

SECTION VI

HUGH HEWARD'S JOURNAL FROM DETROIT
TO THE ILLINOIS: 1790

JOURNAL FROM DETROIT TO THE ILLINOIS

Journal of a Voyage made by M^r Hugh Heward to the Illinois Country

Detroit March 24th 1790 took my Departure for the Illinois.¹ had much Trouble as Customary in getting the Engagee's off in which Hurry we left a Keg of pork behind 'till we got to the petite Cote, return'd with one of the Cannots to Babys Mill & then with Duarier walk'd up opposite the Fort & borrow'd a Cannot to cross—had just Time to get the Keg & get out at the Gate at 9 oClock cross'd & return'd the Cannot & from thence carried the Keg of pork each his Turn to our Cannot at M^r Baby's Mill, Slept there & next morning the 25th very wet & disagreeable we from there joined our other Cannot at Labourses Mill the Weather so bad we unloaded & I there hired Joseph La Mirand² another Engagé at 40/p Month about mid Day

¹ For a sketch of the career of Hugh Heward see *ante*, 277. The occasion of his present journey to the Illinois is not known, but it seems evident he was acting in the capacity of agent to William Robertson. It seems evident, also, that the manuscript journal now extant is not the day by day record as actually kept by Heward, but rather an amplified report prepared at a somewhat later date. The surmise is offered that this was done by Heward during a period of comparative leisure subsequent to the termination of this journey, for the purpose of forwarding to Robertson. With the copy of the journal as printed here are preserved two sheets of what appears to have been the actual daily record made on the journey. One of these contains only the title, as printed above. The other is filled (on both sides) with entries which are frequently much briefer than those recorded in the draft of the journal here printed, and which differ from the latter, furthermore, in various details. The journal as printed, therefore, is presumed to be a copy written out by Heward at a date subsequent to the termination of the journey described, and to be based on his briefer daily record amplified from the fuller knowledge carried in memory. Yet this theory does not entirely suffice to dispose of the problem before us. For example, the entry of April 19 in the sheet which we presume to be the original diary merely records: "Arrived at the Portage this Day Mid Day this day measured the portage & follow'd on foot." It can hardly be supposed that the precise details as to measurements and otherwise in the entry for April 19, as printed, were carried in memory by Heward over a period of several weeks and of several hundred miles of arduous travel. All that can be certainly stated editorially is that the manuscript journal here printed was produced not long after the conclusion of the journey described in it.

² Joseph Lamirande, founder of the Detroit and River Raisin line of this name, was born in the district of Three Rivers, Canada, in 1767. Probably he came west in early manhood in the capacity of fur-trade engagé. On May 18, 1795, he married at Detroit Mary Angelica Salot, who was born at Sandwich, Aug. 8, 1780. They had

the Rain abating we loaded & set off & got to the last Island opposite Browns Villiage.³ the Weather still foggy & Wet—Encamped on the Nore West point of the Island⁴ & the Wind changing to South East the Lake surprized us mounting to where we had piled the Guns & were touched some before we got them moved but not to damage

27th at Daylight we loaded to gain the River huron but the Wind rose suddenly & detain'd us all day blowing very hard sleep'd there

28th Parted early in the Morning & got to the River Huron to breakfast the Wind still strong at West, the River very high and overflowed on all Sides & Current strong we mounted up the River which abounds in Turnings about 25 Miles the general Course Nore West the Land on all Sides in general very low & wet abound'g with Elem Button Wood & C. the highest Land with Oak of a Middle Size. Encamped.

Monday March 29th Repaired the Gum of our Cannots & set off with fine Weather only frosty & continued our Rout

numerous children, several of whom became residents of River Raisin settlement. Mary Angelica Saliot was buried at Detroit, Feb. 18, 1813. Joseph Lamirande was buried here, Jan. 21, 1822. Denissen, *op. cit.*

³ Adam Brown's village was on Brownstown Creek, about a mile southwest of present-day Gibraltar. From him the modern Brownstown receives its name. Brown was a native of Virginia who, in boyhood, was carried into captivity by Indians, apparently about the year 1750. He was brought to Detroit and adopted by a Wyandot squaw belonging to the Deer clan, who reared him as her son. About the year 1763, he married a woman of mixed French and Wyandot blood belonging to the Big Turtle clan. He became a village chief and his town was for a generation a well-known stopping-place for travelers between Detroit and the Maumee region. In the War of 1812, Brown's band supported the British cause and the Battle of Brownstown, Aug. 5, 1812, was fought at or very close to his village. Upon the triumph of the American arms around Detroit, Brown withdrew to the British side of the river, where he resided until his death, about the year 1822. Some of his descendants remained in Canada, where their offspring are still to be found; others migrated to Kansas and (subsequently) to Oklahoma with the American band of Wyandot, and descendants of Brown still live in the last-named state. One account, written long after the event, credits Brown with participating in the attack upon the schooner *Huron* (misnamed by Parkman the *Gladwin*) off Turkey Island on the night of Sept. 4, 1763. When the white men were on the point of being overcome, the mate called to his men to blow up the ship; Brown understanding English, instantly warned his associates of the purport of the command, who promptly fled overboard, thus ending the desperate conflict. On this battle compare Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1880), I, 318-20 and *Mich. Pio. Colls.*, VIII, 366. Biographical information about Adam Brown has been derived from letters of his great-grandson, B. N. O. Walker of Miami, Oklahoma, written in January and February, 1925.

⁴ Modern Celeron Island, which lies immediately below Grosse Ile and opposite Gibraltar village.

the River falling but still overflowing the Banks the Course of the River Land and Woods nearly the same our Distance something more it continued Cold Weather that the Ice hung in the Branches in the River & pass'd some flights of Snow before Sun Set. Encamped.

