer was nigh to the same purpose as the former, with a demand for the English traders to go to their towns. I told them I would write to my commander at Detroit, and await his answer.

* Ottawas.

I received a letter from Capt. Campbell, dated at Detroit in September [1781], which never had an opportunity of coming before from Mishamakinak, wherein he said that it was against the General's instructions to give the Indians more presents than were absolutely necessary to keep them in temper. These orders made me uneasy, as I was assured I could not keep so large a body of Indians in temper without giving them something, as they had always been used to large presents from the French; and at the same time, if I did not give each nation the same I had given those that had been to see me, all would be lost to me and the service. I, therefore, sent my interpreter, who could acquaint Capt. Campbell best about it, with letters to him, and engaged his cousin at his recommendation, who had just come from the Sons country, as interpreter. He behaved very well for a Canadian for sometime, but I was convinced soon to the contrary, as will appear in the sequel.

There are by both French and Indian accounts, 39,100 Indian warriors, besides women and children, depending on this post for supplies, and they are as follows:

Taways, etc.,	100	Little Detroit and Milwaukee.
Folles Avoines,	150 warriors.	They live at La Bay, in two towns.
Puans,	150	{ At the end of Puans Lake, and over against Louistonstant.
Sacks,	350	{ Above Louistonstant, in ye. government of Louisiana.
Reynards,	350	On the River Reynard.
Avoys (Ioways?),	8,000	On each side Mississippi.
Sons,	30,000	{ On west side Mississippi, near 300 leagues off.
Total,	39,100	

I had an answer from Capt. Campbell as soon as could be expected, in which he was pleased to signify his being satisfied that I had done all in my power for the benefit of his Majesty's service. He said he had written to the General, and had let him know that the number of Indians at my post was great, and hoped to know his Excellency's orders to enable him to supply them with what

would make them easy; at the same time desiring I would continue to keep them in as good humor as possible, consistently with frugality. He also sent 200 lbs. of tobacco for them. Lieut. Leslie sent me 100 lbs., which I made the most of by giving it very sparingly, as the traders who come to this place bring very little of that article.

June 24th.—Ambassadors from the Chippewas, a nation dependent on Mishamakinak, came to negotiate the adjustment of a quarrel with the Folles Avoines respecting a man killed at Mishamakinak, belonging to the latter tribe. They brought a letter from Lieut. Leslie, commanding at Mishamakinak, in which he warmly recommended it to me to assist the Chippewas in that negotiation, as it would be very prejudicial to the trade and communication between the posts if any such quarrels should take place; for which purpose, I called the chiefs belonging to the post together, and was under the necessity of giving them a few small presents.

June 25th.—Mr. Thomas Hutchins,* now Ensign, came, with Mr. George Croghan's instructions to enquire after Indian affairs. It being Captain Campbell's orders to me to assist him, I called what Indian chiefs were then there, consisting of the Folles Avoines, Sacks and Reynards. When he had let them know his business, they immediately demanded of him colors and commissions, such as the French superintendents used to give them; to which he replied, that he would report of it to the superintendents who sent him.

* This early Anglo-American visitor to Wisconsin was a native of New Jersey. In 1763-64, he served under Col. Bouquet at Fort Pitt, and subsequently in West Florida. He was in England at the commencement of the Revolution, where his zeal for his native land caused him to refuse tempting offers, and finally led to his imprisonment, and the loss of twelve thousand pounds in a single day. When liberated, he went to France, and thence to Charleston, where he joined the army under Gen. Greene. He was soon appointed Geographer General of the United States, and died in that service at Pittsburgh, in April, 1789. He was remarkable for his piety, charity and benevolence; and was the author of two descriptive works, one on Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and the other on Louisiana and West Florida.

July 12th.—A Reynard came who said he was a chief, and demanded leave to buy seven barrels of powder, presenting me with a large belt of wampum. Having reasons to suspect his intentions, I refused to allow him to buy any more than would serve him to hunt, until I should have a council with his chiefs, and I gave him a belt, desiring his king might come to me very soon.

