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23 Bartram-Observations made by Mr. John Bartram in his travels from Pennsylvania to Onondago, Oswego and the Lake Ontario. With Kalm's account of the Cataract of Niagara. London, 1751. 8vo, bds., uncut.
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## OBSERVATIONS <br> ON THE

Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, , Animals, and other matters worthy of Notice.

Made By

## Mr. JOHN $\underset{\text { BARARTRAM. }}{ }$

In his Travels from
PENSILVANIA
To
Onondago, Oswego and the Lake Ontario,

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\text { In } C A N A D A
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To which is annex'd, a curious Account of the
CATARACTS at $N I A G A R A$.
By Mr. PETER K ALM.
A Swedifh Gentleman who travelled there.

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Printed for J. Whiston and B. White, in Fleet-Sireet, 1751.
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HE following Journal was kept by Mr. John Bartram, in his travels from his own houfe near Philadelphia to Onondago, and Ofwego on the Cadarakin or Ontario Lake. It is a misfortuue to the publick, that this ingenious perfon had not a literal education, it is no wonder therefore, that his ftile is not fo clear as we could wifh, however, in every piece of his, there are evident marks of much good fenfe, penetration, and fincerity, join'd to a commendable curiofity. It was to gratify this difpofition, and that of his correfpondents requeft in England, that he undertook, after other expeditions, to accompany Mr. Weifar ou the bufinefs of the government, and was honoured with the eucouragement of fome very judicious and generous noblemen here, fince dead, and the friendf hip of the skilfulleft botanifts in Europe.

It may be proper to inform the reader, that the negotiations fet on foot in the conferenees here related, produced a congrefs at Lancafter in Penfilvania, begun the 22d of June following, which was attended with the wif h'd for fuccefs, in an amicable adjuftment of all differences between the parties, uuder the mediation of the governor of Penfluania. This treaty was print-
ed the fame year at Philadelphia, and is to be found in Mr. Golden's hiftory of the 5 Indian Nations. A book worthy of the readers perufal.

This journal was by feveral accidents prevented from arriving in England till June 1750, and is now made publick without the author's knowledge, at the inftance of feveral gentlemen, who were more in number than could conveniently perufe the manufcript. Had he intended it for publication he would have made it probably more entertaining and perhaps have retrenched fome parts that made the leaft figure in it.

The friend to whom he fent it, though himfelf not at liberty to make any material alteration, though as it now appears, many who feek only amufement in what they read, will in thofe places be difappointed where only are treated of the feveral plants with which nature has bountifully covered the hills and valleys he travers'd, with the various qualities of the foil and climate.

But when it is confider'd of how great importance an intimate acquaintance with the natural ftate of this vaft wildernefs, and its capacity of further improvement is to Great Britain, and how little the endeavours of our countrymen have yet advanced this work, while we are indebted to our moft dangerous rivals for the little we do know, who will, if poffible, repay themfelves by excluding us from all we do not actually cultivate, and leave us that only while they want power to take it from us: I cannot
but think this plain yet fenfible piece merits attention. It is by purfuing the difcovery of the interior ftate of this great continent, that we can fcarcely fail attaining an end, that moft worthy the aim of a great maritime power, honored as well as ftrengthened by a fair progeny of the moft flourifhing colonies in the world, and of which a good Englifhman with peculiar pleafure will find $P$. Charlevoix confeffing (however unwilling to own any thing inconfiftent with the glory of his country) that France cannot behold them without Terror.

Knowledge muft precede a fettlement, and when Penfilvania and Virginia fhall have extended their babitations to the branches of the Miffiffippi that water thefe provinces, on the weft fide of the Blue Mountain, we may reafonably hope to infure afafe and eafy communication with the moft remote known parts of North America, and to fecure the poffeffion of a dominion unbounded by any present difcoveries.

If this defirable profpect appear chimerical, because great and diftant, it is at least true, that no obftacle can be pointed out, but what we may eafily remove.

England already poffeffes an uninterrupted line of well-peopled provinces of the coast, fucceffively begun within lefs than 150 years, fhe fees them every year augmented by an acceffion of fubjects, excited by the defire of living under governments and laws formed on the moft excellent model upon earth. In vain do we look for B 2
an equal prosperity among the plantations of other European nations becaufe every power has tranfplanted its conftitution with its people. This furprizing increafe of people is a foundation that will bear a mighty fuperstructure, we need no other proof than in the wonderful growth of one of the provincies, (Penfilvania I mean) which tho' the youngeft of all, yet being more particularly founded on the principles of moderation (the firft of all political Virtues) and every way fam'd for the wifdom and lenity of its government, is become the admiration of thofe who compare it with any thing related by hiftory, and the well-known refuge of-the opprefs'd and perfecuted, who chearfully abondon their native foil to purchafe the ineftimable bleffing of liberty and peace.

The inhabitants of all thefe colonies have eminently deferved the character of induftrious in agriculture and commerce. I could wifh they had as well deferved that of adventurous in inland difcoveries, in this they have been much outdone by another Nation, whofe poverty of country and unfettied temper have prompted them to such views of extending their poffeffions, as our agriculture and commerce now make neceffary for us to imitate. In this skillful Perfons may employ themfelves; but a more accurate obferver than our author will not readily be found.

The welfare of a colony concerns the country from whence it derives its origin, in nothing fo
much as in the quantity of land broke up for tillage, the natural confequence of extending the frontier fettlements. This is not only beneficial in proportion to the increafe of vent, among the new fettlers of comodities exported from the mother country; but by preventing the additional hands from applying themfelves to fuch manufactures as may interfere with the commerce, effectually hinders a michief that might ftop the advantages reaped before. A jealoufy has long prevailed at home, of manufactures in America, and it has been ufual for our manufacturers on various occafions to exprefs this opinion in frequent applications to parliament, vainly hoping to force a confumption abroad from the weakeft of all refources, prohibitary laws: But the wifdom of the legiflature has provided the moft effectual, if not the only remedy, by encouraging the vent of the growths of America, and thereby engaging the inhabitants to employ themfelves in raifing them; a conduct grounded on the invariable obfervation, that perfection in agriculture naturally precedes manufactures, wherever a country finds a market for its produce fufficient to provide itfelf with the latter.

Mr. Kalm's narrative of his travels to the Falls of Niagara, is a proper fupplement to the journey to Ofwego, his voyage begins from that place, and caries us on further in the fearch of every thing worthy our notice in this country: This gentleman is well known to be
vi $\quad P \quad R \quad E \quad F \quad A \quad C \quad E$.
a man of worth and great skill in natural hiftory, and his little piece befides the candour and veracity of the writer, derives a great value from its being the only account in our language of this ftupendous object. $P$. Charlevoix an Author of good credit, (where the intereft of his nation and religion are unconcerncd) has given us a defcription perfectly agreeable to Mr. Kalm's, tho' much lefs circumftantial: It was in 1722, he was on the fpot, and the heights had not then probably been taked by inftruments, for he feems to think it very difficult if poffible; He gueffes the great Fall to be 140 or 150 feet from a meafure taken by founding; and adds, that he has feen fmall birds flutter juft above the fall itfelf; we have likewife an account of this cataract Phil. Trans. No. 371. p. 69. from Mr. Boruffan tranfmitted by Mr. Dudley. Mr. Boruffan relates that the Governor of Canada's fon the Marquis de Cavagnal had founded it, and fixed the perpendicular fall at 26 fathom, this was alfo in 1722 .

I cannot help taking notice of the alarm Mr. Kalm's arrival gave the French at Niagara. They are confcions their enjoyment of this Fort is a manifeft violation of the treaty of Utrecht tho' they know the juftice of the Englifh Nation will not permit them to compell the Seneka's againft their inclination to diflodge them.

Among other curions parts of Mr. Bartram's journal are his thoughts (thrown together at the end) on the Origin of the Aborgines of Ame-
rica; thefe conjectures are fhort, and it is likely. occurr'd to him cafually, perhaps they are not all well grounded, or at moft apply'd to any but the Eskimaux, however, the fame fentiments on this fubject have been fupported by the learned Grotius in his treatife de Origine Gentium Americanarm, and in his reply to $\mathcal{J}$. de Laet.

This queftion has long been agitated with great warmth, and every folution of it hitherto, has found oppofers, becaufe thofe who have engaged in the controverfy have forgot, or wilfully miftook, that the point in difpute cannot reafonably be, whether it was actually peopled from one or more particular places? but whether it might probably be peopled confiftent with the Mofaick hiftory; otherwife it would be hard to fay, how all this enquiry has been fo much confined to America, when the paffage of the inhabitants to many other parts of the globe is attended with equal difficulties.
$P$. Charlevoix who has with great exactnefs abftracted the opinions and arguments of the writers on this fubject, has obferved, that befides the eafy paffage by fea from the coaft of Guinea to that of Brazil: If it has not yet been demonftrated that the new world is contiguous to the old on the South, North-Eaft and North-Weft, at leaft the contrary has not been fhewn, fo that the principal difficulties to be encountered, arife not from the want of a Pafage, but from colour, manner, and language, which feem irreconcileable to any we are acquainted
quainted with on this fide the Globe. But are the Negroes in Guinea more fimilar in thefe refpects, to the reft of the world? Let any one tell me, why moft of the Africans are black and woolly-pated, and I will thew him why the $A$ mericans are red and without hair on their chins, and many parts of their bodies. After all are we fufficiently acquainted with the utmoft powers of nature? to be fure the offspring of the fame pair in 3 or 4000 years might without a fupertural interpofition become of various complexions, and fuppofe we were convinced of this, may not the infinite power that created our firft parents, and miraculoufly wrought the confufion of tongues, have thus diftinguifh'd their pofterity for purpofes only known to his infinite wifdom. I ought not to omit that $P$. Charlevoix recommends a careful obfervation of thofe American languages, that have the marks of being original, and a comparifon of them with thofe of Europe, Afia and Africa, and gives very judicious Reafons for depending on a fimilitude in this, preferable to that of manners; I thall only add, that Mr. Lewis Evans a companion of our author's in this journey, and a skilfull furgeou, has lately publifh'd a map of Nerw York, Penflvania, and Jerfey, with part of Virginia, Maryland and Nerw-England, chiefly founded on actual furveys. This map includes the route here defcribed, which feems laid down very exactly. And is fold by Mr. Bowle's map and print-feller in Cornhill.

OBSERVA-




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OBSERVATIONS

MADE BY

## Mr. JOHN BARTRAM,

In his Journey from
Penfilvania to Onondago, Evc.
 HE 3d day of July 1743 , I fet out from my houfe on Skuylkil River, with Lewis Evans, and travelled beyond Perkiomy Creek the firft day. The weather was exceeding hot. The $4^{t h}$, we set out before day, and ftopp'd at Marcus Hulin's by Manatony; then croffed Skuylkil, and rode along the weft fide over rich bottoms, after which we afcended the Flying Hill, (fo called from the great number of wild Turkeys that ufed to fly from them to the plains) here we had a fine profpect of the Blue Mountains, and over the rich Vale of Tulpebocken; the defcent into which is fteep and ftony. Through this vale we travelled weft,
weft, and by the way observed a large fpring 16 feet deep, and above 20 yards wide, which iffued out of a limeftone rock, the ground above it pretty level, defending gradually towards the fpring which ran eaftward. At at night we lodged at Conrad Weifers, who is the general Interpreter, and who went with us; his bufinefs was to fettle an affair with the Indians at Onondago.

The 5th, We croffed Tulpebocken Creek which runs eaft, and emptieth itfelf into Skuylkil, and a little after a fmall branch of Swataro which runs Weft into Sufquehanah. Thefe two large creeks receive moft of the water of that great rich vale between the Flying Hill and Tulpebocken Hill, from which the vale and creek receive their names, and is itfelf fo called from the Indian word fignifying a tortoife, unto which the natives of the country have conceived it bears fome fimilitude. And thefe two hills are the fouthern boundary of this fine limeftone vale, many hundred miles long, and from to to 20 miles broad to the northern boundary formed by the Great Blue Mountains.

Having called on a man who was to go with us and carry part of our provifions to Shamokin, he could not get his horfe fhod that day, but we rode to William Parfons's plantation, who received and entertained us


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very kindly; his houfe is about fix miles from the Blue Mountains.
The 6 th, we fet forward and afcended the firft Blue ridge, from the top of which we made an obfervation, Conrad Weifers Hill bearing fouth 20 degrees eaft, the northern profpect to two gaps, thro' which we were to pafs to the North Hill, N. 30 deg. W. about 10 miles diftant. The top and fouth fide of this ridge is midling land, half a quarter of a mile broad, and produced fome wild grafs, abundance of fern, oak and chefnut trees. Defcending the North fide we found it more poor, fteep and ftony, and came foon to the firft branch of Swataro which runs between the ridges, and is 3 miles from the next branch, all very poor land; but on this fecond branch it is good low land, with large trees of 5 leaved white pine, poplar, and white oak, here we dined by a fpruce fwamp.

After dinner we paffed the openings of two ridges, the laft of which was by the bank of the principal branch of Swataro, the foil poor and ftoney; then we afcended a great ridge about a mile fteep, and terribly itoney moft of the way: near the top is a fine the' fmall fpring of good water. At this place we were warned by a well known alarm to keep our diftance from an enraged rattle fnake that had put himfelf into a coiled pofture of defence, within a dozen yards of our path, but $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ we

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we punifhed his rage by ftriking him dead on the fpot: he had been highly irritated by an Indian dog that barked eagerly at him, but was cunning enough to keep out of his reach, or nimble enough to avoid the fnake when he fprung at him. We took notice that while provoked, he contracted the mufcles of his fcales fo as to appear very bright and fhining, but after the mortal ftroke, his fplendor became much diminifhed, this is likewife the cafe of many of our fnakes.

