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HISTORY
OF
BAPTIST INDIAN MISSIONS:

EMBRACING

REMARKS ON THE FORMER AND PRESENT CONDITION

OF THE

ABORIGINAL TRIBES;

THEIR SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE INDIAN TERRITORY,

AND THEIR

FUTURE PROSPECTS.

BY ISAAC McCOY.



TO THEM WHICH SAT IN THE REGION AND SHADOW OF DEATH, LIGHT IS SPRUNG UP; AND THE SOLITARY PLACE SHALL BE GLAD, AND THE DESERT SHALL REJOICE AND BLOSSOM AS THE ROSE.

Matthew and Isaiah.

WASHINGTON:

WILLIAM M. MORRISON;

NEW-YORK:

H. AND S. RAYNOR 76 BOWERY, NEW-YORK, AND
BENNETT, BACKUS AND HAWLEY, UTICA.

1840.

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TO

SPENCER HOUGHTON CONE,

PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE BAPTIST
DENOMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES, FOR FOREIGN
MISSIONS, AND OTHER IMPORTANT OBJECTS
RELATING TO THE REDEEMER'S
KINGDOM,

THE CONSTANT AND ARDENT FRIEND OF THE INDIANS,

AND FOR THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS THE EFFICIENT PROMOTER OF THEIR
TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL WELFARE,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, BY

THE AUTHOR.

M742352

TESTIMONIALS.

December, 1839.

SIR: Accept our thanks for the opportunity you have afforded us of perusing your manuscript History of Baptist Missions to the Indians. Our gratification is heightened by a retrospect of the many years that we have been associated with you in missionary labours. We regret that, to avoid rendering the work too voluminous, you have been obliged to abridge the history in reference to many interesting facts; and we hope that, should a second edition be necessary, this defect will be remedied.

We heartily approve of the publication of the work; it has already been too long delayed. It will be accompanied by our prayers, uttered with strong confidence that such is its character that God will make it a means of promoting zeal, and liberality, in behalf of the too much neglected people to whose temporal and eternal welfare we have consecrated our lives.

Respectfully, your brethren and fellow-missionaries,

J. LYKINS,
ROBERT SIMERWELL,
JOTHAM MEEKER.

REV. ISAAC McCOY.

As the printed sheets came out of press, a specimen of each was sent to a few gentlemen whose names are favourably known in the churches, and in the country generally, who have kindly returned the following testimonials in favour of the work:

From the Rev. Charles G. Sommers, Pastor of the South Baptist Church, City of New-York, and Corresponding Secretary of the American and Foreign Bible Society.

New-York, April 27, 1840.

I have read the proof sheets of the "History of Baptist Indian Missions," by the Rev. Isaac McCoy, and have no hesitation in expressing the opinion, that if great practical experience in Indian affairs, and a thorough knowledge of the past and present history of our aborigines, added to an agreeable talent for the descriptive, can entitle an author to general patronage, then the present work must receive a very extensive circulation among the multitudes who

TESTIMONIALS.

sympathize in the physical sufferings and moral degradation of American Indians.

CHARLES G. SOMMERS.

From the Rev. Stephen Chapin, D. D., President of the Columbian College, D. C.

Columbian College, May 2d, 1840.

I have read with attention a considerable portion of the Rev. Mr. McCoy's "History of Baptist Indian Missions." It is the object of the writer to give a history of the origin, the progress, and the present state, of this mission: this he has done in a style strong and perspicuous, and wholly free from quaintness, or laboured effort to produce effect.

This work, independently of its intrinsic merit, and the benevolent design of the author, will be read with much interest by every philanthropist and Christian, on account of its bearing upon the enterprise to preserve the Indian race, by introducing among them the blessings of Christianity and civilization. This attempt is certainly among the most memorable events in the history of this country. For more than two centuries after the settlement of North-America, the various Indian tribes, who from time immemorial were the undisputed sovereigns of the soil, continued to melt away before the enterprise and the cupidity of the Anglo-Saxon settlers. In this period, some of them became extinct, others were dispersed, and all the while their entire population continued to wane in a rapid ratio. In view of these facts, many distinguished individuals were led to inquire, what can be done to save the remnant of this noble race from speedy and utter extinction? And the plan was formed to collect the fragments of the remaining tribes, and to settle them without the boundary of our Confederacy, and upon lands provided for them by the Government, where they would have powerful motives to give up their habits of hunting and of war, and where, in their permanent homes, they might be steadily acted upon by the teacher and the missionary. The reader will learn that the author, and the missionary board who patronise his efforts, acted no inconsiderable part in this great enterprise to make some return to the aborigines of this country for the wrongs they had received at our hands, and to save them from final ruin.