Aug. 6th.—Three Puan chiefs, with four ambassadors from the Avoy nation, came. I made the same speech to them as to the rest. The chief of the third town of the Puans brought me a large belt, confirming what both the others had said before, telling me that he had seen the belts I had sent, and that he had never been at war with the English, nor could the French commander persuade him to it. He brought the other chiefs to confirm what he said, as he never knew any harm the English had done him. He made the same demand for traders, with the same promises of protection for them, and also asked for a gun-smith, and rum. The Avoy then spoke, and said they had come very far, and brought no belts, as they had come to see if I would shake hands and forgive them, as I had done the rest. I gave them belts and strings of wampum for the return of prisoners. They said their king would come in the spring and see me.

Aug. 13th.—The King of the Sack Nation came, to whom I made a speech of the same purport as to the rest, and his answer was nigh the same; that he had seen the good road I had given his brothers, but as he understood I would not let any English come amongst them till he came to see me, he had left home in company with 250 of his warriors to wait on me and know my commands, and also to get English traders; but as the news came after him that the town was threatened with an invasion by the Isle Ancoix* Indians, he had to send his warriors back to guard the

*Probably the Illinois Indians. Illinois, according to Father Marquette, meant "the men," as if other Indians compared with them were mere beasts. It is possible, that the Indians alluded to by Lieut. Gorrell, belonged on some Isle aux Noix or Walnut Island.

women and children. As I had now given a good road, he would take care to keep it open and clear, and if any trees should spring up to obstruct the way, he would not only beat them down, but tear them up by the roots. He brought with him a pair of French colors, flying on board his canoe, and excused himself by saying he knew no difference, and hoped I would give him English colors, which I did, and he burnt the French ones. I also gave him a belt of wampum and other presents. He was the only Indian that disapproved of rum being given to the Indians. He had never seen an English officer before. He showed me a commission signed by the French superintendent, giving him command of the whole nation. I sent a copy of it to Capt. Campbell, and promised the Indian, at the same time, that he should have one from the English.

Aug. 31st.—A party of Indians came from Milwacky,* and demanded credit, which was refused, as they properly belonged to Mishamakinak. They also made great complaint of the trader amongst them, but as he came from Mishamakinak, and did not touch at this place, I desired them to go there and make their complaint, and they would be redressed. They promised to come to this place to trade in the spring; I made them a small

*This is the earliest notice, it is believed, of *Milwaukee*, and indicates that it was then, 1762, quite an Indian town, with an English trader residing there. Col. Arent Schuyler de Payster, who commanded the British post of Michilimackinac from 1774 till the autumn of 1779, has left a volume of *Miscellanies*, in which he has recorded the substance of a speech he delivered to the Indians at the Ottawa town of L'Arbre Croche, on the shores of Lake Michigan, some distance west of the fort at Michilimackinac, on the 4th of July, 1779; in which he speaks of "those run-gates of Milwaukee—a horrid set of refractory Indians." In the same speech, in another connection, he alludes to "*Wes-nip-pe-gosa*, a sensible old chief at the head of a refractory tribe"—probably the Milwaukee band, who seem not to have been subservient to British rule during the American Revolution. According to a statement dictated by several Sac and Fox chiefs, appended to Dr. Morse's Report of his Indian Tour in 1820, *Mil-wah-kie* was settled by the Sacs and Foxes, and the name is derived from *Man-na-wah-kie* good land. The table already given by Gorrell of the Indian nations dependent on La Bay, mentions Milwacky as being then inhabited by "Ottawas, etc."

present, and told them if they did, they should be well treated and not imposed on.

Aug. 26th.—The king of the Reynards came, to whom I made the same speech as to the rest. He answered to the same purpose with the king of the Sacks, but he let me know that he had routed those bad men who demanded the seven barrels of powder; and promised protection to all traders that came amongst his people. I made him a present of a stand of colors and other things.

Sept. 1st.—The chiefs of the Folles Avoines came and demanded credit for their young men, which the traders here granted, on the chiefs giving their word for payment in the spring.