The north fide of the Hill is not ftony as the fouth, but yet very poor. Thence we traveled 7 miles over feveral hollows, fwamps and fmall ridges, full of fcrubby bufhes, and ftill poor and ftoney to the laft great ridge, which is compofed chiefly of large gravel, as big as pidgeons or pullets eggs, and even the rocks feemed but heaps of the fame materials ; the defcent on the north fide is very fteep and rocky, large craggy rocks are difpofed on all fides, moft part of the way down, which brought us to a fine vale, where we lodged by a creek called Saurel, and were grievoufly ftung all night with fmall gnats, fo that I flept very little.

The 7 th, we fet out weft from Saurel creek and traveled down the vale, which is pretty good land: and leaving the creek, foon croffed another runing along the north fide of the vale, by the bank of which we rode through a grove

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of white Pine, very lofty and fo clofe, that the Sun could hardly fhine through; at the end of this the two branches joined. Riding a little further, we paffed through a gap of a moderate hill, north by the creek fide where we found a fifhing place, moftly a deep hole near a rock; there we went weft on the north fide of the creek, and dined at what is called the Double Eagle. The land hereabouts is middling white oak and huckleberry land, and by the creek finds pretty good wild grafs, and the 2 d branch enters about 30 rood below; having croffed this, we went up a vale of middling foil, covered with high oak Timber, nearly weft to the top of the hill, (moft of the way being a white clay under a shallow furface), where we firft obferved the impreffion of fhells in fome of the loofe ftones, and from whence we had a fair profpect of the river Sufquehanah.

The defect from hence foon brought us to Mohony, our lodging for this night. Here the foil is very good throughout the neck, formed by the river aud the creek, which is about 3 poles wide. It rained this night through our old, tho' newly erected lodging, which was an Indian Cabin that we took the liberty to remove, knowing they ufually leave behind them a good ftock of fleas on the ground they iuhabit; however, the wet deprived me of my reft

## [ 14 : ${ }^{\circ}$ ]

reft that I had taken fo much pains to fecure againft the vermin.

July 8. We croffed the creek and rode along a rich bottom near the river for two miles, producing moft kinds of our foreft trees, and a large fpecies of Scutelaria two feet high: thence along the river fide, near a mile $N$. 20 deg. E. to the foot of a fertil hill, where leaving the river, our way N. E. though feveral narrow valleys and over small hills, generally middling land, yielding oak, hickery, chefnut, and fome pine, to the fummit of a high hill, where we faw Shamokin Hill, diftant four miles only; going down we came to uneven fony ground producing pitch pine and oak, as far as the point of Shamokin Hill, whence we had a pleafant profpect of the fall of the river, quite crofs without any great Rocks. The ftream runs very fwift, but canoes or flat-bottomed boats may go up or down well enough: the bottom of this defcent is wafhed by Shamokin Creek three rods wide, this we forded to a fruitful bottom half a mile wide, beyond which two miles good oak land brought us to the town of Shamo$k z n$. It contains eight cabbins near the river's bank right oppofite the mouth of the weft branch that interlocks with the branches of Allegheny. It is by means of this neighbourhood that we may reafonably hope, when thefe parts fhall be better known, that a very beneficial

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beneficial Trade may be extended through the Hokio into the Miffiffippi and its branches among the numerous nations that inhabit their banks. It were to be withed, that the Englifh government in thefe parts had been more diligent in fearching and furveying the heads of their own rivers and the fources of the others that run weftwards from the backs of their refective provinces. Yet enough is already known to juftify the furmifes of $M r$. de la Sale, who in his Journal addreffed to the Count de Frontenac expreffes his fears, left the Englifh, from their fettlements, fhould poffefs themfelves of the trade on the Miffiffippi. I quartered in a trader's cabbin, and about midnight the Indian came and called up him and his fquaw, who lay in a separate part where the goods were depofited, whether together or no I did not ask. She fold the Indian rum, with which being quickly intoxicated, men and women began firft to fing and then dance round the fire; then the women would run out to other cabbins and foon return, leaving the men finging and dancing the war dance, which continued all the next day. An Englifhman when very drunk will fall faft afleep for the moft part, but an Indran, when merry, falls to dancing, running, and fhouting, which violent action probably may difperfe the fumes of the liquor, that had he fat ftill or remained quiet, might have made

## [16]

made him drowfy, and which it even carries off by continued agitation.

As foon as we alighted they fhowed us where to lay our baggage, and then brought us a bowl of boiled fquathes cold; this I then thought poor entertainment, but before I came back I had learnt not to defpife good Indian food. This hofpitality is agreeable to the honeft fimplicity of ancient times, and is fo punctually adhered to, that not only what is already dreffed is immediately fet before a traveller, but the moft preffing bufinefs is poftponed to prepare the beft they can get for him, keeping it as a maxim that he muft always be hungry, of this we found the good effects in the fleth and bread they got ready for us.
July 9, After breakfast Lereis Evans and myfelf went to the point of the mountain clofe to the N. E. branch, a mile and a half up the river from our lodging, and good level rich land all the way; we walked thither, carrying our blankets with us, and flept near three hours. Here we regulated our journey, and having taken a pleafant view of the range of mountains, and the charming plane of Shamokin, 2 miles long and above one broad, skirted on the Weft and North by the river, and encompaffed Eaft, and partly South, with lofty hills, befides a fine vale bordering the North Weft branch, we returned to the town and dined. In the afternoon
afternoon. In the afternoon we borrowed a canoe, and paddled up the Weft branch. It is near two-thirds as broad as the North Eaft or main river: I went afhore on the fouth fide to the point of a hill to look for curiofities, but found none; the rock confifted of a dark colored thelly ftone: Then we diverted our felves with fwimming, the water was chin deep moft of the breadth, and fo clear one might have feen a pin at the bottom. At night I hung up my blanket like a hammock, that I might lay out of the reach of the fleas, troublefome and conftant guefts in an Indian hut; but I found my contrivance too cool for a place open on all fides, tho covered with a kind of granary, efpecially the wind blowing cold from the N. W.

Io. We departed in the morning with Shickcalamy and his fon, he being the chief man in the town, which confifted of Delaware Indians; he was of the fix nations, or rather a Frenchman, born at Mont-real, and adopted by the Oneidoes, after being taken prifoner; but his son told me he was of the Cayuga nation, that of his mother, agreeable to the Indian rule Partus fequitur ventrem, which is as reafonable among them as among cattle, fince the whole burthen of bringing up falls on her; therefore in cafe of feparation the children fall to her thare.

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We had many advantages from the company of thefe guides, were perfectly acquainted with that part of the country, and being of the fix Nations they were both a credit and protecton; and, alfo as we went to accommodate the differences, and allay the Heart-burnings that had been raifed by a late skirmish on the back of Virginia between fome of thefe nations and the Englifh, we could not but derive a confidence from the company of a chief.

We coafted the river near a mile to the ford, where we had a good bottom not above 3 feet deep; this brought us to an Ifland near 2 miles long and a quarter broad, pretty rich at the lower end, and near the river, but the higher end fandy, from the drift left there by the floods, it therefore produces little but pitch pine. After leaving the lower end where we faw feveral cabbins, we once more took water for the oppofite fhore, but the bottom is lefs even, though not above half as wide as the laft, which is about 400 yards.

Hence leaving the weft branch about half a mile on our left, and rich low ground between with gravel, oak and pitch-pine land on our right, we reached a pretty fpring of good water, fituated between the fwamp and dry ground. This, fince our paffage over the Blue Mountain was the only one we met with till we came near Onondago, for on that fide
fide the currents and creeks are chiefly formed by the water oufing and draining from the bottoms of the mountains and hills, and are gradually collected in this manner into rivulets. But on the fouth of this great ridge, it gufhes out between the rocks in ftreams big enough to turn a mill, in other places rifing and bubbling out of the earth in quantity fufficient to fill a pipe an inch fquare, or thereabout.

Our journey now lay through very rich bottoms to a creek 6 miles from Shamokin, a great extent of fruitful low ground ftill continuing. Here we found a fine meadow of grafs on our right, and rich dry ground on the left. In our path lay a large Rattlefnake, but he civilly crept into the grafs, and let us pafs without danger. Our way from hence lay through an old Indian field of excellent foil, where there had been a town, the principal footfteps of which are peach-trees, plumbs and excellent grapes. A great flood came down this branch a few years paft, and drove abundance of fand over this ground a great depth among the trees. It rofe 20 feet perpendicular, wathing away many yards of the bank, which was compofed of gravel and fand, and doubtlefs had been raifed to that heighth by former inundations, for the wood ground 30 rod from the river is feveral feet

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lower than the bank; a little above this devaftation we dined.

And now leaving the river we held a new courfe over a fine level, then down a rich hollow to a run, where we faw a fummer duck; and fo down the run, a little beyond this turns a path to Wiomick, a town on the eaft branch, hence N. N. E. then N. after W. to a rich bottom near the river, where Shickcalamy formerly dwelt, at the upper end of which reffftlefs torrents had carried abundance of fand into the woods. With this bottom we left the river for the prefent, and kept a variable courfe through the gap of the mountain N . and N . W. over middling champion land, producing fome pitch pine, and large white and black oak, fome fwamps and brooks, by one of which we lodged in a fertile valley, that we reached before night.
II. About break of day it began to rain, and the Indians made us a covering of bark got after this manner: They cut the tree round through the bark near the root, and make the like incifion above 7 feet above it, there horizontal ones are joined by a perpendicular cut, on each fide of which they after loofen the bark from the wood, and hewing a pole at the fmall end, gradually tapering like a wedge about 2 feet, they force it in till they have compleated the feparation all round, and the bark parts whole from

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from the tree, one of which, a foot dameter, yields a piece 7 feet long and above 3 wide: And having now prepared four forked flicks, they are fat into the ground the longer in front; on thefe they lay the crofs-poles; and on them the bark. This makes a good tight thelter in warm weather. The rain was quickly over, but as it continued cloudy, we did not care to leave our fled. Here our In. dians f hot a young deer, that afforded us a good feaft.
12. We fat forward and travelled up the Run, bearing N. W. along a narrow valley, moderately rich, the hills hung with lofty timber, the ftones generally flat, then up a fteep hill, where I found foffil fuel in many ftones, the foil middling oak land; and here had a view of a Bluf point N. by the river fine; then defcending down a fteep hill N. E. we came to a rich bottom by the river; hence N . after N. W. to a creek, and fo through a grove of white walnut and locuft, and exceeding rich land, half a mile broad, and now fome higher level land, affording oak, hickory, walnut, locust and pitch pine, our courfe generally N. N. W. till riding over a hazel plane we met eight Shawanefe Indians on horfeback coming from Allegheny, and going to Wiomick upon an inportant account, as they faid. We turned back with them to the adjacent wood, and fate down together under a fhady oak; the
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fquare which they brought to wait upon them kindled a fire to light their pipes; our Interpreter and Shickealamy fet down with them to fmoke the cuftomary civility when two parties meet; Conrad Weifar underftanding they were fome chiefs of the Shawanefe, acquainted them with our bufinefs at Onondago, a compliment they were so well pleafed with, that they gave us the Tobay, a particular Indian expreffion of approbation, and which is very difficult for a white man to imitate well; after half an hour's grave discourfe feveral of them went to catch the horfes, and one of the principal men made a handfome fpeech, with a pleafant well composed countenance, to our interpreter, to the following effect: 'That they were fensible with what ' an unwearied diligence he had hitherto been ' inftrumental in preferving peace and good ' harmony between the Indians and White - People, and that as they could not but now ' commend the prudence and zeal with which ' he had eftected this laudable purpofe, fo ' they earneftly entreated and fincerely hoped ' he would ftill perfevere in the fame endea' vours and with the fame fuccefs, and that his ' good offices may never be wanting on any ' future occasion.

The Shawanefe, or Shaounons, as they are called by the French, are the fame people, the Six nations : and at New York are called Satanas; they
they dwell upon the Hokzo and to the fouthward of it, between whom and that of the Cherokees is a river fometimes called by that name. It was againft this people the fix nations firft turned their Arms with fuccefs, after they had fled before warlike Adarondacks, and having thus learn'd to conquer, ventured to attack their hitherto victorious enemies, who could not have fupported this war without the unexpected affiftance they received from the French.