There is yet another interesting light in which this work may be viewed, in its tendency to do away the general prejudice that there is something queer in the Indian character; that his passion for hunting and war is original; and that, therefore, you can no more civilize him than you can tame the partridge of the forest. But let it once be fully understood that there is nothing peculiar in the character of the Indians—that their habits are the result of circumstances, and not the result of original propensities—and our missionary labours to save them will be more liberal and sanguine. In a word, I cordially

TESTIMONIALS.

recommend the work to the attentive perusal of the friends of Indian missions, and hope that it will have a wide circulation, and do much good in advancing a cause in which we are all so much concerned.

S. CHAPIN.

From the Hon. Wilson Lumpkin, member of the Baptist Church at Athens, Georgia, Ex-Governour of the State of Georgia, and Senator in the Congress of the United States.

Washington, May 2d, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR: With feelings of interest and pleasure, I have read the sheets submitted by you for my perusal, on the subject of Baptist Indian Missions. The importance of the facts which you record cannot fail to render them useful and interesting to all who may read them. But the value of your work will be more fully appreciated hereafter.

The very limited aid which you have received in your long and untiring efforts to save the native race of our land, demonstrates the fact, that your philanthropic spirit has been in advance of your generation; but you have not laboured in vain. The brief historical sketch which you design giving to the public substitutes (within my own knowledge) truth in the place of popular fable, on many points connected with the Indian character. You have not suffered imagination, or tradition, to supersede *truth*. You have justly considered and treated the character of the Indian, as that of a *man*—nothing more or less than a man in peculiar circumstances, demanding the lively sympathies of his fellow-man, who may happen to be in a more favoured position. All the peculiarities of the Indian character have arisen from the circumstances in which they have been found. As to the period, manner, and place, of peopling America by the aboriginal race, you prudently leave these questions involved in that obscurity which candour demands from every considerate and intelligent man. You have, incidentally to your main object, sketched some of the most prominent errors of the Government in its policy and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and suggested the only true remedy. You have afforded the means of tracing the chief causes of all the failures of missionary efforts amongst the native American race; but that which I esteem to be of greatest value of all the facts which you have submitted, is the record of the missionary efforts of you and your family, and associates; and which may serve to enable those who would engage in similar labours to make a just estimate of the joys and sorrows which await the devoted missionary.

I hope your work will be extensively read; it is worthy of the patronage of the wise and the good, and I very sincerely commend it to the consideration of all. You have literally forsaken all the flattering prospects of this life, and cast your eye to that abiding in-

TESTIMONIALS.

heritance where you and your Indian converts will be equal and joint heirs with the author of your faith.

Your friend and obedient servant,

WILSON LUMPKIN.

REV. ISAAC MCCOY.

From the Rev. Rufus Babcock, D. D., Pastor of the Baptist Church in Poughkeepsie, New-York.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., May 1, 1840.

I have carefully, and with deep interest, perused the principal part of the Rev. Mr. McCoy's History of Indian Missions. For many years I have been personally acquainted with the author, and have formed an opinion decidedly favourable of his piety, devotedness, and self-denial, in the great work of Indian reform. No man now living has probably enjoyed so ample opportunities of thoroughly understanding the character and the wants of our aborigines. What he has done and suffered for them, and what he has desired and attempted to have accomplished for their benefit, are set forth in a simple and perspicuous manner in this volume. No one can read it without feeling compelled to give credit to the missionaries, among the Indians, for more zeal and self-sacrifice in their labours than even the well informed portion of the Christian community have ever imagined.

In warmly recommending this history to Christians, to philanthropists, and, indeed, to all who seek for extensive and exact information on the subjects embraced in it, it will not be understood that every opinion advanced is regarded as established, since "to err is human." The work will undoubtedly commend itself to the public confidence, as *the testimony of sufferings*—a kind of *martyr-witness*; and, as such, I sincerely hope it may be extensively read, and serve to awaken greater liberality and energy in conducting Christian missions among the waning remnants of that race who were lately the undisputed proprietors of our national domain.

RUFUS BABCOCK, JR.

PREFACE.

I have supposed that an introduction, embracing remarks on the origin, character, and condition of the aborigines of our country, would be useful as a preliminary to the history which follows.