From this to March 1st, 1763, nothing remarkable happened, except the arrival of several English and French traders, some of whom went up the country, and most sent up the largest part of their goods. Several Indians of the nation belonging to this place, came in at different times during the winter for necessaries. This day twelve warriors of the Sous came here; this nation's number I have before given. It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found. Not above two thousand of them were ever armed with fire-arms, the rest depending entirely on bows and arrows and darts, which they use with more skill than any other Indian nation in North America. They can shoot the wildest and largest beasts in the woods, at seventy or one hundred yards distance. They are remarkable for their dancing; the other nations take the fashion from them. It is said they keep regular guards in their chief town or metropolis, relieving once in twenty-four hours, and are always alert. They proffered me the command of their warriors, being 30,000 in number, to keep clear the road I had opened for them.

This nation is always at war with the Chippewas, those who destroyed Mishamakinak. They told me with warmth, that if ever the Chippewas, or any other Indians, wished to obstruct the passage of the traders coming up, to send them a belt, and they

would come and cut them off from the face of the earth, as all Indians were their slaves or dogs. I told them I was glad to see them, and hoped to have a lasting peace with them, etc., rehearsing the same speech I had made to the other Indians. They then gave me a letter wrote in French, and two belts of wampum, from their king, in which he expressed great joy on hearing of there being English at this post, and great desire of making peace with them, and having English traders. The letter was written by a French trader whom I had allowed to go among them last fall, with a promise of his behaving well, which he did better than any Canadian I ever knew. They said they found the road very bad, and would have turned back but for meeting a chief of the Folles Avoines who prevailed on them to come; but as they had now got a good road, they could travel on it without fear, and hoped to come again in the spring with their king.

With regard to traders, I told them I could not allow any to go amongst them, as I then understood they lay out of the government of Canada, but made no doubt they would have traders from Mississippi in the Spring. They went away on the 3d, extremely well pleased. What was remarkable, when they went to give dances to the people, agreeably to the Indian custom, they began with the soldiers saying, they were the people who should have the most honor paid them, as they fought for it; but being told I was a soldier as well as commander, the chief said he regarded me doubly.

March 25th.—Read letters from Mr. Lottridge, who lived all this winter, in the trading way, up the river with the Indians; that he understood one Goddard, a trader from Montreal, sent orders to his clerk, a Canadian, who lay at the same place with Mr. Lottridge, to send word to the Milwacky Indians, and desire them not to come here, but stay at home, and he would send goods to them in the spring, the contrary to what he told them last fall.

* * * * *

Several Indians came from this to the 15th May, when almost the whole nation came together from their hunting. On the 18th,

I was informed that some young men had threatened to attack the fort, and as there were some Taways here, I did not doubt but they would help them, upon which I called together the chiefs of both parties, and told them what I had heard of their design. The Taways declared they knew nothing of it, which I believe was true. The Folles Avoines' chiefs said, if anything made their young men uneasy, it was on account of the colors and medals Mr. Hutchins had promised. There were none of the old chiefs here at the time, but a few days later they came in. I held council with them, and in it, by a belt and some strings of wampum, I renewed all former treaties. They all seemed well pleased, only they wanted the promised colors and medals. The chiefs were much displeased at the Carroy's getting a present from Mr. Goddard of a fine suit of embroidered clothes. This Carroy was much thought of by the French. I changed my interpreter the 20th inst., and employed the English lad of Mr. Moran's above mentioned, at which the Indians were generally pleased.

June 14th, 1763.—The traders came down from the Sack country, and confirmed the news of Landsing and his son being killed by the French. There came with the traders some Puans, and four young men with one chief of the Avoyn nation, to demand traders to go amongst them. They promised that four hundred and fifty other men would be down in August to trade. I gave them presents.