After taking our leaves, we continued our journey to a large creek 4 or 5 rod wide which wafhes on each thore a charming country of rare foil as far as the river. On the othefide of this creek we rode through a deferted Town in the neck between them; a few miles more brought us to our dining place, and in the afternoon we turned our backs on this branch, and rode N. W. down a valley 20 rods wide, wooded with pitch pine on the right hand and white on the left, the Run between; then N. W. by W. by the fide of a hill and bottom of white pine, down which we rode 2 hours, upon better land, the N. W. middling land, now up a hill N. W. to a point, a profpect of an opening bearing N . then down the hill to run, and over a rich neck lying between it and Tiadaughton bearing N. W. where we lodged within about 50 yards of a hunting cabin, where there were 2 Men, a Squaw and a child,

## [24]

child, the men came to our fire and made us a prefent of fome venifon, and invited Mr Weifar, Shickcalamy and his fon,to a feaft at their cabin. It is incumbent on thofe who partake of a feaft of this fort, to eat all that comes to their f hare or burn it: now Weifar being a traveller was intitled to a double fhare, but he being not very well, was forced to take the benefit of a liberty indulged him, of eating by proxy, and called me, but both being unable to cope with it, Lerwis came in to our affiftance, notwithftanding which we were hard fet to get down the neck and throat, for thefe were allotted us; and now we had experienced the utmoft bounds of their indulgence, for Lewis ignorant of the ceremony of throwing the bone to the dog, tho' hungry dogs are generally nimble, the Indian more nimble, laid hold of it firft, and committed it to the fire, religioufly covering it over with hot afhes. This feems to be a kind of offering, perhaps firft fruits to the Almighty power to crave future fuccefs in the approaching hunting feafon, and was celebrated with as much decency and more filence, than many fuperftitious ceremonies: the bigotry of the popifh miffionaries tempt them to compafs fea and land to teach their weak Prfelites what they call the chriftian religion. To this I may add another ceremony at bear hunting, as related by a celebrated author, this diverfion being in the winter,
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$25]$
winter, when this animal is very fat, the greafe that fwims on the broth becomes a perfect oil, which the Indians frequently drink untill they burft - As soon as the bear is killed, the hunter places the fmall end of his pipe in its mouth, and by blowing in the bowls, fills the mouth and throat full of fmoak, then he conjures the departed Spirit not to refent the injury done his body, nor to thwart his future fport in hunting, but as he receives no anfwer to this, in order to know if his prayers have prevailed, he cuts the ligament under the bear's tongue, if thefe ligaments contract and fhrivel up, being caft into the fire, which is done with great folemnity and abundance of invocations: then it is efteemed a certain mark (as it rarely fails) that the manes are appeafed. It was now time to return to our fire where we laid us down to reft.

The I3th, in the morning, the Indians repaid our vifit, and entertained us with a familiar converfation for half an hour at the fire. We then fet out up the creek, where I obferved three noble white pine trees, with many large green cones hanging on the top and fide brauches over the creek, which was three rods broad and pretty deep, had thefe been ripe I know not how we fhould have got at them, as they were at the extremity of large branches, that hung over the Water, on which part of the branch they generally grow. Soon after we

## [26]

came to a fpacious level of midling land, oak, and pine, next to a large rich botom, and at the upper end to an extenfive grove of white pine, after this a graffy plain of 20 acres, then round the end of a hill, and along a valley, and run N. by W. high timber and good land on the hill fide N. then W. and laftly, at half an hour after 8 N . here our Indians fhot 2 young deer. The land and timber good, brown foil, and the ftones flat and gritty. From hence going over a hill we faw a gap N. N.W. and defcending down a fteep part of the hill to the head of a ftoney. brook and hollow, we made our way through it, it was full of fpruce and white pine; at the bottom we killed a rattle fnake, then croffed the brook and traverfed a rich bottom N. N. E. the upper end pine, fpruce, oak, laurel, poplar and chefnut, fome limes, ftoney and brown foil, feveral times croffed the creek and over rich bottoms and ftoney hill fides with laurel, pine, fpruce and fwamps, till towards night. On the north fide of a deep ftoney yet rich foil, I found roots of Ginfeng; at night we lodged by a creek, and the two Indians that feafted with us, who accompanied us to the Cayuga branch.

The ruth, Having forded the creek we kept generally a N. N.E. courfe, moftly along rich bottoms interfperfed with large fpruce and white pine, oak, beach and plane tree, ginfeng,

## [ 27 ]

ginfeng, and many more. We frequently paffed the creek (which was very ftrong) for the mountains often clos'd on one fide; it was big enough to turn two mills. At 9 o'clock the Indians fished for trout, but caught none, being provided with no other means of taking them but by poles fharpened at the end to ftrike them, and the water deep: at the foot of a hill we croffed the creek once more, and rode along a fine bottom, full of great wild nettles. The timber was fugar, birch, fugar maples, oak and poplar, our courfe N. W. continued until after 12 o'clock, then followed the eaft branch N. N. E. about a mile, all a rich bottom where we found a Liching Pond, where we dined, the backs parts of our country are full of thefe liching ponds, fome are of black fulphureous mud, fome of pale clay, the deer and elk are fond of licking this clay, fo that the pond becomes enlarged to a rood or half an acre, the foil, I fuppofe contains fome faline particles agreeable to the deer, who come many miles to one of thefe places, there had been a great elk there that morning, but the Indians told us that many years ago fome Indians quarrelled there, in the fquable one loft his life, and that this made the deer keep from thence for many years.

Now traveling up the run eaft, we left it on the right hand, to go up a hill covered with fpruce, oak fpruce, lawrel, opulus, yew, with E 2
ginfeng

## [28]

ginfeng and ataliathun in abundance, then kept generally an eaft courfe, having feveral hollows and fteep afcents and over many boggy rotten places, fome laurels and very high timber, then down the fide of a hill to an old beaver dam, over which we paffed, and then over a large level of very good ground, tall timber and abundance of leatherbark or thymelea, which is plentiful in all this part of the country. Our lodging was in this fpacious flat.

The 15th, We fet out a N. E. courfe, and paffed by very thick and tall timber of beach, chefnut, linden ash, great magnolia, fugarbirch, fugar-maple, poplar, fpruce and fome white pine, with ginfeng and maidenhair; the foil black on the furface, and brown underneath, the ftones a brown grit, the way very uneven over fallen trees, abundance of hollows, and heaps of earth, turned up by the roots of proftrate timber: hence it is that the furface is principally compofed of rotten trees, roots, and mofs, perpetually fhaded, and for the moft part wet, what falls is conftantly rotting and rendring the earth loofe and fpungy, this tempts abundance of yellow wafps to breed in it, which were very troublefome to us throughout our journey, on the branches of Sufquehanah our courfe this day was generally eaft, and we got through this difmal wildernefs about two hours before funfet, and
came to oak and hickery land, then down a fteep hill producing white pine to a creek called Conuria a branch of Towintobow, where we lodged in a bottom producing ginfeng, fareaparilla, mediola, maidenhair, darallia, panax, mitela, chriftophoriana, with white, red and blue berries, we had a fine warm night, and one of the Indians that had fo generoufly feafted us, fung in a folemn harmonious manner, for feven or eight minutes, very different from the common Indian tune, from whence I conjectured it to be a hymn to the great fpirit as they exprefs it. In the morning I asked the Interpreter what the Indian meant by it. but he did not hear him, and indeed I believe none of the company heard him but myfelf, who wake with a little noife, rarely fleeping found abroad.

The 16 th, We began our journey up a little hill, fteep and fomewhat ftony, and then through oak, chefnut, huckleberries, and honeyfuckles, the land poor, fometimes white pine, fpruce and lawrel; thus far N. but at half an our after feven N. E. through a great white pine, fpruce fwamp full of roots, and abundance of old trees lying on the ground, or leaning againft live ones, they ftood fo thick that we concluded it almoft impoffible to fhoot a man at 100 yards diftant, let him ftand never fo fair. The ftraight bodies of thefe trees ftood fo thick, a bullet muft hit one before it could fly roo yards, in the moft

## [ 30 ]

open part. At half an hour after nine, we rode down a fmall hill, and croffed a fmall run, then climb'd a fteep hill of oak land, and by ten to a large creek called Uskoho, then round the point of a hill, midling land, and up the fide thereof, which was good, and down the other fide very fteep to a Run, with good corn land to the top of a hill in fight of the eaft branch of Sufquehanah, fo far we had pale clay land from the wildernefs, though blackifh on the furface, for 2,3 or 4 inches, then down half a mile on a moderate defcent, good oak and hickery land to a large rich graffy and weedy bottom, 40 rood wide, producing elm; birch, linden, lotus, whitewalnut, and very large white pine, where the land is a little higher than common; at the upper end of this bottom we dined at half an hour after 12, we fet out again at 3 , courfe N . along a fteep hill fide, full of excellent flat whet-ftones of all fizes, from half a foot, to 4 feet long, and from 2 inches to a foot wide, and from half an inch to a foot thick; I brought one home which I have ufed to whet my ax, fcythe, chizzels and knife, and is yet very little the worfe for wear, it is as fine as the Englifh rag, but of a blackifh colour; this lafted two miles clofe to the river which is here roo yards wide, and deep enough for flat-bottomed boats, then we came to a very rich low land, moft of the way N. N. E. to the Cayaga branch, near roo yards wide which we croffed, then rode

## [3I]

near a mile to the town-houfe, bearing $N$. this town is called Tohicon, and lies in a rich neck between the branch and main river: the Indians welcomed us by beating their drum, as foon as they faw us over the branch, and continued beating after the Eng-lifh manner as we rode to the houfe, and while we unfaddled our Horfes, laid in our luggage and entered our felves: the Houfe is about 30 foot long, and the fineft of any I faw among them. The Indians cut long grafs and laid it on the floor for us to fit or lie on ; feveral of them came and fat down and fmoked their pipes, one of which was fix foot long, the head of ftone, the ftem a reed, after this they brought victuals in the ufual manner: here I obferved for the firft time in this journey, that the worms which had done much mifchief in feveral parts of our Province, by deftroying the grafs and even corn for two fummers, had done the fame thing here, and had eat off the blade of their maize and long white grafs, fo that the ftems of both ftood naked 4 foot high; I faw fome of the naked dark coloured grubs half an inch long, tho moft of them were gone, yet I could perceive they were the fame that had vifited us two months before; they clear all the grafs in their way, in any meadow they get into, and feem to be periodical as the locufts and caterpillar, the latter of which I am afraid will do us a great deal of mifchief next fummer. Here one of our hofts at the hunting cabin
cabin left us to go up this branch to his own country, that of the Cayagas, this night it rained a little, and the morning was very foggy.

17th. Day, we croffed the neck to the eaft branch of Sufquehanah, up which we travelled along a rich bottom of high grafs and woods of a fine creek, then over oak and pitch pine land to a fwampy run and fine meadow ground, then eaft through white and pitch pine, oak, hickery and hazel bottom, and fo N. E. to the river, where grew a white pine clofe to the water, with four green cones on, ftill we kept N. E. at io bore S. Here the river turned thus, occafioned by fome high barren mountains on the other fide, whofe fides came clofe to it, and turned the ftream in this crooked manner. We travelled through a fine vale of pine land. Here was a place where the Indians had been a pawawing. They cut a parcel of poles, which they ftick in the ground in a circle, about the bignefs of hop poles, the circle about five foot diameter, and then bring them together at the top, and tie them in form of an * oven, where the conjurer placeth himfelf; then his affiftants cover the cage over clofe with blankets and to make it ftill more fuffocating, hot ftones are rolled in; after all this the prieft muft cry aloud, and agitate his

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## [ 33 ]

his body after the moft violent manner, till nature has almoft loft all her faculties before the ftubborn fpirit will become vifible to him, which they say is generally in the shape of fome bird. There is usually a ftake drove into the ground about four foot high and painted. I fuppofe this they defign for the winged airy Being to perch upon, while he reveals to the invocant what he has taken fo much pains to know. However, I find different nations have different ways of obtaining the pretended information. Some have a bowl of water, into which they often look, when their ftrength is almost exhaufted, and their fenfes failing, to fee whether the fpirit is ready to anfwer their demands. I have feen many of thefe places in my travels. They differ from their fweating coops, in that they are often far from water, and have a ftake by the cage, yet both have a heap of red hot ftones put in. At II we dreffed our dinner, and found an Indian by the river fide, refting himfelf; all his provifion was a dried eel; this he made us a prefent of, and we gave him a fhare of our dinner. Their way of roafting eels is thus; they cut a ftick about three foot long, and as thick as one's thumb, they fplit it about a foot down, and when the eel is gutted, they coil it between the two fides of the ftick, and bind the top clofe, which keeps the eel flat, and then ftick one end in the ground before a good fire.

## [34]

At half an hour after one we fet out, middling oak land but ftony, yet no great rocks; at 2 N. E. then N. good land, a rich bottom and flat ftones on rifing ground: we croffed the Owagan branch about thirty yards wide. Then half a mile to the town fo called, where we lodged, there is very good land in this neck between the branch and main river. A little before fun-fet I walked out of town to regulate my journal; but the guats were fo troublefome I could not reft a minute. They bit my hands fo cruelly I was forced to give over my purpofe. Thefe are fo troublefome from fun-fetting to fun-rifing that we could not reft while we were eating our victuals without making feveral fires of wet leaves round us to keep them off.

I8. This morning we fent an Indian with a ftring of Wampum to Onondago, to acquaint them with our coming, and the bufinefs we came about, that they might fend meffengers to the feveral nations to haften their deputies to meet them as foon as poffible, for this town ferves the five nations as Baden does the thirteen cantons of Switzerland, with this difference, that Onondago is at the fame time the capital of a canton.

We fet out at half an hour after 9, and travelled till 6 ; this day our general courfe was N. and N. W. having fine level rich land moft of the way, and tall timber oak, birch, beech

## [35]

beech, afh, fpruce, linden, elm and herb hierophilon, hepatica and maidenhair in abundance. We lodged by Front Creek in a fpatious vale, and it looking like rain, we made us a cabbin of fpruce bark, but no rain came.
19. We rode over good level land: after we came to very fwampy bottoms, thickets and hills of fpruce, and white pine; here were three ridges of fteep hills that run nearly $E$. and W. and with difficulty we rode over their fteep cliffs, which projected clofe to the creek. We were feveral times obliged to ford it backwards and forwards. Several runs come into the creek on both fides from between the mountains. Now we came to moft excellent level ground, than which nothing can be more truitful, full of tall timber, fugar maple, birch, linden, afh, and beech, and fhrubs, as opulas, green maple, hornbeam, hama m elis, folanum, goofterries and red currans triphilum in abundance. Here we dined by a pleafant creek and choice land. After dinner we foon began to mount up a pretty fteep hill, covered with oak, birch, afh, and higher up abundauce of chefnut and fome hickery. This is middling land, the produce the fame for three miles as our land bears with us. It lies very high, and when cleared will have an extenfive profpect of fertile vales on all fides. We then rode down a long $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ rich
rich hill of moderate defcent, where grew abundance of goofeberries, all the trees were crouded with wild pigeons, which, I fuppofe, breed in thefe lofty fhady trees. I found many foffils on this hill.