Tuesday March 30th. After a very frosty Night embarked & went the same Course the River still flooding the Banks but more difficult than before at Mid Day arrived at higher Banks & the Course more to the North the Lands something better but cold & barren for Culture abound^g principally with Black Oak. our Distance nearly the same as Yesterday tho' the Current stronger & more difficult than before Encamped.

Wednesday March 31st. a Frosty Night but clear Morning & fine Weather all Day the Water even with the Banks very strong & difficult the Course North West, the Banks very high & Lands something better still abounding in Black Oak about 2 oClock saw pine Trees below the high Banks continued 'till Night & Camped. the Distance as Yesterday.

Thursday Ap^l 1st 1790. Early in the Morning came to red Cedar under the high Banks & continued with a Strong Current the Water by the Banks to nearly Mid Day when we met with several Small pine Trees the Banks still high & barren abounding with diminutive Red Oak Trees & the Soil with Fern. about 4 oClock passed an Indian Cabbin & Cornfield & arr^d at Sans Craints⁵ before Sun Set. Distance & Course nearly as yesterday. Encamped.

Friday April 2^d 1790. Could not get an Indian to pass the Portage but engaged one to meet us at the Fork of the River to conduct us this Post seems to furnish good small peltrie Sanscrannt seems to have about 12 packs. Set off about 10 oClock our Course up the River nearly West

⁵ On the Sanscrainte line see *ante*, 324. Apparently the individual here noted was Jean Baptiste Romain dit Sanscrainte who was born in 1754 and married at Detroit, Oct. 13, 1778, Margaret Solo. She was buried here on March 19, 1793. They had several children born at Detroit, most of whom subsequently became residents of River Raisin settlement. Sanscrainte was bitterly accused by the British authorities of pro-American activities prior and subsequent to Wayne's campaign of 1794. See Denissen, *op. cit.*, and *Mich. Pio. Colls.*, XII, 162 ff.

Nore West the Current for about 2 Leagues exceeding Strong the Banks high but Land dry & barren abounding with Black Oak & Fern our Distance about 12 miles. Wrote to M^r Robertson⁶ & left with Sanscraint to be sent tomorrow. Encamped.

Saturday Ap^l 3^d 1790. parted the Weather fine & Current not so strong as Yesterday the River much Streighter & the course West Nore West the Banks still high but the Land still of a barren kind being a Stony thin Soil with principally Red Oak to here there seems yet a great Body of Water & a firm Gravelly Bottom but too high yet for setting to advantage thus far to mid Day the course West & by North the River streighter & wider but from hence in the Summer there cannot be much Water there is now a fine Gravelly Bottom the Width of the River about 45 yd^s a strong Current but able to traverse with poles any where, our Distance about 25 miles & not yet come to the Forks. Encamped.

Sunday April 4th 1790. Obligated to remain all Day a continual Rain. Went to look out above but could not yet see the Forks the course at this place nearly West.

Monday Ap^l 5th 1790. Continued our Rout the Course nearly West & arrived at a Villiage at Mid Day the Water still strong & upon a flat Gravelly Bottom the Country nearly as before. about five oClock arrived at the Forks⁷ which from the River on a West Course divides one Branch South West & the other North West that of South West being our Course we proceeded about four Miles up & encamped near where we were to make a Mark for our

⁶ William Robertson, of Detroit, for whom see *ante*, 208.

⁷ The route followed by Heward from the upper Huron River to the headwaters of Grand River is involved in some obscurity. Prof. W. B. Hinsdale of the University of Michigan has kindly studied this portion of Heward's journal and is responsible for the statements concerning it which are here subjoined: the fork which Heward had reached was at the village of Dexter, where Mill Creek empties into the Huron. It was this creek which Heward ascended on foot, as described in the opening lines of the entry for April 6. The Indian trail described in the entry for April 7 was in the northwest corner of Washtenaw County, and during the difficulties encountered in the search for the portage on April 7 and 8, Heward was traversing the townships of Lyndon and Dexter. Further data concerning the route pursued will be given in subsequent notes.

Indian. I went up as far as where the Squas from the River Huron had passed where the Mark was to be made but saw no Indian. this Branch is a strong deep Current but narrow the Course nearly South by West & the Country barren as before.

Tuesday Ap^l 6th 1790 Went forward to look out for the Portage on foot & found in nearly a south West Course up this Branch where it divides into Small Lakes & took that which runs South by West & followed it 'till it wasted in Marshes from thence Returned very fatigued having Walked very hard & met the Cannots where the Branch divides in Lakes distance about 15 Miles from where we had come in the Day. I caused them to encamp 'till the Indian might come or we could find the portage & with Morras sett off in quest of the Indian or some person to guide us & arrived nearly at the place we had marked for the Indian in hopes to find out their Camp. Night & obliged to sleep under a Tree a hard Frost & cold sleeping

Wednesday Ap^l 7th 1790. Set off[f] to find some Indian Camp & found a large Road to Nore West hoping it to lead to some Villiage but found it after leading North about 8 Miles it took a Course due West & seemed an old deep & beaten path 'till we came to a small River the Current running West. I had many Opinions that this must be the Grand River from the Current run^g contrary to all the rest pursued our Road about 8 Miles farther still run^g due West & seeing no fresh Trace we concluded it [to be] the S^t Josephs Road from Detroit & return'd to where we had cross'd the River run'g West cross'd it again & then took our Course due South to find our Cannots, & fell on a branch from the same division of Lakes run^g from West & by it joined our Cannots. determined from this to pass up this Branch as it seemed to approach the River run^g West, but to make the Matter more Sure not to leave the portage behind us I took Duarrier (after eating a little) & went to explore the Middle Branch formed from those Small Lakes run^g West by South & in about 8 Miles found it become very small & Night com^g on returned to the Cannots

determ^e to take the Branch run^e West in the Morn^e. Went to Sleep being very Weary & having in the Day fatigued two good Walkers & myself never remember to have walked more in one Day.