Agreeably to Capt. Campbell's letter last fall, wherein he told me that he had either lost or mislaid my last year's account, and also from Maj. Gladwin at the same time, I had made up my account both for last year and this separately; one for Capt. C. during his command, the other for the Major's time; and had given them to Mr. Moran, a trader going to Detroit, who was this morning, June 15th, to set out, when about nine o'clock came ten Taways and Frenchmen, and brought the following instructions from Capt. Etherington:

"Mishamakinak, June 11th, 1763.

"DEAR SIR:

"This place was taken by surprise on the fourth instant, by the Chippewas, at which time Lieut. Jamet and twenty more were killed, and all the rest taken prisoners; but our good friends the Ottawas have taken Lieut. Lesley, me, and eleven men out of their hands, and have promised to reinstate us again. You'll therefore, on the receipt of this, which I send by a canoe of Ottawa, set out with all your garrison and what English traders you have with you, and come with the Indian who gives you this, who will conduct you safe to me. You must be sure to follow the instructions you receive from the bearer of this, as you are by no means to come to this post before you see me at the village twenty miles from this. Leave the French clerks with their masters' goods, as the Chippewas have offered no violence to any Frenchman.

"Bring with you what provisions you can. Your batteau will bring you and your garrison, and the merchants can come in a canoe. Tell the savages that you are obliged to come here to open the road which the Chippewas have shut up, that the merchants may have leave to come to them, and the bearer of this will make the same speech to the Indians. If there are any English traders that are not at your post, you must not wait for them, but recommend them to the care of the Indians till you come back, which will be very soon; and if you find it absolutely necessary, you may make them some presents. I must once more beg you'll lose no time in coming to join me; at the same time, be very careful, and always be on your guard. I long much to see you, and am, dear sir,

"Your most humble serv't.,

GEO. ETHERINGTON.

"J. GORRELL,

"Royal Americans."

"Tell the traders to bring what provisions they can with them, and be sure to bring all your ammunition; and recommend the care

of the fort to the Indian chief, that it may not be burnt before your return. Let no person know but that you are to come straight to the fort, as the knowledge of our design might be attended with bad consequences.

(Signed,)

"G. E."

The same day and date, received the following from the same, by same bearer:

"Michillimackinac, June 11th, 1768.

"Dear Sir:—I forget to tell you before I sealed the letter I just now wrote you, that if the Indians I send you should want any belts to speak upon, you will give them what they want, and likewise give each of them a shirt to encourage them. In the other letter I wrote you, I said my letter would be given you by an Indian, but as the Frenchman that I sent with him has a little box, I gave the letter to him. Please lose no time in coming to me, and believe me,

"Your most obedient servant,

"GEO. ETHERINGTON."

Agreeably to these orders, I gave the ten young Ottawas clothes, and also five belts of wampum to speak for the English, or rather for themselves.

I called the Folles Avoines chiefs together, and all their young men, and informed them, with a belt, of their brother Capt. Etherington's distress, (giving them large presents,) and asked their counsel and assistance; whereupon they called their whole town together, and all unanimously agreed to come along with me, and sent several of their young men to the lower town to dis[patch] them on their march. The seven young men I also clothed.

June 17th.—I made every thing ready to set off with the garrison and all the English traders, but contrary winds prevailed.

June 18th.—About 1 o'clock in the afternoon arrived ——— chiefs of the Sacks, Reynards, and Puans, who said their young men were coming, and desired me not to trust myself and garrison with the Taways, as they had seen the belts, and they were not

sincere; they desired me to stay for them, which I did till the 19th, when they arrived, and with them came one Pennensha.—This Pennensha is the same man who wrote the letter the Sous brought with them in March, and at the same time held council with that great nation in favor of the English, by which he much promoted the interest of the latter, as appeared by the behavior of the Sous thereafter. He brought with him a pipe from the Sous, importing that after their ambassadors or chiefs returned, they had called a council of most of the warriors, in which it was agreed to send the following speech to the Indians depending on the Baye,—that I had received a belt from them, with a road plain and easy to be found; they therefore desired, that as the road is now clear, they would by no means allow the Chippewas to obstruct it, or to give the English any disturbance, or prevent the traders from coming up to them. If they did so, they would send all their warriors and cut them off.