Another fertile valley welcomed us at the bottom, over which travelling a mile we lodged at a Run, which our Indians told us emptied into the lake Ontario; if fo, it muft run into the Cayuga river, and fo to Ofwego.
20. We continued our journey in this pleafant vale until we afcended a hill, beyond which a flant brought us to two ponds that ran into a branch of Sufquehanah; croffing this we joined a part from the Carugas country; then over a rich level to another branch big enough to turn a mill where we croffed it. It was now three-quarters after 10 , then good land to half an hour after 12 yet no hickery nor oak, but elm, fugar, maple, beech, birch, white walnuts, hop, hornbeam, and abundance of ginfeng. After dinner we paffed a branch of the great Sufquehanah, down which lake canoes may go quite to where the river is navigable for boats. On the banks I found the gale like the European. This is the neareft branch of Sufquehanah river to that of Onondago. Leaving this on our right, on our left we perceived a hill, where the Indians fay Indian corn, tobacco and fquafhes were found on the following occafion:

## [ 37 ]

cafion: An Indian (whofe wife had eloped) came hither to hunt, and with his skins to purchafe another here, he efpied a young fquaw alone at the hill; going to her, and enquiring where fhe came from, he received for anfwer, that fhe came from heaven to provide fuftenance for the poor Indians, and if he came to that place twelve months after be fhould find food there. He came accordingly and found corn, fquafhes and tobacco, which were propagated from thence and fpread through the country, and this filly ftory is religioufly held for truth among them. Our way hence, lay over fine rich level land as before, but when we left it, we enter'd a miferable thicket of fpruce, opulus, and dwarf yew, then over a branch of Sufquehanah, big enough to turn a mill, came to ground as good as that on the other fide the thicket; well cloathed with tall timber of fugar birch, fugar maple, and elm. In the afternoon it thunder'd hard pretty near us, but rained little ; We obferved the tops of the trees to be fo clofe to one another for many miles together, that there is no feeing which way the clonds drive, nor which way the wind fets: and it feems almoft as if the fun had never fhone on the ground, fince the creation. About fun fet it cleared up, and we encamped on the laft branch of Sufquehanah, the night following it thundred and rained very faft, and took us
at a difadvantage, for we had made no fhelter to keep off the rain, neither coulk we fee it till juft over our heads, and it began to fall.

One of our Indians cut 4 fticks 5 feet long, and ftuck both ends into the ground, at 2 foot diftance, one from another; over thefe he fpread his match coat and crept through them, and then fell to finging: in the mean time we were fetting poles flantwife in the ground, tying others crofs them, over which we fpread our blanket and crept clofe under it with a fire before us and fell faft afleep.

I waked a little after midnight, and found our fire almoft out, fo I got the hatchet and felled a few faplings which I laid on, and made a roufing fire, tho' it rained ftoutly, and laying down once more, I flept found all night.
$2 I f t$, In the morning when we had dry'd our blankets, we kept along the fide of a hill, gradually afcending, the foil good, timber tall, and abundance of ginfeng; here the mufquetoes were very troublefome, it being foggy, thence proceeding down a long gradual defcent on good rich foil with tall timber, fugar maple, chefnut, cherry, linden and elm, we traverfed a large valley and rivulet, then rode up a little fteep hill where we stopped at half an hour after eleven, this hill was a little fandy, with fome large pines growing upon it; here we walked and looked about us, having not had fuch an opportunity for two days, during which
which time we had a fine profpect over the vale of the great mountain we had juft croffed, and which differed fo remarkably from all I had ever been upon before, in its eafy and fruitful afcent and defcent, in its great width, every where crowned with noble and lofty woods, but above all, in its being intirely free from naked rocks and fteep precipices.

From thefe remarks, one might be naturally led to imagine, that the Waters at the flood gradually ebbed and retired on each fide, towards the river St. Lawrence and Sufquehanah, the very next ridges on either fide being narrower, fteeper, and fome rocks wafhed bare, and fo all the adjacent ridges the farther they are from this, appear to be more wafhed, more compofed of great banks of craggy rocks and tremendous precipices, the foil more carried off, mighty rocks tumbled down, and thofe left appearing as if piled up in a pyramid and hereby preferved from a fhare in the awful ruin below among their fellows; the foil being fo perfectly wafhed from their root, as evidently no longer to fupport them. After having enjoyed this enchanting profpect and entertaining hypothefis, we defcended eafily for feveral miles, over good land producing fugar-maples, many of which the Indians had tapped to make fugar of the fap, alfo oaks, hickery, white walnuts, plums and fome apple trees, full of fruit ; the Indians had fet long bufhes all round

## [ 40 ]

the trees at a little diftance, I fuppofe to keep the fmall children from ftealing the fruit before they were ripe: here we halted and turned our horfes to grafs, while the inhabitants cleared a cabin for our reception; they brought us victuals, and we difpatched a meffenger immediately to Onondago to let them know how near we were, it being within 4 miles. All the Indians, men, women and children came to gaze at us and our horfes, the little boys and girls climbed on the roofs of their cabins, about ten in number to enjoy a fuller view, we fet out about ten; and travelled over good land all the way, moftly an eafy defcent, fome lime-ftone, then down the eaft hill, over ridges of lime-ftone rock, but generally a moderate defcent into the fine vale where this capital (if I may fo call it) is fituated.

We alighted at the council houfe, where the chiefs were already affembled to receive us, which they did with a grave chearful complaifance, according to their cuftom; they fhew'd us where to lay our baggage, and repofe ourfelves during our ftay with them; which was in the two end apartments of this large houfe. The Indians that came with us, were placed over againft us: this cabin is about 80 feet long, and 17 broad, the common paffage 6 feet wide; and the apartments on each fide 5 feet, raifed a foot above the paffage by a long fapling hewed fquare, and fitted

## [4I]

with joifts that go from it to the back of the houfe ; on thefe joifts they lay large pieces of bark, and on extraordinary occafions fpread matts made of rufhes, this favour we had; on thefe floors they fet or lye down every one as he will, the apartments are divided from each other by boards or bark, 6 or 7 foot long, from the lower floor to the upper, on which they put their lumber, when they have eaten their homony, as they fet in each apartment before the fire, they can put the bowel over head, having not above 5 foot to reach; they fet on the floor fometimes at each end, but moftly at one: they have a fhed to put their wood into in the winter, or in the fummer, to fet to converfe or play, that has a door to the fouth; all the fides and roof of the cabin is made of bark, bound faft to poles fet in the ground, and bent round on the top, or fet aflatt, for the roof as we fet our rafters; over each fire place they leave a hole to let out the fmoak, which in rainy weather, they cover with a piece of bark, and this they can eafily reach with a pole to pufh it on one fide or quite over the hole, after this model are moft of their cabins built, figure annexed.

The fine vale of Onondago runs north and fouth, a little inclining to the weft, and is near a mile wide, where the town is fituated and excellent foil, the river that divides this charming vale, is 2,3 or 4 foot deep, very full

## [42]

full of trees fallen acrofs, or drove on heaps by the torrents. The town in its prefent ftate is about 2 or 3 miles long, yet the fcattered cabins on both fides the water, are not above 40 in number, many of them hold 2 families, but all ftand fingle, and rarely above 4 or 5 near one another; fo that the whole town is a ftrange mixture of cabins, interfperfed with great patches of high grafs, bufhes and fhrubs, fome of peafe, corn and fquafhes, lime-ftone bottom compofed of foffils and fea fhells.

It feems however, to have been more confiderable when it became a conqueft to the arms of Lewis 14th, at which time it muft have been more compact, for hiftory relates it to have been ftockadoed. The Count de Frontenac governor of Canada, at the head of the moft numerous army the French ever drew together in $N$. America, had the fatisfaction in 1696 of triumphing over the afhes of Onondago, whofe inhabitants terrified with what they had heard of bombs, and generally unwilling to hazard a fet battle, had already abandoned their houfes after fetting them afire. Whatever glory the grand monarque might reap from this exploit, it is certain he gained no other advantage, as a longer ftay muft have inevitably ftarved the army, fo its precipitate retreat helped our Indians to an opportunity of taking their revenge by cutting
of every ftragling canoe, in their return by water to Monreal.

At night, foon after we were laid down to fleep, and our fire almoft burnt out, we were entertained by a comical fellow, difguifed in as odd a drefs as Indian folly could invent; he had on a clumfy vizard of wood colour'd black, with a nofe 4 or 5 inches long, a grining mouth fet awry, furnifhed with long teeth, round the eyes circles of bright brafs, furrounded by a larger circle of white paint, from his forehead hung long treffes of buffaloes hair, and from the catch part of his head ropes made of the plated husks of Indian corn; I cannot recollect the whole of his drefs, but that it was equally uncouth: he carried in one hand a long ftaff, in the other a calabafh with fmall ftones in it, for a rattle, and this he rubbed up and down his ftaff; he would fometimes hold up his head and make a hideous noife like the braying of an afs; he came in at the further end, and made this noife at firft, whether it was becaufe he would not furprife us too fuddenly I can't fay: I ask'd Conrad Weifer, who as well as myfelf lay next the alley, what noife that was? and Shickalamy the Indian chief, our companion, who I fuppofed, thought me fomewhat fcared, called out, lye ftill John. I never heard him fpeak fo much plain Englifh before. The jackpudding prefently came up to us, and an Indian G 2
boy

## [ 44 ]

boy came with him and kindled our fire, that we might fee his glittering eyes and antick poftures as he hobbled round the fire, fometimes he would turn the Buffaloes hair on one fide that we might take the better view of his illfavoured phyz, when he had tired himfelf, which was fometime after he had well tired us, the boy that attended him ftruck 2 or 3 fmart blows on the floor, at which the hobgoblin feemed furprifed and on repeating them he jumped fairly out of doors and difappeared. I fuppofe this was to divert us and get fome tobacco for himfelf, for as he danced about he would hold out his hand to any he came by to receive this gratification which as often as any one gave him he would return an awkard compliment. By this I found it no new diverfion to any one but my felf. In my whim I faw a vizard of this kind hang by the fide of one of their cabins to another town. After this farce we endeavoured to compofe ourfelves to fleep but towards morning was again difturbed by a drunken Squaw coming into the cabin frequently complimenting us and finging.

22d. was a fhowery day, and we ftirred little out.

23d. we hired a guide to go with us to the falt fpring, 4 or 5 miles off, down the river, on the weft fide of it's mouth; being moft of the way good land, and near the mouth very rich:

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rich: from whence it runs weftward near a quarter of a mile, a kind of a fand beach adjoining to the bank of the river, containing 3 or 4 acres. Here the Indians dig holes, about 2 feet deep, which foon filling with brine, they dip their kettles, and boil the contents, until the falt remains at bottom ; there was a fami$1 y$ refiding at this time. The boys in the lake fifhing, the Squaw fetching water, gathering wood, and making a fire under the kettle, while the husband was basking himfelf on the fand, under the bufhes. We filled our gallon keg full of water and brought it to Town, where we boiled it to about a pound of falt. Our guides took their arrows, made of reed and down to fhoot fmall birds. About half way there was an excellent fpring of water, and by it a grove of Curboroite joining to a green fwamp, producing very high grafs. About a mile up the river from the lake, it runs by a fteep bank at the end of a high hill. The bank was fandy, and out of it run'd a brackifh water, which inclines me to think that there is a body of foffil falt here abouts, by which the plain is furnifhed with its intenfe falt brine, and that it is the vapour thereof that congeal to the trafh and bufhes that lye on the bank, and glitters like flakes of Ice, or Snow, in a Sunfhiny day. This day 2 deputies arrived from the Cayugas Country.

24th. Lewis and I hired a guide to go with us to Ofwego for $16 s$. Our intention was more to get provifions for our journey home, than to gratify our curiofity. In the mean time, Conrad ftayed at Onondago, to treat with the Indian chiefs about the skirmifh in Virginia; with a view to incline them fingly in favour of our application, before they affembled in council: and here I cannot help obferving, it was fcarcely ever known, that an Indian Chief or Councellor, once gained fo far as to promife him intereft, did break his promife, whatever prefents have been offered him from another quarter.

We travelled on foot to the Onondago lake, whence we had fetched the falt water the day before, there we procured a bark canoe at half an hour after eleven, then paddled down the lake, and reached the lower end in two hours courfe, N. W. This lake the French call Ganentaha; hence we went down the river a mile N. big enough to carry a large boat, if the trees fallen into it where but carried away, this brought us to the river from the Cayuga country, near ioo yards wide, very ftill, and fo deep we could fee no bottom, the land on both fides very rich and low to within a mile of the Oneido river, whence the river began to run fwift, and the bottom became vifible, tho' at a good depth. At three o'clock we came to the laft mention'd river, down which the Albany trader come to Ofwego, half a mile

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a mile farther we came to a rippling, which carried us with prodigious fwiftnefs down the ftream, foon after we encountered a fecond, and a mile farther a third, very rough. In about an hour by the fun, after many other ripplings, we found our felves at the great fall, the whole breadth of the river which is above roo yards wide and is eight or ten feet perpendicular: here we hawled our canoe afhore, took out all our baggage, and carried it on our back a mile to a little town, of about four or five cabins; they chiefly fubfift by catching fifh and affifting the Albany people to hawl their Bateans, and carry their goods round the falls; which may be about ten or twelve poles, then they launch again into the river, and down the foaming ftream that furioufly on all fides dafhes one half againft the rocks, near a mile before they come to ftill water, and indeed, it runs pretty fwift all the way to $O f$ wego. Thefe Indians were very kind to us, and gave uls boiled corn and water melons, while they and our guide who was a relation fat over againft us in the fame cabin, chewing raw Indian corn ftalks, fpitting out the fubftance after they fucked out the juice. But we could not yet underftand whether we were to go to the fort by land, or by water. In the morning they had catched fome ftout eels, and a great fifh two feet long, it was round and thick, they ftrike them with long flender fhafts
fhafts 18 or 20 feet long, pointed at the end with iron fee the fhape. The 2 fplints of wood fpreading each fide, directs the point into the fifh, which at a great depth it would be otherwife difficult to hit. I faw upon one of their canoes in the morning a large piece of bark fpread a-crofs. On this lay gravel and fand, and on thefe coals and afhes, which I fuppofed had been a fire, and the gravel placed there to fave the bark. And I took it to be a defign both to allure and fee to frike the fifh.