Thursday Ap^l 8th 1790. Put into the Creek run^e Nore West & I went by Land to look out for a Portage found a Villiage West Nore West on a Lake up this Creek but here the Run of Water ended went further into the Country West nore West & found Many Round Lakes & high Mountains but no running Water return'd very Weary & found the Cannots where we had passed the Day before & finding no End to these Researches determined to return to the Villiage of the River Huron to find an Indian to conduct us.

Friday Ap^l 9th 1790 Sett off with Duarier for the River Huron & arrived at Night sleep'd at Thébeaults & Sanscraint tho' Drunk would still insist that the left hand Branch was right, him & Thébeault fought & Sanscraint shew'd every Desire to springe upon & excize us from what he now shew'd there is Reason to believe he put us into the wrong Branch designedly. Thebeault for 20/ offer'd to conduct us next Day to where we could get an Indian in the Sugar Ground but the Dispute between him & Sanscraint disappointed it as Sanscraint for himself & Ribergean for Thebault went for Detroit with Complaints.

Saturday Ap^l 10th 90 Got an old Indian to conduct us to the Sugar Ground & sett off with each $\frac{1}{2}$ a B^l of Corn on our Backs bought of Thebeault for 12ⁿ & order'd payment on M^r Robertson Arrived at the Sugar Ground & engaged an Indian to go with us next day paid the old Indian 25 Broaches for guid^e us & stay'd all Night.

Sunday Ap^l 11th 1790 Set off with the Indian our Guide & arrived at the Cannots about 2 oClock. the Indian on pass^e the Branch we had mounted up told us it was the wrong Branch & [we] would have to go down again to take the other at the Forks. having the Corn we now brought to hull & good ashes ready employed the Men to do it this afternoon ready to start Tomorrow Morning.

Monday Ap^l 12th 1790. Went with the Indian from our Encampment down again to take the Fork leading Nore West & arrived about Mid Day. proceeded up the Branch which turns nore North East^s about four Leagues the Current very strong & nearly as wide & deep as the other part of the River from Sanscraints Villiage & on a Gravelly Bottom to a Cabbin where it divides into two Lakes^o the River at this place about 20 yd^s Wide & between 4 & 5 foot Water here one of those Lakes points Nore East & the other nore West the last we passed to West nore West which after a Traverse of about a League brought [us] again into a small Serpentine River run^e from the same Direction about 6 Yd^s Wide & about 3½ foot Water to the banks but being overflowed we had 4 or 5 feet Water. the lake unpassed is about a League each way & seemingly deep where we could see the Bottom it was a fine Gravel & Sand as also the River to about 2 Leagues up where we encamped late

Tuesday Ap^l 13th 1790. Set off the[n] on our Rout West nore West & in about ½ a Mile it turned nearly North & in a Stream Serpentine the Banks in about every Mile varying West Nore West & to North for about 4 Leagues the stream here about 4 Y^{ds} wide & about 3 feet Water when in the Banks we arrived at another Lake about ½ a Mile long & ¼ Mile Wide point^e Nore West & South East pass'd by the Nore West point from this into Another Sm[all] Lake having a Small Lake to the Left hand or West Side, the Lake of our Rout run^e North & South & our Course due North this Lake but Small abo^t 250 Yd^s Wide & our Course then run^e in the Manner of a Small Lake Nore Nore West, leaving a Round Lake of about 2 miles round to the North or Right hand after the point

⁸ They were now ascending the main channel of the Huron, which Heward had left on April 5 to ascend Mill Creek. The direction followed was about due north.

⁹ Modern Big Portage and Base lakes, near the northern boundary of Washtenaw County. The main channel of the Huron flows through Base Lake, the more easterly of the two. Heward passed through Big Portage Lake and up Portage River (also called Hell Creek) into the southeastern corner of Ingham County, as described in the remainder of the entry for April 12 and in that for April 13.

of this Lake passed on the north Side of another spreading Lake full of long Grass & Mush Rat Houses at the Nore West End of which the Serpentine Run took nearly South & doubled around [a] point with Trees & passed still in the Manner of a Small Lake to the South from our first Lake to day to here about 6 Miles from here about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile & the Course turns West Nore West Continued nearly this Course with Many Turnings but where the Stream would not be miss'd about 6 Miles to where the Run enter'd into another Lake at West. this Lake runs South East & Nore West about 200 Yd* Wide of our Course taking the Turn to the South East. The Indian here informed me that the Carrying place was direct pointing from the Mouth of this Run which is West by South. We continued this Course 'till within abo^t $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile of a Bay at East & then took a turn up the Run which pointed Nore West being late & likely for a bad Night we encamped

Wednesday Ap^l 14th 1790. A rainy Night & wet Morning made it late before we started in about a Mile & half farther up the Run came to the portage¹⁰ which points nearly South or South by West I have gone across the portage & it seems about 2 Leagues finding it far & the provision short risolved to return to Thebeaults to get Corn sett off[f] with the Savage after paying him Duarriers Gun & a white Shirt & a little powder & shot for conducting us there & left the Men all the provisions & to pass the portage 'till my return. in about two Leagues East South East from the portage we fell into a Road where I knew & had been on foot to search for the portage while our Cannots were working in the wrong Fork from thence by the same Direction we arrived where the Cannots were when we got a Guide & return'd down to the Forks & near there we camped a Wet Night