This speech had its desired effect, as it changed the minds of the Ottawas very much, and settled those of the rest in favor of the English interest, who came with Pennensha, very happily for us. When all the young men of those nations had arrived, they told me all their nation was in tears for the loss of two English traders who were killed by the French in their lands, and begged leave of me to cut them all in pieces. They seemed well pleased that I had got an English interpreter, as they could tell me their mind more plainly than by a Frenchman. I called a council of the Four Nations, to whom I gave large presents; and to the three last nations, each a belt. I also made a speech to them in the best manner I could, informing them of Capt. Etherington's distress, and that I was going to relieve him if possible, and return to them again after we had cleared the road; and that I hoped, as they had always shown themselves brothers, they would go along with me, and assist in that good work. I was going to try to reinstate their brothers and mine, so that they might be supplied with goods for their wives and children. Upon this, the old Sack chief, who was with me last summer, and brought the French

colors as before mentioned, addressed the rest of the chiefs as follows:

That he was very sorry for the distress of his brother, the English chief at Mishamakinak, and hoped they'd open their eyes and be strong and of good courage to let their new [British] Father know how they had his interest at heart, and not to believe all the bad things the French had told them last winter. He then advised the other Indians to follow his example and show the English how much they had their interest at heart. He could, he said, give no greater proof of this, than by giving himself and taking his young men with him, and he hoped they would do the same. He said he knew that their new Father would have pity on them, and send up traders.

They all agreed with this, and said they were glad they could now show the English how much they loved them, and that I should find they would keep their promise of the year before.

By request of the Four Nations, I sent off the ten Ottawas, to inform Capt. Etherington I was coming. They promised to meet me at the Fishing Place at the Pilot-Traverse.

June 20th.—The Indians busied in gumming their canoes, and getting ready.

June 21st.—I set out, [accompanied by] part of the Four Nations, viz: the Folles Avoines, Sacks, Puans, and Reynards, sailed about fifteen leagues to the Lower Folles Avoines' town—encamped.

June 22d.—Set out, and arrived about ten o'clock at the mouth of the river, on which the village stands. Went on shore; walked up to the town, and was saluted by the firing of guns by about fifty warriors of that town, who discharged their guns three times. Called a council and spoke to them in the same manner as I did to the others, and gave them large presents. They sent two chiefs with twenty warriors with me. Contrary winds obliged us to stay all next day, being the 24th.

June 25th.—Set out escorted by ninety warriors exclusive of

my garrison and the English traders, and crossed the Bay. Came to Little Detroit, where a party of the Ottawas lived, to whom I gave presents, and some strings of wampum, which pleased them. They sent six young men more with me.

June 26th.—Crossed the Bay again, and encamped on a little island.

June 27th.—Went about ten leagues; encamped at the mouth of the river, called the Fishing Place.

June 28th.—Went to the Chippewas' fishing place. Here the Indians who were with us apprehending they might meet with the Chippewas, who might be there to waylay us, sent a shore forty warriors to reconnoitre the woods before we landed, which they mostly did during our journey, and always made us encamp in the center. The King of the Sacks always went in the batteau with me, and would always lay in the tent—so great was their care.—We waited for the return of the Ottawas' canoes, as they had promised to meet us here as was before mentioned, but they did not come.

June 29th.—Set out and came to Isle Castor. Here we were alarmed with great smoke rising in the Isle, in different places, and at different times, while we were crossing the Traverse; and as the Ottawas had not met us according to promise, our Indians mistrusted their sincerity. When we came near to the Island, our Indians halted, and made all preparation imaginable for an action. They obliged the English canoe to go in the center; the Folles Avoines went foremost, stripped ready for action. We went about half a league, when turning a point, we saw three or four Indians on the shore, naked, with lighted pipes, who called in the Ottawa tongue for us to come ashore; which our Indians did, perceiving them to be the Ottawas who were to have met us yesterday. They brought me a letter from Capt. Etherington, which, after passing the pipe, they delivered. It was as follows:

“OTTAWA VILLAGE, June 28th, 1763.