25th. Our guide, and feveral other Indians, lead us to the canoes belonging to the town, into one of which we got full of hopes of going by water, but were much chagrin'd to find ourfelves only paddled crofs the water, where we unwillingly took out our cloaths, victuals and blankets, and carried them on our backs following our guides, who were now increafed to three. We had 12 miles down the river by land, moft of the way middling land, fome white pine and fpruce groves to pafs through, but moft of the way in fight of the river, which is very rapid most of the way to the lake. On the point formed by the entrance of the river, ftands the fort or trading caftle, it is a ftrong ftone houfe, incompaffed with a ftone wall near 20 feet high, and 120 paces round, built of large fquared ftones; very curious for their foftnefs, I cut my name in it with my knife. The town confifts of about $70 \log$ -

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70 loghoufes, of which one half are in a row near the river, the other half oppofite to them, on the other fide of a fair were two ftreets divided by a row of pofts in the midft. Where each Indian has his houfe to lay his goods, and where any of the traders may traffick with him. This is furely an excellent regulation for preventing the traders from impofing on the In dians, a practife they have been formerly too much guilty of, and which has frequently involved the Englifh colonies in difficulties, and conftantly tended to depreciate us in the efteem of the natives. Who can fcarcely be blamed for judging of a nation, by the behavior of thofe with whom they have the moft intercourfe, a judgment I am forry to confefs that has (till lately) tended much to the making them in favour rather of the French, than Englifh. I fpeak of private perfons, not of the refpective government. The chief officer in command at the caftle, keeps a good look out to fee when the Indians come down the lake with their poultry and furs, and fends a canoe to meet them, which conducts them to the caftle, to prevent any perfon enticing them to put afhore privately, treating them with fpirituous liquors, and then taking that opportunity of cheating them. This officer feems very carefull, that all quarreling, and even the leaft mifunderftanding, when any happens, be quickly made up in an amicable manner, fince a fpeedy

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accomodation can only prevent our country men from incuring the imputation of injuftice, and the delay of it would produce the difagreeable confequence of an Indian endeavoring to right himfelf by force.

Ofwego, is au infant fettlement made by the province of New-York, with the noble view of gaining to the crown of Great Britain the command of the 5 lakes, and the dependence of the Indians in their neighborhood, and to its fubjects the benefit of the trade upon them, and of the rivers that empty themfelves into them. At present the whole navigation is carried on by the Indians themfelves in bark canoes, and fhere are perhaps many reafons for defiring it fhould continue so for fome years at leaft; but a good englifhman cannot be without hopes of feeing thefe great lakes become one day accuftomed to Eng-lifh navigation. It is true, the famous fall of Niagara, is an infurmountable bar to all paffage by water, from the lake Ontario, into the lake Erie, in fuch veffels as are proper for the fecure navigation of either; but befides, that bark canoes are carried on mens fhoulders with eafe, from one to the other, as far as the paffage is impracticable: It will be much more eafy to carry the goods in waggons, from the upper lake, into the Huron or Quatoghie lake, the ftrait is rendered unnavigable by the Saute St. Marie, but a veffel of confiderable burthen may fail from
from the hither end of the Erie lake, to the bottom of the lake Michigan, and for ought we know, through all parts of the 3 middle lakes. Thefe lakes receive the waters of many rivers, that in fome places approach fo near the branches of the vaft river Miffiffippi, that a fhort land carriage fupplies the communication. And here to ufe the words of a moft judicious writer, "He that reflects on the natural ftate "of that continent muft open to himfelf a " a field for traffick in the fouthern parts of $N$. "America, and by the means of this river "and the lakes, the imagination takes into "view fuch a fcene of inland navigation; as "cannot be paralleled in any other part of "the world."

The honour of firft difcovering thefe extenfive frefh water feas, is certainly due to the French, who are at this time in poffeffion of fettlements at Fort Ponchartrian, on the ftrait between Lake Erie and Lake Huron and at Mifilimahinac between the latter and the upper lake, but as thefe can give them no title againft the original inhabitants or the five nations, Conquerors of all the adjacent nations, fo it is difficult to conceive by what arguments thefe fmall pofts, inhabited by no fubjects of France but foldiers, can be extended to mark any poffeffion beyond the reach of their gun's, or land actually cultivated, except by fuch as muft intitle the crown of Great

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Britain to all North America, both as prior difcoverers and prior planters, without a fubfequent defertion.

The traders from New York come hither, up the Mohawks river, which difcharges itfelf into Hudfons river; but generally go by land from Albany, to Schenectady about 20 miles from the Mohawks river, the carriage is but 3 miles into the river that falls into the $O$ nerdo lake, which difcharges itfelf by the Oneido river, into the Onondago river, and brings their goods to Ofrego in the manner I have before related.

We came to the town about 12 o'clock, the commiffary invited us to the caftle where we dined, together with the Doctor and Clerk. After dinner we had the fatisfaction of fwimming in the lake Ontario, which is fome times called by our Indians Cadarakin, this is alfo the name of a french fort upon it, almoft oppofite to Ofreego, N. It has 4 baftions built of ftone, and is near half a mile in circumference; it ftands where the waters of this lake are already formed into the river St. Lawrence, which makes a good road for great barks under the point of Cadarakin Bay. The famous and unfortunate Mr. De la Sale had two barks which remains funk there to this day.

Thefe lakes are faid to have a kind of flux and reflux peculiar, fince it is affirmed to be fenfibly ebb and flood feveral times in a quarter of an hour, tho' it be perfectly fmooth and fcarce

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fcarce any wind. But it is evident from the face of the earth, that the water of the lake Ontario is confiderably diminifhed and has loft ground a great number of years, for the fhores above a mile within land, are abundantly more low, as well as of a loofer texture than the foil beyond, whether this effect is in common to all the waters on the earth, according to a conjecture of the great Sir Ifaac Newton: Or whether it be not at (leaft in part) owing to the removal of fome great obftruction, which by caufing a fall in the river St. Lawrence, might formerly pen the waters up to a greater height than now; or only to the gradual wearing away by the perpetual paffage of the water over thofe falls that ftill fubfift: or to a cafual ruin of fome part of one of them, I fhall leave to the determination of a more able naturalift than myfelf.

The water was very clear and as cold as our river in May, it is well tafted and fuppofed to be 120 miles broad, and near 200 long, ftreaching N. N. W. but this muft be ant error, the common maps giving it a beariug to the Northward of the lake, but Mr. Bellin fhews us it lies E. and W. from the obfervations of $P$. Charlevoix, on the exactnefs of which he thinks he cannot too much relie, and Bellin in his map of thefe lakes has given it this bearing

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bearing. We lodged in the caftle in the captains chamber.

26th. Early in the morning I walked out looking for plants, as I had done the evening before. I obferved a kitchen garden and a grave yard to the S. W. of the caftle; which puts me in mind that the neighbourhood of this lake is efteemed unhealthful, we were entertained by one of the traders, with whom we breakfafted; and bought of him fome dryed beef. And a gallon of Rum we got at the caftle. The traders had difpofed of moft of their bifcuit and had packed up their provifion, in order to return directly to $A l$ bany: however, one of them went about to the reft and collected us a good parcel of bifcuit, a kinduefs we were very fenfible of. After breakfaft I regulated my journal, having a convenient private room to do it in. We dined at the caftle, and at 3 o'clock fet out for Onondago. Two Indians helped to carry fome of our baggage; the day was warm, the Indians walked faft, our load was heavy and we were fufficiently weary before we reached the town near the falls, which was about funfet. Indeed we had the favour of fhady woods all the way, we lodged where we did before. The Indian Squazes got very drunk and made a fad noife till morning. My fear leaft our guide was drunk alfo, added a good deal of an indifpofition I was feiz'd with in the evening, but

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but in the morning I found him and his companion, to my great joy, faft afleep by the outfide of the cabin.

27th, We fet out early and found our canoe fafe where we left it, and it was with much fatisfacttion that I entered it. At half an hour after ten, we got to the firft fall, above the great one, the Indians brought the canoe to fhore and made fign for us to difembark and walk along afhore, while they ftept into the river, and hawled the canoe up the fall about a quarter of a mile, by good land. We reimbarked again, and at twelve came to the Oneido branch, up which the Albany traders return, after 2 or 3 months trade at OfwegoCaftle. At 3 o'clock we entered the Onondago lake, the upper end of which we gained by five, the land about the lake is pretty good and fome large marfhes and rich low ground moftly on each fide, but here and there the hills come clofe to the water: I think it muft be eight miles long and above one broad, very brackifh at the falt plain; very deep in fome places near the middle, but fhallow for roo yards from the fhore. The Indians paddled the canoe a little way higher up the ftream and might have brought us to the town, if the fallen trees had been removed; but whatever nature has done for them (and fhe is no where more bountiful) they are too lazy by any trouble of their own to improve; but when compelled by the moft urgent neceffity.

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We reached the town about fun-fet, equally pleafed with our having improved the opportunity fo well by feeing Ontario lake, and that we were returned fafe to the interpreter and Indian Chiefs; thofe two laft days had been pretty warm: our Indian guide was a fullen, illnatured, and I believe, a fuperftitious fellow. Every now and then as we paddled up the river, he would with a compofed countemance utter fomewhat pretty loud for about the fpace of two minutes at a time, whether it was a magical incantation, or a prayer, I can't tell; I am fatisfied it was no fong, nor any fpeech directed to us, or the Indian with him, for he feemed intirely unmoved all the time.

28 th, This was a rainy thundering warm day, and two deputies arrived from the Oneidoes. News came that the worms had deftroyed abuudance of corn and grafs in Canada. This night we were troubled with fleas, and what was worfe, our men exceeding drunk and noify; our grievances in the day were more tolerable, being only women infefting us with their company and bawling, in great good humour, indeed I perceived to no quarrel while among them.

29th, Several more deputies arrived from the Tufcaroroes, we went to vifit a poor emaciated Indian, who they faid was bewitched, he lived about a mile from the Council-Houfe.

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This day was warm, and feveral fhowers paffed by to the fouthward.

3oth, Three of the Mohawess arrived, this nation dwells fartheft within the province of New-York, and to the fouthward of the river known by their name; abundance of whites live among them, and as they are the beft acquainted with the manuers of the Englifh, fo they have at all times fhewn the moft fteady affection to our people. I am forry to fay, their morals are little if at all mended by their frequeut intercourfe with us Chriftians, tho' I am perfuaded it is not the fault of our religion but its profeffors, perhaps this may be efteemed a principal caufe why they are become lefs numerous than any of their confederates.

This morning after breakfaft, I went to the eaft hill, and found a fine fpring on the weft fide, furrounded with Arbor Vita, fome a foot diameter, this water is of fuch a petrifying nature, that as it runs among the fallen leaves it incrufts them and petrifies in great ftones as big as one can well lift; there was a great piece of ground covered with them, which had turned the water-courfe feveral times, I have feen three of thefe fprings in my travels; one on the other fide of Potomack and one up Delawars at Menefinks; this hill is good, limeftone land, producing fugar maple, elms, beech, and fome white pine, which
laft had then 3 or 4 cones, on 2 or 3 trees, but they were quite green.

This afternoon the chiefs met in council, and three of them fpoke for near a quarter of an hour each, two of thefe while fpeaking, walked backward and forward in the common paffage, near 2 thirds of its length, with a flow even pace, and much compofure and gravity in their countenance; the other delivered what he had to fay fitting in the middle, in a graceful tone exhorting them to a clofe indiffoluble amity and unanimity, for, it was by this perfect union their forefathers had conquered their enemies, were refpected by their allies, and honoured by all the world; that they were now met according to their antient cuftom, tho' feveral imminent dangers ftood in their way, mountains, rivers, fnakes and evil fpirits, but that by the affiftance of the great Spirit they now faw each others faces according to appointment.

This the interpreter told me was the opening of the diet, and was in the opinion of thefe people abundantly fufficient for one day, fince there is nothing they contemn fo much as precipitation in publick councils; indeed they efteem it at all times a mark of much levity in any one to return an immediate anfwer to a ferious queftion however obvious, and they confequently fpin out a Treaty, where many points are to be moved, to a great length of time,
time, as is evident from what our conference with them, produced afterward at Lancafter begun the 22d of June 1744.