Thursday Ap^l 15th 1790 Rose early at Day break & set off. We cross'd the Wrong Fork (so named from our going

¹⁰ Near the village of Stockbridge in southeastern Ingham County. The portage was made to Otter Creek (also called Orchard River), the northwest branch of Grand River.

astray in it) lower than where Duarrier & me cross'd it before to come to Sans Craints the Water Mid Waist deep & took a Road more to the North & n[e]arer the River & arrived at Sans Craints about Mid Day the course the same East South East & by the assistance of M^r Godfroy¹¹ (who seemed very obliging but the others very little disposed to serve me) engaged an Indian with two Horses to go with me in the Morning indeed we were even to the Cabins where they were drinking to engage him for Seven Beavers sleep'd at Sans Craints & engaged Corn & C. from them to take with me Godfroy having no provisions to spare being new come

Friday Ap^l 16th 1790 Rose at Daybreak & with M^r Godfroy went to find the Indian that he might not drink, found he had been drinking in the Night & seemed uncertain but still said he would go & sent to hunt his Horses in the Interim went to Sans Craints to get the Loading they were sending all their Corn to Detroit in a Batteau & M^r Thebeault said they could only spare me 2 Bushels I replied that as they were sending their Corn to Detroit I could relieve them of a Quantity thereof if the corn was better than payment & would save them the Risque & Carriage to Detroit & requested as I was to have two Horses to have six Bushels they could not deny this & said I could have it but sett all their Invention to work to make me pay high enough demanding 12th for Corn 4/ for Grease & 2/ for Sugar saying M^r Thebeault wanted all his corn & when here had said it was too little for the Bushel they had let me have. I desired them to refer the prices of all to M^r Jo^s Thebeault¹² & I would desire M^r Robertson to pay

¹¹ On the Godfroy family see *ante*, 63. Probably the trader who befriended Heward was Gabriel, eldest son of Jacques Godfroy and Louisa Clotilda Chapoton, who was born at Detroit, Nov. 10, 1758. He was thrice married: first, to Mary Catherine Couture, Jan. 8, 1781; second, to Mary Therese Bondy, Feb. 14, 1795; and third, to Monica Campau, Jan. 14, 1817. He was the father of fifteen children, born of the first two unions. He was a trader and a man of force and influence in his day. He had a trading post on the site of Ypsilanti prior to 1796, and two of the four private claims at this point recognized by the American government in the period 1806-10, were awarded to Godfroy and to his children. He was buried at Detroit, Sept. 2, 1833. Information adapted from Denissen, *op. cit.*; *Am. State Papers, Pub. Lands*, I, 536; and *Mich. Pio. Colls.*, *passim*.

¹² Probably Joseph Thibault of Detroit, who married Mary Geneveva De Loysel

whatever he demanded, they twisted it at all points saying [he had] to make his profit but at last find^e me too hard for any thing they could offer wanting Reason they consented to do this & I gave an Order accordingly & wrote M^r Robertson for 6 Bushels corn 20 lb Grease 16 lb Sugar when tying up my Loading the Indian half drunk refused to go saying he loved his Horses & the Load^e would be heavy. other purposes ineffectual waited 'till next Day the Indians drink^e all night.

Saturday Ap^l 17th 1790 The Indians all drunk except the one I had engaged to go & he sleeping M^r Godfroy very obliging in going himself & send^e young Silo to endeavour by every Means to get an Indian but the other not seeming to care much it rain'd hard & this Indian still asleep, waited with anxiety [resolving] if he was to go to drink again to come to Detroit for I saw myself without help. he awaked but sick & did not wish to go in bad Weather. however by force of high pay I got him to start about an Hour before Sun set. passed the first large Run where we carried on our backs & encamped at Sun Set. received from M^r Godfroy a Turkey for 6/. Thebeaut asked 8/ for his

Sunday Ap^l 18th 1790. A very cold night & I had no Blanket, the Corn being in it. travelled very hard this day & camped at Sun Set another very cold night.

Monday—Ap^l 19th 1790. Arrived at the Portage about Mid day paid the Indian 3 Call^o Shirts & some Powder & Ball in full. Went with Joe to measure the Portage beginning at the South End with a Line of 100 feet English 15 Lengths Dry 50 feet Wet 17½ Lengths Dry 4 Lengths Swamp 9 D^o Dry 14 D^o Wet 4 D^o Dry 3 D^o Wet here nearly half Way 74 Lengths Dry to the North Stream in all 141 Lengths or 14100 feet or 4700 Yd^s. Blazed a Tree at West of the Road next the Water at North III on a hanging tree next to the Water [and] Another about half Way [on] a Tree West of the portage Road where another Road crosses South West & North East I had order'd the Cannots to

about the year 1787. To them were born thirteen children in the years 1788-1809. See Denissen, *op. cit.*

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load & go as far as they were obliged to Walk & hawl them & wait for us instead of which they had gone past a point direct South & from thence the Course Westward to the Entrance of another small Lake was very angry for their obliging me to walk so far in following. Morras spilt a Quart of Corn & I protested to make them suffer for every thing mispent Camped.

Tuesday Ap^l 20th 1790 Snowed the whole Day & remained camped hulling Corn & C. Unloaded the Cannots at Night very stormy & a great fall of Snow.