“DEAR SIR:—Your's I received this morning, and am glad to

hear you're coming. Agreeably to your desire, I have sent the canoe of Ottawas to conduct you to this place, and keep all the English you have together. I hope to see you soon, and am, dear Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"Geo. ETHERINGTON."

N. B.—On the other side was wrote, viz: "The Sautons* or Chippewas continue their mischief. They have plundered all the canoes they have met with since I wrote you last, and are now encamped on the great island near the fort, to which place they all repaired on the appearance of a canoe.

"Lt. J. GORRELL, Roy. Americans."

G. E."

We lodged on this island this evening; during which canoes came from Mishamakinak with Indians. They had been plundering there as our Indians apprehended. Upon their arrival, one of our Indian chiefs, who had a relation killed last summer by the Chippewas, and thinking those Indians or some of them were Chippewas, went with tomahawk and knife to their canoe to kill them; but found no Chippewas nor plunder, as they had hid the latter on an island not far off.

June 30th.—I set out and arrived at the Indian village where Capt. Etherington was, about thirty miles above Mishamakinak. The Ottawas received me with great joy, by the firing of several guns, three times each. They also presented us with nine pipes of peace. It was on our arrival here, that we expected to have our allies' sincerity tried, as we heard it reported last night that, on our arrival, our arms would be taken from us, and we would become prisoners, like Capt. Etherington and his party. I told my Indians of it, at the same time letting them know that none of my party should give up their arms, as this was their fixed resolution. The Indians all said they would stand by us. However, on our arrival, no attempt of the kind was made, nor did they ever look on me or my party as prisoners—but to the contrary.

*Sauteurs, probably.

July 1st.—Nothing of consequence, but feasting, dancing, and smoking.

July 3d.—I gave the Indians that came with me a belt of wampum, and they called a council of the Ottawas, and gave them a large belt of wampum, and returned them thanks for taking care of Capt. Etherington and the rest of the prisoners. The Ottawas gave the Indians that came with me several barrels of powder and many other presents, and returned them thanks for bringing me and the garrison down safe. They sent to the Fort for some Chippewa Chiefs to come to them. The same [day], the Indians that came with me and the Ottawas renewed their old alliance.

July 4th.—The Chippewas arrived and held a council. The La Bay Indians took great pains to get the Ottawas to join them, to get Capt. Etherington re-instated, which they refused, but said they would do all in their power to take us to Montreal. The La Bay Indians said that if they did not, they would have no more to do with them, but would break off former friendship. They also spoke to the Chippewas, but could not bring them to consent to their proposals. Nothing but councils till the 7th.

July 7th.—The La Bay Indians came and told me that they were going to the Fort to speak for the last time, and make the Chippewas lay down their arms to let us pass for Montreal. I gave them two large belts. They likewise said, that if the Chippewas would [not?] consent to their proposal, they would take me and my garrison back with them, and take care of us till such time as they would [go with] their warriors and open a road themselves. This day they went to the Fort, and took with them most of the traders that came with them. On their arrival, the Indians belonging to the Isle Castor took one Mr. Lottridge and Mr. Croghan; the former was taken from them by a chief of the Sacs, to whom he gave considerable presents; but the latter was obliged to buy himself clear.

July 8th.—They continued in council till the 11th, in which

time they got all the prisoners clear, except myself, Mr. Henry,* a trader, and two soldiers; and the same day, being the 11th, we all arrived, the men, the traders, and most of the Indian women, from the Ottawa village.

July 12th.—The La Bay Indians and the friendly Ottawas informed us that the road was clear to Montreal, and that they had appointed several Ottawa chiefs and warriors to convey us there; upon which we and the traders promised they should be well rewarded.