This council was followed by a feaft, after 4 o'clock we all dined together upon 4 great kettles of Indian corn foop, which we foon emptied, and then every chief retired to his home.
$31 f t$, In the morning, as foon as light, I walked out to look at our horfes as ufual, and clofe by a cabin fpied a knife almoft covered with grafs; I fuppofed it loft, but the Indians being not yet ftiring let it lie: a little after fun-rife I walked there again, and the Square being at the door, fhewed her where it lay, at which fhe feemed exceeding pleafed, and picked it up immediately. As I came back to our cabin, I fpy'd 2 Indian girls at play with beans, which they threw from one to the other on a match coat fpread between them; as they were behind our cabin, I turned to fee how they play'd, but they feemed much out of countenance, and run off in an inftant: I obferved that the Indzan women are generally very modeft.

About noon the council fat a $2 d$ time, and our interpreter had his audience, being charged by the governor with the conduct of the treaty. Conrad Weifar had engaged the Indian fpeaker to open the affair to the chiefs affembled in council; he made a fpeech near half an hour,

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and delivered 3 broad belts and 5 ftrings of Wampum to the council, on the proper occafions. There was a pole laid a crofs from cue chamber to another over the paffage, on this their belts and ftrings were hung, that all the council might fee them, and here have the matters in remembrance, in confirmation of which they were delivered: The conference held till 3 , after which we dined, this repaft confifted of 3 great kettles of Indian corn foop, or thin homony, with dry'd eels and other fifh boiled in it, and one kettle full of young iquashes and their flowers boiled in water, and a little meal mixed; this difh was but weak food, laft of all was ferved a great bowl, full of Indian dumplings, made of new foft corn, cut or fcraped off the ear, then with the addition of fome boiled beans, lapped well up in Indian corn leaves, this is good hearty provifion. After dinner, we had a favourable anfwer, corroborated by feveral belts of Wampum, with a fhort fpeech to each, thefe we carried away as our tokens of peace and friendfhip, the harangue concluded with a charge to fit ftill as yet, for tho' they had difpatched our bufinefs firft, it was not becaufe they were weary of us, but to make us eafy. This complement preceded other bufinefs, which lafted till near fun fet, when we regaled on a great bowl of boiled cakes, 6 or 7 inches diameter, and about 2 thick,

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thick, with another of boiled fquafh; foon after, the chiefs in a friendly manner took their leave of us, and departed every one to his lodging: this night we treated two of the chiefs that lived in the council hall, which as I mentioned, was our quarters; they drank chearfully, wifhing a long continuance of uninterrupted amity between the Indians and Englifh.

Auguft r. Six of the Anticoque Indians had an audience, but when they came to it, could not make themfelves underftood, tho' provided with an interpreter brought near 700 miles, (they faid more) but he conld not nnderftand the Mohawk Language, but only the Delawar and middling Englifh, * fo they contrived he fhould direct his fpeech to Conrad Weifar in Englifh, and interpret this to the council. They gave broad belts of Wampum, 3 arm belts and 5 ftrings; one was to wipe clean all the blood they had fpilt of the five nations, another to raife a tumulus over their graves, and to pick

[^1]pick out the fticks, roots or ftones, and make it fmooth on the top, a third, to cleanfe the ftomach of the living from gall or any thing elfe that made them fick; a fourth was a cordial to chear up their fpirits; a fifth, to cloath their bodies and keep then warm, a fixth, to join them in mutual friendfhip, a feventh, to requeft them to let them fettle on a branch of Sufquehanah, another to intreat the 5 nations that they would take a little care to protect their women from infults while out a hunting, and the reft for fuch like purpofes. This bufinefs lafted 4 hours, then we dined on Indian corn and fquash foop, and boiled bread. In the afternoon, I went on the weftern mountain as I had the day before on the eaftern; it was very rich and full of tall timber quite to the top, the trees were linden, elm, fugar-maple, white walnut, oak, hickory and cheftnut, befides ginfeng, and moft fort of herbs that grow on our rich lime-ftone land.

Thefe 2 days the wind was fouth and warm and feveral fhowers to the S . E. The council met at 9 o'clock, and the kettles of foop and a basket of dumplings were brought in for our dinner; after dinner the Anticoques delivered a belt and a string of Wampum, with a complaint that the Marylanders had depofed their king, and defired leave to chufe one for themfelves; to this: as well as all the articles opened yefterday, the chiefs returned plaufible but

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but fubtil anfwers; then they gave us 2 ftrings withal, telling us, that now they had thrown water on our fire, and we were at liberty to return home when we pleafed, they all took their leave, and bid us adieu by fhaking hands very kindly, and feemingly with much affection. This night the young men getting into liquor, kept fhouting and finging till morning.
$3 d$, We prepared for fetting forward, and many of the chiefs came once more to take their farewell; fome of them brought us provifion for our journey, we fhook hands again and fet out at 9 .

It was greatly to my mortification, that I was forced to return for the moft part the fame way I came. We had intended to go through the Mohawks country to Albany, but our 2 Indians could not be perfuaded to go that way, tho' we offered to bear their charges, and the chiefs were not willing we fhould leave them to pafs through the wildernefs alone, as they came to gratify us and further our bufinefs. This day was fair, and the wind S. In the afternoon, we afcended that lovely mountain S. W. which divides the waters that render tribute to the great ftreams of St. Laurence and Sufquehanah. We did not directly crofs the mountain, but rode a fmall way on its fummit under the grateful fhade of thofe lofty trees that every way adorn it, and after-

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afterwards we traveled feveral miles on its S. W. fide, where we enjoyed a fine profpect of a fpacious rich vale on our left hand. On this hill we faw a lime fone a little bigger than my head, which is rare in thefe parts.

We entered the vale at 5 , then croffed a run and rode along a rich level for feveral miles, and under the delightful protection of very tall trees that brought us to a creek, a branch of Sufquehanah, where we lodged furrounded by ginfeng.
$4^{\text {th }}$, This was a fine day, and our traveling cool, becaufe fhady, and the gooseberries being now ripened, we were every now and then tempted to break off a bough and divert ourfelves with picking them, tho' on horfeback.

5th, This morning was clear and cool, and now our journey was truly charming, it is fcarce poffible to think the advantage we had in returning from the fingle circumftance of being free from thofe fmall guats that tormented us in our going fo grievoufly. But our return being moftly in the fame path, it will be needlefs to defcribe the land or its productions again.

6th, We fet out an hour before funrife, the morning clear, at half an hour after ten we reached Owagan, and turned our horfes to grafs, while we ftopped at a cabin. The Squaze brought in a bowl of huckle-berries,
to ftay our ftomachs, and foon after a large kettle full of fmall homony boil'd in ftrong venifon broth; this was noble entertainment, and too good to leave any of. I heartily pityed the poor Squaze, for I believed fhe had dreffed it for herfelf and feveral children: fhe alfo obliged us to accept of a fine piece of venifon to carry away. Here we killed a rattle fnake, the second we had feen to day: at one we continued our journey through groves of pine of a ftupendous ftature; the land midling for 2 miles $S$. W. to the river, then a variable courfe over land of equal goodnefs, oak and hickory, fome bottoms rich; and by three we crofs'd a fine creek where we fpyed a grey fquirrel which our Indian would have fhot, had it not been on the top of a white oak: here we found very ftony ground, great ftones having been drove by one common force, into a form like that of fish fcales, yet this was a mile from the river, and many yards perpendicular above the bed of it, this may be the effects of the univerfal deluge, or fome mighty torrent of water fince that, muft have flowed over thefe ftones and wafhed them thus bare. We travelled till about two hours by the fun, and then pitched by the river, which run full W. There was high barren mountains on the upper fide, here the river was deep and fmooth enough for flat bottom'd veffels, which made us heartily wifh that we K were
were in a canoe, and our horses at Shamokin, for we dreaded the difmal wildernefs between. We obferved here an old $\log$, which the bears had cunningly turned to pick up the fnails, beetles and grubs, that had crept under it for fhelter.

7th, We rod over middling land producing oak, pine, and great magnolia, to the Tohicon town on the Cayugo branch; this place we arrived at by noon but stayed there all night, frightened by feveral fhowers that paffed over the mountains in fight: indeed it rained a little here, I walked to the branch after dinner, and found abundance of foffils on the banks, but the diftance of the way, and heavy load of our baggage, were an infurmountable bar to my bringing any home. This day the Anticoque interpreter that travelled with us from Onondago, who left the path a little to hunt, misd our tract and hit upon an Indian town, 3 miles up the branch, and there picking up a Squaze brought her with him. The chief man of the town came to vifit us in a very friendly manner, and our interpreter telling him where we had been, what about, and how well we had fucceeded; he teftified abundance of fatisfaction that peace was not like to be interrupted, he added, when he came home his people told him, we had paffed through their town, but that we had not informed them of our bufinefs.

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This furnifhed us with an inftance of the Punctilio the Indians conftantly treat travellers with, the people though earneftly defiring to know our commiffion, would not take the liberty to ask us. This night our fellow traveller lodged with his occafional wife in a corner of our cabin, and in the morning would have taken her with him at our expence, to the great vexation of Mr Weifar, who thought it intolerable that an intruder fhould gratifie his private inclinations to the fhortning of our neceffary provifions, already infufficient; as we did not take much pains to conceal this refentment, he had determined to part with her, though with much regret, and accordingly left her when we croffed the branch, giving her a farewell fhout; we heard this with much joy, and I believe it was as well for the parties.

8th, We continued our journey without meeting any thing worth remarking, the ground we had paffed rode over in our way out, and had lodged at the very creek we fpent this night at.

9th. We travelled to a fine creek big enough to drive two mills, we ftopped for this night at the foot of a great hill, cloathed with large Magnolia, 2 feet diameter and 100 feet high; perfectly ftraight, fhagbark-hickery, chefnut and chefnut oak. This is like a bridge between the N. E. and N. W. branches of Sufquehanah: here is alfo a fpring from whence the water runs to both branches.

Ioth Auguft, We fet out, the fun half an ourhigh, travelled along a rich hill fide, where we obferv'd a pretty many rocks, then down to a Licking-place by 8, where our intruder who was a good way before us fhot at an Elk, and having wounded him, purfued him feveral hours. We waited his return till 2 o'clock, Lewis Evans took an obfervation here, and found the lat. 4I. a half. Set out again at 3 , and travelled over fine rich ground by a creek where we lodged. I took a fancy to afcend 2 thirds of the height of a neighbouring. hill, in the way I came to abundance of loofe ftones, and very craggy rocks, which feemed to threaten impending ruin, the foil was black and very rich, full of great wild ftinging nettles, as far as I went I rolled down feveral loofe ftones to make a path for my more expeditious return. This I found the Indians much difturbed at, for they faid it would infallibly produce rain the next day, I told them I had fufficient experience, it fignified nothing, for it was my common practice to roll down ftones from the top of every fteep hill, and could not recollect that it ever rained the next day, and that I was almoft fure to morrow would be a very fair day.

IIth, We got out before fun rife, and rode over very good bottoms of Linden Poplar, and Elm, we killed a rattle fnake, and foon after found a patch of Chamerododendron, at 8 we came to a creek winding from between the mountains
mountains ou the left, then along a level to another from the right, which we croffed to our former cabin. Quickly after we reached a bad hill, where I firft found the Ginfeng in this journey, the foil was black and light, with flat ftones facing the eaft, there we paffed by 9 , then over a bottom of laurel and pine to a creek we had feveral times croffed, when obftructed as frequently we were by hills, keeping clofe to the water on the fide we were riding. At ro we left this creek for the fake of a fhorter way than we came, for this purpofe we kept a S. courfe to the top of a high but very poor hill, which we reached about a qr. after eleven, and had a profpect ftill to a gap we were to pafs to the river; the northfide of this hill was cloathed with tall fpruce, while pine and beech, the top with chefnut, fcrubby oak, and huckle berries, the S. fide with fhrub, honeyfuckles \&c. Our way was now over a poor pebble ftoney vale of laurel, fpruce firr, pine, chefnut, and huckle berries, to a Run of water; where we dined on parched meal mixed with water. We left that place at half an hour after one, and foon found ourfelves much diftreffed by the broad flat ftones on the fide of the hill our way lay over. Our horfes. could hardly ftand, but even flipt on their fides on our left a rivulet rufhed from a precipice, and the mountains were fo fteep and clofe to its fides, that we were oblidged to climb to the

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top of that on the weft; here we fuffered our horfes to reft while we gathered huckle berries to eat, we travelled on the top a good way all ftony to the point, which was very narrow, and the flat ftones on each fide turned up like the ridge of a houfe, this reminded me of Dr. Burnets Theory, and his ingenious Hypothefis, to account for the formation of mountains. The defcent was moderate, the land middling, oak, chefnut and huckle-berries: we found a Run here and repofed ourfelves for this night, having fupped on venifon, fhot by our Indians who left us on the hill that evening. It was fair and pleafant, and the great green grafs-hopper began to fing (Catedidift) thefe were the firft I obferved this year. Before day break it began to rain, it lafted about an hour and then ceafed. The Indians infifted that it was caufed by the ftones I rolled down 2 days ago, I told the Antecoque Indians if their obfervations had any truth it fhould have been the day before, which was remarkably fair. To this he cunningly replyed, that our Almanacks often prognofticated on a day, and yet the rain did not come within two days.

I2th, This day, the land produced middling oak, pitch, pine, and huckleberries, fometimes pebbles and a fhallow foil. We dined on venifon (partly our own, and partly given us by the Indrans) at a deferted town about 7 miles off, this is called the French town, from a French
woman who married a Delaware Indian, and conformed their manners; fhe left feveral children behind her, who were now come to look after their horfes and break the young ones. It rained very faft for an hour, and in the midft of it about half a fcore of the 5 Nations, who had been on the back of $S$. Carolina to fight the Catawba's, paffed very faft through the town with one poor female prifoner, they fhouted couragioufly, but we learnt no particulars of this great enterprize: about 3 it cleared up, we croffed the creek and travelled about ro miles, moft of the way good rich land, extenfive bottoms and high grafs: I faw one lovely white Lychnus 5 feet high. Near night it began to rain, and we made a bark cabin, which kept us pretty dry, the rain continued all night with thunder.