Wednesday Ap^l 21st 1790 Snowed & rained all Night & to abo^t Eleven oClock & we loaded & set off. Discover'd that they had given on the Portage in my Absence about 4 lb powder & 2lb Tobacco. Went down the channel a current serpentine border'd by a small Lake on each Side Course to West & passed a Small Lake to South 'till about 1 oClock & came to a bluf point at the entrance of Another Lake on the North point at this place there entered another Run from North out of a Bay surrounded with pine & I went round to see its Course which came from due North a passable Current about 30 feet wide & both enter'd into this next Lake passed the Lake with a Current near the Middle a Course West & entered another & steered a Course still West leaving large Bays to the South at the West of this Lake found two Currents one the Smallest running North West into a pine Bay the other West by South & passing a high Ground of Oak to the South passed in this last nearly West to the Entrance of another Lake & [it] appearing to be a Stormy Night camped on a Small point to the South.

Thursday Ap^l 22^d 1790 A cold Night & a Morning threaten^g Snow we did not start early. Doubled the point & opposite to Nore West found a Run came in to that we were following which turned South & by Winding continued South & South West to Mid Day with a Grassy Lake on each Side at which Time we enter'd more into the Woods the Course West by Nore a strong Current & large Body of Water continued the same Rout nearly West & West by Nore the Wood very thick & many trees cut across to traverse

upon about 5 oClock came to two Cabins of Otawas who confirmed us that we were in the Grand River & at night met two Cannots mount^s to go to Detroit the Lands on this River seem low & very thick Wood plum Trees Hickory & Bois blanc & on the higher Lands Oak a very steady but not rapid Current Camped & at Night the Indians came & told us we would meet many Cannots coming for Detroit.

Friday Ap^l 23^d 1790 Wrote M^r Robertson by Indians going to Detroit in two Cannots continued our Rout till about 10 oClock the Course nearly West & it then turned all at once to North by East or nearly North a fine Day & good Current Met about 11 oClock with Indians spearing Sturgeon an ill looking Band of about 12 who seem to be refugees from the Otaways & peutowatomas strong fat Vagabons bought a Sturgeon for Tobacco & set off when a reinforcement was coming the River from here became large & fine with a strong Current & Stony Bottom the course West Nore West & continued 'till about 3 oClock when it increased in Water & run in large Turnings with Points and Marrey [?] & not so strong a Current the course Nore West 'till about Six oClock & then came to an opener Course nearly the same Direction passed a strong Rapid & Camped. fine Land & heavy Wood of all Sorts on both Sides.

Saturday Ap^l 24th 1790. Refited our Cannots with Gum & set off passed a Rapid in about an hour after which high broken Land & some pine Trees the Banks of Red Land from thence came to a River from the East¹³ & a little lower two Cabins of Indians from Sagana they were providing Cannots for their Departure the course to this Time nearly Nore West by Nore from thence high broken Land & some pine & Cedar about 11 oClock came to an Island in the Middle of the River & a long Rapid & afterwards another Island about Mid Day. Dined the Course West Nore West & came to another Island afterwards three

¹³ Apparently Cedar River, which joins the Grand at Lansing in northwestern Ingham County.

Small Islands & some pine Trees on each Side of the River & high Rocks on the North & a small Run of Water from the South after which another small Island & a long & pleasant Drift of an equal & strong Current the Banks high but the Beach level & Gravelly Bottom to another long but not very strong Rapid & to another small Island the Course West by North to again high Banks to the North to another Island from thence to another Island from thence to four others all together following from here a high Sandy Bank with some pine Trees on the South Side after which a Large Island & two small ones following afterwards three Sm[all] Islands & two Sm[all] Meadows to North this last Course nearly West heavy Wood on all Sides Encamped.

Sunday Ap^l 25th Opposite an Island¹⁴ after a rainy Night set off from hence a number of small Islands following to a River from the East¹⁵ where was a Cabin of Otowas the Course here nearly North with high Banks & some pine trees to the East from thence to a Villiage the river very full of high Banks [and] some pine Trees & at this Villiage a large Turning & Point the Course Nore West arrived here at Mid Day. from thence low Bottoms with high Banks at a Distance very full of heavy Wood with the finest places possible for making Sugar the River running level deep & not a very strong Current with many Turnings the course nearly West Duarrier lost a Quart Jack some Time ago put on Shore early to rig our Oars hull Corn & C.

Monday Ap^l 26th 1790 Set off & arrived abo^t 10 oClock at a Wintering place a little above a River from North East that goes to Sagana¹⁶ the Frenchman we were told by Squas was gone & indeed his Wintering place seemed very miserable & desolate continued our Course to West but there was a brisk Wind ahead which annoyed us much here the River Wider but not more Current at mid Day

¹⁴ It seems apparent that the words "opposite an island" properly belong with the word "encamped," immediately above.

¹⁵ Apparently Looking Glass River, in southeastern Ionia County.

¹⁶ Maple River in eastern Ionia County.

about 1 oClock passed a Villiage at the Forks where a Trader had been but he was gone took the Nore West Fork but did not stop presently a Cannot with five Indians followed us they said to beg Charity of a little Tobacco & to ask the News we gave them a little & they went away contented. Near Sun set arrived at a strong rapid & Village where we found [a] Barrel from Sagana for M^eKenzie¹⁷ he had made about 10 packs & some Sugar Camped to get some Sturgeon & Sugar the Course from Mid day nearly West South West.

Tuesday Ap^l 27th 1790 Embarked after getting some Sturgeon & passed a plain to the East in about an Hour where it appears to be a wintering place the River still larger & a good smooth Current but a North Wind strong against us the Course West & the River larger & larger to the Mouth & surrounded with Pine on all Sides with Meadows & small Lakes & very wide at the Entrance of the Lake¹⁸ where we arrived at Sun Set & found M^r Langlade¹⁹ who appear'd to be very friendly & promised to get me some Gum. Encamped on the other Side there being many Indians with him.