July 13th.—About eight or ten of the principal Indians that did the mischief, came to Capt. Etherington, and made the following speech, viz: That they would know if he would shake hands with them. Upon being refused, they said it was not on account of the Tawas that they saved Capt. Etherington and the rest of his garrison, but on account of the Indians from La Bay with me, who came with their pipes full of tobacco for them to smoke; and if they were all under arms and ready to fire upon us, they would be obliged to lay down their arms on account of an old alliance between them. They said that though it was the Chippewas that struck, it was the Ottawas that began the war at Detroit, and instigated them to do the same. They said at the same time, that if the General† would forgive and shake hands with them, they would never do the same again. Upon this, Capt. Etherington said, that if they expected any mercy, or that he should speak in their fa-

*This was Alexander Henry, who was born in New Jersey, in August, 1739. He accompanied Amherst's Expedition in 1760, and was present at the reduction of Fort de Levi, and surrender of Montreal. In descending the river, he lost three boats of merchandise, and only saved his life by clinging to the bottom of one of them. Possessing an enterprising spirit, he soon after visited the Upper Lakes, and engaged in the fur trade. He was captured with Capt. Etherington's party at Mackinaw, and subsequently resumed the occupation of a fur trader. He was the author of an interesting work of Travels in Canada and the Indian country, between the years 1760 and 1778. He died at Montreal, April 4, 1824, aged eighty-four years. He was a man of warm affections, domestic habits, and a generous mind.

†Sir Jeffrey Amherst was then British Commander-in-chief in North America.

vor, they must give up all the prisoners, which was their only method of getting forgiveness.

July 14th.—The La Bay Indians came to me and demanded commissions. I gave them eight certificates, which answer the same end as commissions. The Chippewas then said, that if they had some rum they would go and consult of it. Having no rum to give them, they went away and said no more to us. Afterwards they went to the La Bay Indians, who desired them to deliver up all the prisoners, as the only method to get forgiveness.

July 18th.—Capt. Etherington made them some small presents, and thanked them for their good behavior; and at the request of the chiefs, Messrs. Bruce, Fisher, and Roseboom, a trader from Albany, returned with them to La Bay. The same day, the wind being fair, we embarked for Montreal, consisting of forty canoes of soldiers, traders and Indians. Nothing of consequence occurred till we came near the French river, where we met a party of Missasaga Indians. The next day, we entered the French river, when the chiefs called a council, in which it was ordered that Capt. Etherington, Lieut. Leslie, and all the master traders, should go in the Indian canoes, and make what haste they could to Montreal. I was left with all the soldiers and traders' hands to guard the peltry. Lieut. Leslie being an elder officer, insisted on staying on that command, but an Ottawa chief who had taken him from the Chippewas, and adopted him as his son, would not let him, as he said he would take him to the General and give him up. And they proceeded. After a tedious passage of thirty-two days, I reached Montreal the 18th Aug. 1763, with all my garrison.

I was so much hurried after receiving Capt. Etherington's*

*Capt. Etherington, it would appear from Graydon's Memoirs, was probably a native of Delaware, early entered the army, and served as drummer and sergeant. A wealthy widow of Newcastle county becoming enamored of him, purchased him a commission. After the loss of his post at Michilimackinac, we find him stationed at Philadelphia; and in September, 1775, he was promoted from a Major to a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, which rank he held in 1780—between which later date and 1792, he must have died, as his name does not appear in the British army register in the latter year. He was a man of superior height and large frame, which gave him a commanding air. Though extremely deficient in education, he possessed a strong, acute intellect, and had a happy talent at repartee.

letter the 18th June, 1763, that I could not put the particulars in the margin, as in the former, but was obliged to refer the amount of the sundry presents given to the Indians since the above date, to the traders' accounts below mentioned, viz:

Messrs. Moran and Company's accounts,	£235	12	2
“ Goddard & Co.,	191	2	6
John Abeall & Co.,	23	8	3
Messrs. Lery & Ezekiel Solomon, 4 bags corn,	10	0	0
Henry Bostwick, for corn,	5	0	0
Total,	£1165	2	11

This exclusive of 21,800 wampum, not charged in trader's accounts, being belts received from different nations, as pledges of their fidelity; the most of which necessity obliged me to have made over again, lest they should be known.

Montreal, Aug. 16, 1763.