13th, It cleared up early in the morning. We moved forward to our firft cabin, where we dined on parched meal, which is fome of the beft Indians travelling provifion. We had of it 2 bags, each a gallon, from the Indians at Onondago, the preparation of it is thus. They take the corn and parch it in hot afhes, till it becomes brown, then clean it, pound it in a mortar and fift it; this powder is mixt with fugar. About I qr. of a pint, diluted in a pint of water, is a hearty traveling dinner, when roo miles from any inhabitants: about 2 hours after feting out we came near the river. Here

5 of us rode over a great rattle fnake unfeen and unhurt. I perceived him juft as my mare was over him; a little further we faw another juft by us. We travelled till near fun fet, when 2 of our Indians were taken with a bad fit of an ague, this obliged us to encamp by the river, where our horfes had excellent food. At about 20 tods from it I faw a bank much higher up, being near 30 feet perpendicular above the furface of the water, raifed gradually to this height by the frequent floods, which this weftern branch is much fubject too. Thus by fand continually heaped upon the firm fand, it is become a ftrong fand bank.

14th, We paffed through an old town, where we found plumbs, peaches, and noble clufters of large grapes growing, very deep in fand, left about them by the flood I mentioned juft now; a little farther the land was rich and low, covered with high weeds and grafs, with locuft, linden, walnut and elm, the higher land with elm and oak. At II o'clock we reached Shamokin, here we boiled dumplins and had plenty of water melons; we ftayed all night.

15th, Next day by noon we came to Mohonyoy, where we ftayed dinner, in the afternoon we rode over fome ftony poor land, then piney, white oak, and fome middling land.
roth, This morning I was entertained with the Mufical howling of a wolf, which I had not

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not heard for many years, but my companions were too faft afleep to hear it, we fet out early and by one had croffed the 3 ridges of the blue mountains, and the 2 fpruce vales, were the branches of Swatara ran, and dined in St. Anthony's Wildernefs, as Count Zinzendorf has named it. We mounted again at 2 and climbed up the S . ridge, and at the top let our horfes reft, for they were cover'd with fweat. In the meantime we look'd for water, but found none, in this fearch we found an Indian Square drying huckle berries. This is done by fetting 4 forked fticks, in the ground, about 3 or four feet high, then others a-crofs, over them the ftalks of our common Jacea or Saratula, on thefe lie the berries, as malt is fpread on the hair cloth over the kiln. Underneath fhe had kindled a fmoke fire, which one of her children was tending. The quantity of their huckle berries growing on and between thefe ridges, is prodigious, the top of the S. ridge is pretty good land, and affords a fine profpect of the great and fertile vale of Tulpihocken, the ridge itfelf is pleafant. When we had refted ourfelves and our poor tired horfes, we lead them moft of the way for twenty miles, this gave us an opportunity of gathering what quantity we pleafed of their berries, tho' we eat rather more than I thought we might fafely venture on, yet we found no ill confequence from our excefs. When we were defcended we had but

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2 miles to a houfe, where we lodged, it rained faft in the evening and great part of the night itfelf. And we heartily congratulated ourfelves on the enjoyment of good bread, butter and milk, in a comfortable houfe, and clean ftraw to fleep on, free from fleas.

I7th, Though my mare was fo lame, fhe had not ftirred 20 yards all night, yet we got this day by noon to Mr. Conrad Weifars; but under the difficulty of carrying my baggage good part of the way on my back, befides being fcarcely able to get her along: when fhe came into the pafture, fhe ftretched herfelf at full length and rofe no more for 24 hours. In the afternoon I fpent my time on Mr. Weifar's high hill, gathering of feeds: here the great vale and blue mountains form a lovely profpect.

I8th, I borrowed a horfe of Mr. Weifars, and fet up all night at Monatazeony.
rgth, Before funfet I had the pleafure of feeing my own houfe and family: I found them in good health, and with a fincere mind, I returned thanks to the almighty power, that had preferved us all.

In this journey into the heart of a country, ftill in the poffeffion of it's original inhabitants: I could not help fometimes to divert the length of the way by reflecting on their manners, their complection fo different from ours, and their Traditions: this led me to conjecture at their origin, or whence

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whence they came into America, and at what time. Perhaps it may be equally hard to difprove or to prove that they were orginally placed here by the fame creator who made the world, as foon as this part of it became habitable, for it is reafonable to fuppofe the almighty power provided for the peopling of this as well as of the other fide of the globe, by a fuitable ftock of the human fpecies.

However if we are to account for their paffing from what is called the old world, there are many relations of voyages hither from the North of Europe, previous to that of Columbus, which though dark and uncertain, are neither evidently fabulous, nor even improbable from either the length or difficulties of the way. That the Norwegians, the poffeffors of Iceland, for many ages paft had colonies in Greenland, is a fact too well attefted to admit a doubt, from Greenland the fhort paffage crofs Daon's Streights brings us into the continent of America. If thefe colonies be put out of the queftion, it is fcarce poffible to think; that of the numerous fleets with which the Danes and Norwegians terrified continually the reft of Europe, none tempted by the hopes of gain, or drove by ftrefs of weather, fhould ever fall in with the coafts of Nerefoundland or Gulph of St. Lawrence. If it be objected that the navigators of thofe times

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times were too unskillfull to attempt fuch a difcovery, does it not furnifh us with a reafon to account for its being made by chance. If this paffage was ever publickly known, which is more probable it was not, might not the knowledge of it be loft as that to Greenland, and can we be fure that the Greenland of the Norwegians was not more to the fouthward of that country now fo called. I am not ignorant that thefe traditions of the Norwegian colonies, as well as many others to the fame point, particularly that of prince Madoc has been treated as meer fiction; but let us not forget that Herodotus's account of the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope has been treated fo likewife too, tho' the fact be now eftablifhed to the degree of moral certainty.

Again, it is not unlikely but there may be land moft of the way from America to Japan, at leaft iflands, feparated only by narrow channels, and in fight, or nearly so, of one another. I have been lately informed of an Indian woman, well known by a perfon in Canada, and after an interval of many years met again by the fame perfon in Chinefe Tartary; he could not be convinced fhe was the same, till by difcourfe he had with her, fhe told him, that being made captive by a neighboring nation, fhe had during many years been tranfferred by captivity, fale or gift, from one nation to another till fhe was brought where he

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he found her. If this be true it muft be Continent moft of the way.

Another manner of peopling this fide of the earth, particularly $S$. America, might be by fome veffels of the Egyptians, Phanicians or Carthaginians being blown off the coaft of Guinea to that of Brazil, or the Antilles in their courfe, to or from the cape of GoodHope; in which cafe, for want of thofe Arts and Sciences which are not to be found in America, before it's plantation by the whites, and which are feldom to be met with in a fhips crew, they muft take to that way of life our Indians now follow. This conjecture is the more probable, as even in the ftate of perfection, the art of navigation is now arrived at, this accident is often unavoidable.

But whatever was their origin, our fix nations may be now thus characterifed: they are a fubtile, prudent, and judicious people in their councils, indefatigable, crafty, and revengeful in their wars, the men lazy and indolent at home, the women continual flaves, modeft, very loving, and obedient to their husbands. As to the natural difpofition of thefe Nations, they are grave, folid, and ftill in their recreations, as well as in their councils. The Delawar's and Sufquehanah's, on the contrary, are very noify in their recreations, and loud in difcourfe; but all when in liquor, whether men or women, take the liberty of fhouting

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fhouting, finging, and dancing at an extravagant rate, till the operations of the liquor ceafe; or being wearied they fall afleep.

The fix nations enjoy the character of being the moft warlike people in N. America, this they have acquired by the uninterrupted ftate of war, they have continued in probably near 200 years, and which has been attended with fuch fuccefs, that has made them the dread of people above rooo miles diftant. It cannot however be fuppofed, but they have frequently met with feveral. checks, efpecially fince the French affifted all their enemies openly near thefe 100 years paft.

Their wars were formerly carried on with much more cruelty then of late, their prifoners who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, being generally tortured to death, now their numbers being very much diminif hed by conftant wars, with both diftant and neighbouring nations, and, perhaps a good deal partly by the fpirituous liquors, and difeafes the Europeans have brought among them. They very politically ftrive to ftrengtheu themfelves not only by alliances with their neighbours, but the prifoners they take; they are almoft always accepted by the relations of a warrior flain in his place, and thus a boy of 15 , is fometimes called father by men of 30 . This naturalizes them of courfe, and unites them into the tribe the deceafed belonged to. This cuftom



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cuftom is antient as our knowledge of them, but when their number of warriours was more than twice as many as now, the relations would more frequently refufe to adopt the prifoner, but rather chufe to gratify their thirft of revenge.

Their religious notions are very confufed and much mixed with fuperftition. Yet they feem not only to acknowledge a deity, but even to worfhip him in unity and fpirit. What benefits they receive, they afcribe to a divine power. They have ftrange notions of fpirits, conjuration, and witchcraft: thefe are agreeable to their blindnefs, and want of proper education among them, for I have always obferved, that the belief of fupernatural powers in a meer man, generally prevails in proportion to a Perfon's ignorance.

A Letter from Mr. Kalm, a Gentleman, of Sweden, now on his Travels in America, to his Friend in Philadelphia; containing a particular Account of the Great Fall of Niagara.

## $S I R$,

Albany, Sep. 2, 1750.
$A$ Fter a pretty long journey made in fhort time, I am come back to this town. You may remember, that when I took my leave of you, I told you, I would this fummer, if time permitted, take a view of Niagara Fall, efteemed

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efteemed one of the greateft curiofities in the World. When I came laft year from Quebec, you enquir'd of me feveral particulars concerning this fall; and I told you what I heard of it in Canada, from feveral French gentlemen who had been there: but this was ftill all hearfay; I could not affure you of the truth of it, becaufe I had not then feen it myfelf, and fo it could not fatisfy my own, much lefs your curiofity. Now, fince I have been on the fpot, it is in my power to give you a more perfect and fatisfactory defcription of it.

After a fatiguing travel, firft on horfeback thro' the country of the Six Indian Nations, to Ofwego, and from thence in a Canoe upon lake Ontario, I came on the 12th of Auguft in the evening to Niagara fort. The French there feemed much perplexed at my firft coming, imagining I was an English officer, who under pretext of feeing Niagara Falls, came with fome other view; but as foon as I fhew'd them my paffports, they chang'd their behaviour, and received me with the greateft civility. Niagara Fall is fix French leagues from Niagara Fort. You firft go three leagues by water up Niagara river, and then three leagues over the carrying place. As it was late when I arriv'd at the Fort, I could not the fame day go to the Fall, but I prepar'd myfelf to do it the next morning. The commandant

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of the Fort, Monfr. Beaujon, invited all the officers and gentleman there to fupper with him. I had read formerly almoft all the authors that have wrote anything about this Fall; and the laft year in Canada, had made so many enquiries about it, that I thought I had a pretty good Idea of it; and now at fupper, requested the gentlemen to tell me all they knew and thought worth notice relating to it, which they accordingly did. I obferved that in many things they all agreed, in forme things they were of different opinions, of all which I took particular notice. When they had told me all they knew, I made feveral queries to them concerning what I had read and heard of it, whether fuch and fuch a thing was true or not? and had their anfwers on every circumfrance. But as I have found by experience in my other travels, and that very few obferve nature's works with accuracy, or report the truth precifely, I cannot now be entirely fatisfied without feeing with my own eyes whenever 'ti in my power. Accordingly the next morning, being the 13 th of Auguft, at break of day, I fet out for the Fall. The commandment had given orders to two of the Officers of the Fort to go with me and flew me everything, and alfo font by them an order to Monfr. Jonqueire, who had liv'd ten years by the carrying-place, and M knew

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knew everything worth notice of the Fall, better than any other perfon, to go with me, and fhew and tell me whatever he knew. A little before we came to the carrying-place, the water of Niagara River grew fo rapid, that four men in a light birch canoe, had much difficulty to get up thither. Canoes can go half a league above the beginning of the carrying-place, tho' they muft work against a water extremely rapid; but higher up it is quite impoffible, the whole courfe of the water for two leagues and a half up to the great Fall, being a feries of fmallei Falls, one under another, in which the greatest canoe or Battoe would in a moment be turn'd upfide down. We went afhore therefore, and walk'd over the carrying-place, having befides the high and steep fide of the river, two great hills to afcend one above the other. Here on the carrying-place I saw about 200 Indians, moft of them belonging to the Six Nation, bufy in carrying packs of furs, chiefly of deer and bear, over the carrying-place. You would be furpriz'd to fee what abundance of thefe things are brought every day over this place. An Indian gets 20 pence for every pack he carries over, the diftance being three leagues. Half an hour paft ro in the morning we came to the great Fall, which I found as follows.
to the river (or rather ftrait,) runs here from S. S. E. to N. N. W. and the rocks of the great