Wednesday Ap^l 28th 1790. Got from M^r Langlade Gum for 20/ & gave him an Order on G. Meldrum Exchanged with him two Bushels of unhull'd for hull'd Corn & set off the Wind North & by West under Sail but before Mid Day the Wind forced so as to oblige us to put into the River a Barbu²⁰ & with Difficulty got in & got some Sprays of the Swells & we there camped & unloaded to Gum the Cannots. M^r Langlade says he has 15 Men & we saw several Cannots as he was preparing to set off for Mich^l I did not see his peltrey but he said he had midling Trade & had finished

¹⁷ Probably Alexander McKenzie of Detroit, for whom see *ante*, 306. Heward's party had now reached the site of modern Grand Rapids.

¹⁸ At modern Grand Haven.

¹⁹ Evidently Charles Michel Langlade, for whom see *ante*, 72.

²⁰ This may have been modern Pigeon River, a small stream which joins Lake Michigan about eleven miles south of Grand River; if not this stream, it was modern Black Lake, at whose mouth lie Ottawa Beach and Macatawa.

his Goods he seems a smart & obliging Man & is equiped by Mess^{rs} Meldrum & park. The Wind increasing continued 'till night.

Thursday Ap^l 29th The Wind blew all Night & continuing in the Morning we still remained camped. continued to blow all Day

Friday Ap^l 30th 1790. after a very frosty night the Wind at South by East set off the Entrance of the Grand River appear^g from here almost as at the End of the Bend & with a round high Top resembling the Sugar Loaf at point Ebineau²¹ & the point appearing a little beyond the other point of this Bend to the South East appears not so distant & where abouts we expect is the River a Mazame about 10 oClock passed the River Mazame & about 11 oClock a small Creek but had not Water to enter into at 12 oClock came to the river Mazame or Kualamazeau which is on the Nore West Side before coming to the Extremity of the point a fine river run^g from South East & a Trading House at the Entrance one discovers from this point to the Grand River which is in form of a Bend or small Bay the Course nearly South round this point is Stone & Gravell & the Bay following it still continues high Banks with Stone & Gravell to a small river stop'd up where we camped.

Saturday May 1st 1790 Wind at South gum'd the Cannots & set off Arrived at the River Noir²² about 10 oClock run^g from East but small at the Entrance from the Kekalemazeau or River Mazame here high Banks & Gravell & Rocks dangerous in Stormy Weather Met 3 Cannots of M^r Burnitts²³ about half Way here for Mich^l they had the two Men that run away from Detroit Chamberlin & [. . .]

21 Point Abino, near the eastern end of Lake Erie.

22 Black River, at South Haven.

23 William Burnett is supposed to have been a native of New Jersey. He came west probably soon after the close of the Revolution and may have located for a time at Detroit. His permanent establishment was at St. Joseph, near modern Niles, Michigan, where he developed an extensive establishment and where he died, probably, about the year 1812. A considerable number of his papers are preserved in the Burton Hist. Coll. He was an outspoken partisan of the American government at a time when considerable courage was demanded to maintain such a stand. He married Kawkemece, daughter of a chief of the St. Joseph River Potawatomi, and this alliance assured his position in the trade of that region. They had five sons and two daughters.

the first says he is engaged for Mr Burnitt to go & return & the other free at Mich^l & says he will remain there a light Breeze of Wind rose from the North which continued about two Hours very light but we carried Sail 'till it died away Arrived at the River S^t Josephs late & Camped the Course from the River Noire about South West very high Banks & the River to West of the point that is seen from the River Noir they reckon it 10 Leagues & it is a great Distance but a fine River run^g from East South East a Strong current & nearly as large as the Grand River.

Sunday May 2^d 1790 a Strong head Wind from the West which obliged us to remain camped.

Monday May 3^d 1790 A Wet night & Strong head Wind from the West still detain'd us.

Tuesday May 4th 1790 A very blowing Night the Wind veering to every point; in the Morning A Wind from the East being off the Land we loaded & set off against a heavy Swell from the North this Wind from the Land continued in a Wavering manner by Blasts & the Swell also from the North not abating & we finding no River nor creek to put in & seeing a Risque of taking Water if we put in to unload we continued sometimes under reefed Sail & Sometimes with paddles hoping to reach a River till about three oClock when as sudden as Lightning the [wind] chopp'd round with the Swell & blew a terrible Squal & thunder Gust which obliged us to make the Shore as fast as possible & both Cannots filled we saved the cannots & all the Goods but was wetted we put them out of Reach of the very high Seas & camped & made [a] Fire the best way we could continued a heavy Rain & sometimes hail Storm all the Afternoon. we were happy at being near Shore & quick at Landing for a Quarter of an hour would have lost all it was so sudden & excessive that no small Craft could have sustained it.

All of the sons remained unmarried. Rebecca, the youngest daughter, was for many years a member of the household of James May of Detroit, where she died in April, 1841, at the age of fifty years. One of her two daughters became the wife of Francis Palms, and their descendants are prominent citizens of present-day Detroit. An excellent biographical sketch of William Burnett is in *Mich. Pio. Colls.*, XXX, 85 ff.

Wednesday May 5th 1790 A very heavy Gale of Wind from the North still continued & rain'd almost all Night we were employed in opening & endeavouring to dry the Goods &C.

Thursday May 6th 1790 a Fine Night the Wind abated but the Swell continued high from the North in the Morning a light Breeze from the East against the Swell & a clear sunny Morning continued to dry the Goods about 10 oClock the Wind veered to the North with the Swell which ran very high all day but dry.