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Fall croffes it, not in a right line; but forming almoft the figure of a femicircle or horfe fhoe. Above the Fall, in the middle of the river is an ifland, lying alfo S. S. E. and N. N. W. or parallel with the fides of the river; its length is about 7 or 8 french arpents (an arpent being 180 feet.) the lower end of this Ifland is juft at the perpendicular edge of the Fall. On both fides of this ifland runs all the water that comes from the lakes of Canada, viz, Lake Superior, lake Mifchigan, lake Huron, and lake Erie, which you know are rather fmall feas than lakes, and have befides a great many large rivers that empty their water in them, of which the greateft part comer down this Niagara Fall. Before the wates comes to this ifland, it runs but flowly, compar'd with its motion when it approaches the ifland, where it grows the moft rapid water in the World, running with a 'furprizing fwiftnefs before it comes to the Fall; it is quite white, and in many places is thrown high up into the air! The greateft and ftrongeft battoes would here in a moment be turn'd over and over. The water that goes down on the weft fide of the ifland, is more rapid, in greater abundance, whiter, and feems almoft to outdo an arrow in fwiftnefs. When you are at the Fall, and look up the river, you may fee, that the river above the Fall is every where exceeding fteep, almoft as the fide of a

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hill. When all this water comes to the yery Fall, there it throws itfelf down perpendicular! It is beyond all belief the furprize when you fee this! I cannot with words exprefs how amazing it is! You cannot fee it without being quite terrified; to behold fo vaft a quantity of water falling headlong from a furprifing height! I doubt not but you have a defire to learn the exact height of this great Fall. Father Hennepin, fuppofes it 600 Feet perpendicular; but he has gained little credit in Canada; the name of honour they give him there, is un grand Menteur, or The great Liar; he writes of what he faw in places where he never was. 'tis true he faw this Fall: but as it is the way of fome travellers to magnify every thing, fo has he done with regard to the fall of Niagara. This humour of travellers, has occafioned me many difappointments in my travels, having feldom been fo happy as to find the wonderful things that had been related by others. For my part, who am not fond of the Marvellous, I like to fee things juft as they are, and fo to relate them. Since Father Hennepin's time, this Fall by all the accounts that have been given of it, has grown lefs and lefs; and thofe who have meafur'd it with mathematical inftruments find the perpendicular fall of the water to be exactly I37 feet. Monfr. Morandrier, the king's engineer in Canada,

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Canada, affured me, and gave it me alfo under his hand, that 137 Feet was precifely the height of it; and all the French Gentlemen that were prefent with me at the Fall, did agree with him, without the leaft contradiction: it is true, thofe who have try'd to meafure it with a line, find it fometimes 140 , fometimes iso feet, and fometimes more; but the reafon is, it cannot that way be meafured with any certainty, the water carrying away the Line.-When the water is come down to the bottom of the rock of the Fall, it jumps back to a very great heighth in the air; in other places it is white as milk or fnow; and all in motion like a boiling chaldron.-You may remember, to what a great diftance He nepin fays the noife of this great Fall may be heard. All the gentlemen who were with me, agreed, that the fartheft one can hear it, is 15 leagues, and that very feldom. When the air is quite calm, you can hear it to Niagara Fort; but feldom at other times, becaufe when the wind blows, the waves of Lake Ontario make too much noife there againft the Shore.-They inform'd me, that when they hear at the Fort the noife of the Fall louder than ordinary, they are fure a North Eaft Wind will follow, which never fails: this feems wonderful, as the Fall is South Weft from the Fort: and one would imagine it to be rather a fign of a contrary wind. Sometimes,

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times, 'tis faid, the Fall makes a much greater noife than at other times ; and this is look'd upon as a certain mark of approaching bad weather, or rain; the Indians here hold it always for a fure fign. When I was there, it did not make an extraordinary great noife: juft by the Fall, we could eafily hear what each other faid, without fpeaking much louder than common when converfing in other places. I do not know how others have found fo great a noife here, perhaps it was at certain times, as abovementioned. From the Place where the water falls, there rife abundance of vapours, like the greateft and thickeft fmoak, fometimes more, fometimes lefs: thefe vapours rife high in the air when it is calm, but are difpers'd by the wind when it blows hard. If you go nigh to this vapour or fog, or if the wind blows it on you, it is fo penetrating, that in a few minutes you will be as wet as if you had been under water. I got two young Frenchmen to go down, to bring me from the fide of the Fall at the bottom, fome of each of the feveral kinds of herbs, ftones and fhells they fhould find there; they returned in a few minutes, and I really thought they had fallen into the water: they were obliged to ftrip themfelves quite naked, and hang their clothes in the fun to dry. When you are on the other Eaft fide of the Lake Ontario, a great many leagues from the Fall,

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you may, every clear and calm morning fee the vapours of the Fall rifing in the air; you would think all the woods thereabouts were fet on fire by the Indians, fo great is the apparent fmoak. In the fame manner you may fee it on the Weft fide of the lake Erie, a great many leagues off.

Several of the French gentlemen told me, that when birds came flying into this fog or fmoak of the fall, they fall down and perif $h$ in the Water; either becaufe their wings are become wet, or that the noife of the fall aftonifhes them, and they know not were to go in the Dark: but others were of opinion, that feldom or never any bird perifhes there in that manner; becaufe, as they all agreed, among the abundance of birds found dead below the fall, there are no other forts then fuch as live and fwim frequently in the water; as fwans, geefe, ducks, water-hens, teal, and the like. And very often great flocks of them are feen going to deftruction in this manner: they fwim in the river above the fall, and fo are carried down lower and lower by the water, and as water-fowl commonly take great delight in being carry'd with the ftream, fo here they indulge themfelves in enjoying this pleafure fo long, till the fwiftnefs of the water becomes fo great, that 'tis no longer poffible for them to rife, but they are driven down the precipice, and perifh. They are obferv'd when they draw
draw nigh the fall, to endeavour with all their might to take wing and leave the water, but they cannot. In the months of September and October, fuch abundant quantities of dead waterfowl are found every morning below the Fall, on the fhore, that the garrifon of the fort for a long time live chiefly upon them; befides the fowl, they find alfo feveral forts of dead fifh, alfo deer, bears, and other animals which have tried to crofs the water above the fall; the larger animals are generally found broken to pieces. Juft below the fall the water is not rapid, but goes all in circles and whirls like a boiling pot; which however doth not hinder the Indzans going upon it in fmall canoes a fifhing; but a little lower begins the fmaller fall. When you are above the fall, and look down, your head begins to turn: the French who have been here 100 times, will feldom venture to look down, without at the fame time keeping faft hold of fome tree with one hand.

It was formerly thought impoffible for any body living to come at the Ifland that is in the middle of the fall: but an accident that happen'd 12 years ago, or thereabouts, made it appear otherwife. The hiftory is this. Two Indians of the Six Nations went out from Niagara fort, to hunt upon an ifland that is in the middle of the river, or ftrait, above the great fall, on which there ufed to be abundance of deer. They took fome French brandy with them
them, from the fort, which they tafted feveral times as they were going over the carrying place; and when they were in the canoe, they took now and then a dram, and fo went along up the ftrait towards the Ifland where they propos'd to hunt; but growing fleepy, they laid themfelves down in the canoe, which getting loofe drove back with the ftream, farther and farther down till it came nigh that ifland that is in the middle of the fall. Here one of them, awakened by the noife of the fall, cries out to the other, that they were gone! yet they try'd if poffible to favelife. This ifland was nigheft, and with much working they got on fhore there. At firft they were glad; but when they had confider'd every thing, they thought themfelves hardly in a better ftate than if they had gone down the fall, fince they had now no other choice, than either to throw themfelves down the fame, or to perifh with hunger. But hard neceffity put them on invention. At the lower end of the ifland the rock is perpendicular, and no water is running there. This ifland has plenty of wood, they went to work directly and made a ladder or fhrouds of the bark of lindentree (which is very tough and ftrong, fo long 'till they could with it reach the water below ; one end of this bark ladder they tied faft to a great tree that grew at the fide of the rock above the fall, and let the other end down N

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to the water. So they went down along their new-invented ftairs, and when they came to the bottom in the middle of the fall, they refted a little; and as the water next below the fall is not rapid, as before mentioned, they threw themfelves out into it, thinking to fwim on fhore. I have faid before, that one part of the fall is on one fide of the ifland, the other on the other fide. Hence it is, that the waters of the two cataracts running againft each other, turn back againft the rock that is juft under the ifland. Therefore, hardly had the Indians began to fwim, before the waves of the eddy threw them with violence againft the rock from whence they came. They tried it feveral times, but at laft grew weary; and being often thrown againft the rock they were much bruis'd, and the skin of their bodies torn in many places. So they were oblig'd to climb up their ftairs again to the ifland, not knowing what to do. After fome time they perceived Indians on the fhore, to whom they cried out. Thefe faw and pity'd them, but gave them little hopes of help: yet they made hafte down to the fort, and told the commander where two of their brethren were. He perfuaded them to try all poffible means of relieving the two poor Indians; and it was done in this manner. The water that runs on the eaft fide of this ifland is fhallow, efpecially

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a little above the ifland towards the eaftern fhore. The commandant caufed poles to be made and pointed with iron: two Indians determined to walk to this ifland by the help of thefe poles, to fave the other poor creatures, or perifh themfelves. They took leave of all their friends as if they were going to death. Each had two fuch poles in his hands, to fet againft the bottom of the ftream, to keep them fteady. So they went and got to the ifland, and having given poles to the two poor Indians there, they all returned fafely to the main. Thofe two Indians who in the above mentioned manner were firft brought to this ifland, are yet alive. They were nine days on the ifland, and almoft ftarved to death.* -Now fince the way to this ifland has been found, the Indians go there often to kill deer, which having tried to crofs the river above the fall, were driven upon the ifland by the ftream: but if the King of France would give me all Canada, I would not venture to go to this ifland; and were you to fee it, Sir, I am fure you would have the fame fentiment. On the weft fide of this ifland are fome fmall iflands or rocks of no confequence. The eaft

[^2]fide of the river is nearly perpendicular, the weft fide more floping. In former times a part of the rock at the Fall which is on the weft fide of the ifland, hung over in fuch a manner, that the water which fell perpendicularly from it, left a vacancy below, fo that people could go under between the rock and the water; but the prominent part fome years fince broke off and fell down; fo that there is now no poffibility of going between the falling water and the rock, as the water now runs clofe to it all the way down.- The hreadth of the Fall, as it runs into a femicircle, is reckon'd to be about 6 Arpents. The iffand is in the middle of the Fall, and from it to each fide is almoft the fame breadth: the breadth of the ifland at its lower end is two thirds of an Arpent, or thereabouts.-Below the Fall in the holes of the rocks, are great plenty of Eels, which the Indians and French catch with their hands without other means; I fent down two Indian boys, who directly came up with about twenty fine ones.Every day, when the Sun fhines, you fee here from 10 o'clock in the morning to 2 in the afternoon, below the Fall, and under you, when you ftand at the fide over the Fall, a glorious rainbow and fometimes two rainbows, one within the other.

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I was fo happy to be at the Fall on a fine clear day, and it was with great delight I view'd this rainbow, which had almoft all the colours you fee in a rainbow in the air. The more vapours, the brighter and clearer is the rainbow. I faw it on the Eaft fide of the Fall in the bottom under the place where I ftood, but above the water. When the wind carries the vapours from that place, the rainbow is gone, but appears again as foon as new vapours come. From the Fall to the landing above the Fall, where the canoes from Lake Erie put on fhore, (or from the Fall to the upper end of the carrying-place) is half a mile. Lower the canoes dare not come, left they fhould be obliged to try the fate of the two Indians, and perhaps with lefs fuccefs.They have often found below the Fall pieces of human bodies, perhaps of drunken Indians, that have unhappily came down the Fall. I was told at Ofwego, that in October, or thereabouts, fuch plenty of feathers are to be found here below the Fall, that a man in a days time can gather enough of them for feveral beds, which feathers they faid came off the birds kill'd at the Fall. I ask'd the French, if this was true? They told me they had never feen any fuch thing; but that if the feathers were pick'd off the dead birds, there might be fuch a quantity. The French told me, they had often thrown whole great trees into

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the water above, to fee them tumble down the Fall. They went down with furprifing fwiftnefs, but could never be feen afterwards; whence it was thought there was a bottomlefs deep or abyfs juft under the Fall. I am alfo of Opinion, that there muft be a vaft deep here; yet I think if they had watched very well, they might have found the trees at fome diftance below the Fall. The rock of the Fall confifts of a grey limeftone.

Here you have, Sir, a fhort but exact defcription of this famous Niagara cataract: you may depend on the truth of what I write. You muft excufe me if you find in my account, no extravagant wonders. I cannot make nature otherwife than I find it. I had rather it fhould be faid of me in time to come, that I related things as they were, and that all is found to agree with my Defcription; than to be efteem'd a falfe Relater. I have feen fome other things in this my journey, an account of which I know would gratify your curiofity; but time at prefent will not permit me to write more; and I hope fhortly to fee your. I am, $\mathcal{E} c$.

PETER KALM.

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[^0]:    * Vide Capt. Beverley's hift. of Virginia, 8vo. a curious and ufeful work, and the Baron Labontan's entertaining voyages in these parts.

[^1]:    * P. Charlevoix, perhaps from his own knowledge and the iuformation he has received from his brother miffonaries, tells us, that the languages of the northern part of North America, are properly 3, the Sioux or Nadouifiour, called by the Englifh Norway, the Algonquin or Adirondack, and the Huron or Quatoghic of which laft he makes the Iroquois called by our author the Mohaze, a dialect; but adds, he knew not what language is talked by the Cherokees, whether the language of the Antecoques be a dialect of the laft which is very poffible, or of the Adirondack which I take the Delazear to be, I can't determine.

[^2]:    * Thefe Indians had better fortune than 10 or 12 Utowawa's who attempting to efcape here the purfuit of their Enemies of the Six Nations, were carried down the Cataract, by the violence of the ftream and every one perifhed.-No part even of their Canoe being ever feen again.