Friday May 7th 1790 a Sunny clear Morning with the Swell from the North & a light Breeze from the East continued to dry the Goods. Sold Morras a Velvet bound Hat 24/. a Strong North wind with the Swell in the Afternoon finished drying & pack^e the goods ready to part early with Morning

Saturday May 8th 1790 A fine clear Morning & the Wind off the Land Loaded & set off & in about an hour arrived at the River Galline²⁴ a fine entrance of about 15 Yd^s wide & running from East South East & a high Hill with pine to the West our Course on the Lake South West from here a sandy Beech to the River de Chemin where we arrived about 5 oClock a fine River about 20 yards wide running from the South West & exactly at the South West Corner of the Lake²⁵ from here the Course in a Bend nearly West We went about an hour & camped in the Bend²⁶ Moras obstreperous & disobedient.

Sunday May 9th 1790 A Wind at South West inclining from the Land loaded & set off our Course in a Bend nearly Nore West a Strong Wind from South South West but we were cover'd a little it being off the land & went with poles Arrived at Grand Calamanuck²⁷ & afterwards at Little Calamanuck the Course Nore West & from there arrived

²⁴ Modern Galien River, which reaches Lake Michigan at New Buffalo, very close to the southwestern corner of the state of Michigan.

²⁵ The Du Chemin River enters the Lake at Michigan City, Indiana.

²⁶ Not far, probably, from the site of Gary, Indiana.

²⁷ The Big Calumet River.

by a North Course under Sail at Chicago under reefed Sail the Wind very strong & in Blasts missed the Entrance of the River & were obliged to go about a mile past to land.

Monday May 10th 1790 Stopt at Point Sables²⁸ anchored with the Cannots & begun to hull Corn & bake Bread & arranged everything for next Morning left the Cannots at point Sables & took his Purogue bought of him 41 lb. Flour & baked in Bread for 25ⁿ & 29 lb pork at 2/8 the whole amounting to £5.10 8 & paid him with 13 yd^s 4/4 Cotton.

Tuesday May 11th 1790 Engaged five Indians to help us over the Carrying place²⁹ with the pereogue & paid them two handfulls of powder each. Duarrier this Morning very saucey & abuseful about getting Salt I promised to requite him for it. a Showery Day & Wind at West the Carrying

²⁸ This was Jean Baptiste Point Sable (du Sablé, de Sablé), who has acquired posthumous fame as the first permanent settler on the site of Chicago. Quite probably other traders had preceded him here, but if so, we have no positive record concerning them. Sable is variously described by contemporaries (including himself) as a "naigre Libre" and "a free mulatto man"; hence has arisen the ancient pun that the first white man in Chicago was a negro. Concerning Sable's origin there is much uncertainty. At the time of the Revolution he was operating in the Northwest as a trader, with stations around the Lake Michigan shore. He subsequently proved to the satisfaction of a United States land commission that he had lived at Peoria prior to 1783, and that he was a citizen of the United States. His American sympathies are further evidenced by the fact that in 1780 he was arrested by the British authorities at Michigan City, where he was then trading, and his goods confiscated because of alleged hostility to that government. In the spring of 1800 Sable sold his property at Chicago to Jean Lalime of St. Joseph for 6000 livres (about \$1200). The original bill of sale, with inventory of the property transferred, is still preserved in the Wayne County building at Detroit, and it discloses that Sable was a man of substance, with an extensive civilized establishment. The realty included a house 22 by 40 feet (the house, subsequently, of John Kinzie), a horsemill 24 by 36 feet, bakehouse, dairyhouse, poultryhouse, smokehouse, a stable 24 by 30 feet, and a barn 28 by 40. The live stock comprised 30 head of cattle "full-grown," 2 mules, 44 hens, 38 hogs, and 2 calves. Among the household goods were such items as a French walnut cabinet with four glass doors, a bureau, four tables, a couch, two mirrors, eleven copper kettles, etc. Sable's later years were passed at St. Charles, Mo., where he was living as late as September, 1814. He had an Indian wife and at least two children. He was evidently a man of powerful character, and practically all the contemporary estimates of him that have been preserved are of a favorable nature. Information condensed from M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835* (Chicago, 1913), 138-42; John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813* (St. Louis, 1920), 153-55; and mss. in the Burton Hist. Coll.

²⁹ Heward was about to ascend the South Branch of Chicago River and to pass by the customary portage route to the Des Plaines. For an account of the Chicago portage see Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835*, chap. i.

place about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile got over nearly at Mid Day. from thence passed in the Run & small Lake³⁰ to the River deplain & Course turning nearly South West a very wet afternoon & heavy Thunder arrived at the River deplain said to be fifteen Miles & camped.

Wednesday May 12th 1790. Sett off from the River deplain which runs from the North our Course down the Illinois River South West passed La Croix & after Les Arbres seek a pass that goes in a small Lake to the South East & by this pass its said to be three Leagues to little Kenomuk³¹ on the Lake this about 11 oClock. passed the petite & Grand Tosil & afterwards the long Rapid & came to the Villiage of Mount Juilliett³² the Course South West a high hill at West resembling Fort Lernolt at Detroit passed afterwards the Lake following & camped. here Morras informed me not to be surprized that there was so much Danger he would not return with me. Lamorand said he was to make the Voyage with him & if he did not return he would not.

Thursday May 13th 1790. Finding the Goods not dry enough & very warm Weather coming on remain'd to dry them better in the Afternoon threatened Rain & we were obliged to take them in.

Friday May 14th 1790. Remained & finished drying the Goods & pack'd up. Belhumour a Frenchman settled among the Indians stop'd to pass the Villiage at the Forks with us near Night a heavy Thunder Storm

Saturday May 15th 1790 Loaded & set off passed the Villiage at the Forks³³ the Chief & Villiage in Feast & Goodhumour gave him a little Tobacco & powder & he said he should be ready to assist me bought five Sacks of Corn for 4 shirts & powder & paid Belhumour with powder

³⁰ Called Mud Lake by the early settlers. Gurdon S. Hubbard's autobiographical narrative of his fur trade career (Chicago, 1888) presents vivid pictures of his experiences in passing this portion of the Chicago portage.

³¹ The Little Calumet River.

³² Mount Jolliet was a striking natural formation in the shape of a huge mound which was usually mentioned and frequently described by early travelers in this region.

³³ The juncture of the Des Plaines with the Kankakee, from which point the united streams take the name Illinois.

he was contented but beg'd two White Shirts on Credit 'till my Return which I gave him. he lent me his Dog & a Tea Kettle & gave me Nine Eggs & a Leg of Venison pass'd the Entrance of the River Theakikie³⁴ about mid Day & from here arrived at the Rapid of Demi Charge or Rapid of Mamor in bas[?] 10 Leagues from Theakakie carried over a part & passed the perioque camped at the Bottom Elegant Land with plum Tree Oak Hickory & C. on all Sides high Banks & a fine Bottom of $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile

Sunday May 16th 1790 Sett off & passed an Island of Rocks called the Charbonnier³⁵ three Leagues from our Camp^t & afterwards the Fox River run^e from the North here Rocks to the Nore West but still fine Land on all Sides this about mid Day from here passed the River Vermillion running from East South East Seven Leagues Salt ponds opposite the Mouth to nore West from here to the River au Bureau a small River run^e from North Seven Leagues from Vermillion here the Bottoms low & levell & very full of heavy wood mostly Plain tree a wide & levell River not much Current camped opposite the Prairie de Corbeau.

Monday May 17th 1790 Rained all Night set off & passed the River of Grows Meadow run^e from the South & about a League farther to the West the place where Clermont was kill'd here large flat Bottoms Wet & full of Wood the Banks still high & at a great Distance a moderate current from the River of priarie de Corbo to the Entrance of Lake depiorias³⁶ a Course South Seven Leagues here about mid Day from here the Course of the Lake to the piorias Villiage West South West & about half a Mile Wide to about the point opposite the Villiage [illegible] of the Lake from here nearly South to the petite Etroit a Narrow between this & another Lake of a League. on the West of this small Lake is settled one of the name of Chattlerou. at the Villiage

³⁴ The Kankakee River.

³⁵ The deposits of coal in this region were known to the French explorers from a very early day.

³⁶ Lake Peoria, a widening of the river, on whose shore is the city of Peoria.

of the Pioras at the South Side of this small Lake are Seven French settled among the Indians³⁷ Augustin Fecto J. B^t Amelin Lapierre a Smith, Cap^t Mye, Deneau, & Miney & Parrant & Oullett Engages, & Diffon passed & a little farther boiled kettle for the Night & put a Drift in the poriaque.

Tuesday May 18th 1790 Rained all Day the River larger & still crowded with heavy wood of all Kinds on both Sides low flat Bottoms & the appearance of small Lakes on all sides by turns [?] but there were many kinds of Wood that we did not know & could not distinguish the Rivers coming in from the Gullies of back Water passed the Lake of Demi Quano [?] & some high Banks to the East about Mid Day & then bought a Turkey for some powder rowed & sailed by Turns 'till Night & then stop'd to boil the Kettle & Sup & then put a Drift in the perioque I steered the whole Night & had a good Drift the Course of this Day & Night nearly South.

Wednesday May 19th 1790. passed several Islands in the Night & in the Morning dry high Banks on the East & a River on the same Side afterwards came to a fine Large Meadow on the North West Side of the River opposite to a small Island in the River the Land appearing high & heavy Wood on the other side of the Meadow at the End of the next Reach about a Mile of high dry Land to the East abounding with Oak & seemingly Sandy this Ridge continues farther but is afterwards at a Distance from the River afterwards a small River from West & opposite it a high Sandy Bank to the South East with several Indian Graves upon it & followed by a piece of pretty clear dry Land to the South along the River apparently about two Miles from the high Woody Banks. a little lower came to the Cabin of a Frenchman named L'Onion but he was a hunting this about one oClock & our course down the River South by West a little farther at West a Small River round the point of a high Hill which commences high Land on the West Side. from here high Land on both Sides &

³⁷ Peoria was a center of trading activities from the earliest period of exploitation of this region by the French.

Willow Trees on the Water Edge on both Sides from here a River from the West South West the Land still high on this Side lower on the East with Willows the Course East South East & the River still level with nearly the same Current but wider after a Small River or Creek from the East from here a Mount of high Rocks appears on the South side of the River beyond a Long Island in the Middle a little farther we stop'd to boil [our] Kettle & put a Drift for the Night Morras here often repeated *if I pass here again*

Thursday May 20th 1790 In the Morning a River from the East & high Rocks on the West Bank Course nearly South. after which a Small River from the West north West a little above an Island the Rocks still high on this Side. farther several Islands & a point of very high Rocks to the West South West the River here very wide & large Body of Water fine Weather & the Woods in full Leaf after which a fine Meadow to the West about half a Mile Wide between the River & the high Banks of Rocks which still continues from here a River from the West opposite to an Island farther to the East opposite an Island a high Mount with two Tops resembling a Sugar Loaf from thence to a Bend turning half round part of the Course nearly East on the South part of the Bend a fine clear plain or Meadow from here commences high rocky Bank to the East or North East & commences with Islands & Branches coming in from the Mississipie from thence to panas [?] & opposite the Mississourie camped the Course here East.

Friday May 21st 1790—[nothing but the date.]