In the history itself, some latitude has been indulged, in reaching matter which would properly belong to a *history of the Indians*, and especially to a history of their settlement in the Indian territory; but I have seldom, if ever, touched any matter which I did not believe had some bearing upon the narrative, either immediate or remote.

The materials which more than twenty years' missionary operations had supplied amounted to more than time and opportunity to write, and the means to meet the cost of publishing, admitted into the work; and much has been omitted that would probably be useful to the public. Most of the missionaries have not been sufficiently careful to record in their journals all matters of interest, and the accessible resources of information, besides my own notes, have been scanty beyond expectation. It is hoped, however, that, by the vigilance of missionaries in future, these defects may, in some measure, be remedied.

The work has been prepared at short intervals, amidst the pressure of other duties, and there is much reason to fear that the utility of important matter will, to some extent, be prevented by its going abroad in homely dress. Most books

PREFACE.

respecting the Indians have been written with an air of romance well calculated to mislead the public mind. If we would exhibit the condition and wants of a people truly, and in such a manner as to elicit helps to their improvement, it is necessary to speak of the common matters of life, though it should seem to be at the expense of some refinement of taste, and to present to the reader the people as they *are at home*.

It is with much satisfaction that the joint certificate of Messrs. Lykins, Simerwell, and Meeker, is inserted. For many years we have all laboured side by side in our missionary enterprise; and such is the extent of their information, that their assistance in compiling the work would, doubtless, have enhanced its worth. The missionaries more remote would have been consulted, had there been opportunity, and it is believed that the publication will be favoured with the hearty approval of them all.

With prayer that the blessing of God may accompany the work, it is respectfully submitted to the public by

THE AUTHOR.

*Shawanoë Baptist Mission,
Indian Territory, December, 1839.*

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
SEC. 1. Origin of the Indians. There is no evidence that they are descendants of Israel. Probable manner of their introduction into America,	9
SEC. 2. Their original condition. Not taciturn and phlegmatic. Not strangely attached to either hunting or war,	17
SEC. 3. They have no marriage ceremonies. Are without law. Their numbers had not diminished before their discovery by Europeans. They had not degenerated from a more improved condition,	25
SEC. 4. They claimed particular portions of country. Indian rights to land denied by Europeans. The Indians were the real owners,	28
SEC. 5. All Europeans adopted the same principle in taking possession of Indian lands. The delusive nature of Indian treaties. Moneys unfairly obtained by them,	30
SEC. 6. The Government of the United States adheres to the principles previously adopted by Europeans. Treaties become more liberal in their provisions,	32
SEC. 7. The policy which ought to have been adopted. Increasing regard for Indians. A change of measures essential to the prosperity of the Indians,	34
SEC. 8. Improved condition of the southern tribes. The crisis produced by a bad policy. Difficulties between the General Government, the State of Georgia, and the Cherokees,	36
SEC. 9. Change of measures in the management of Indian affairs,	39
<hr/>	
CHAP. I. Correspondence, and appointments to missionary service. First efforts. Location on Wabash river, Indiana. Journey among the Delawares. School commenced. Necessity for removal. Second tour among the Delawares. Sickness. Baptism of the teacher. Journey to Fort Wayne,	43

- CHAP. II.** Removal to Fort Wayne. The school prospers. Baptisms. Journey to Ohio. Sickness. Journey to Vincennes. Arrival of a missionary. Awful effects of intemperance. Embarrassments for want of the means of support. Baptism of a Delaware woman. Difficulties in obtaining school teachers, 71
- CHAP. III.** Pecuniary assistance obtained from Government. Pressing necessities. Assistance obtained in Ohio. Mr. Hill quits the mission. Indian murders. Retrospect of a year's operations. Tour among the Putawatomes. Praying Indians. Voyage down the Wabash river. Baptisms, 89
- CHAP. IV.** Dreadful effects of ardent spirits. Superintendents of missionary stations. Important treaty at Chicago. Beneficial stipulations. Indian murders. Candidates for missionary service. Sickness. Indian murders. Circular to the public. Want of suitable school teachers. Journey to Washington. Arrival of a missionary. Appointment of missionaries. Injury received from an Indian. Manufacture of cloth, 110
- CHAP. V.** Lamentable death of an Indian woman. Arrival of a missionary. Modes of burial. Ceremony of adoption. Tour among the Putawatomes. A suffering mother and infant. Dreadful effects of intemperance. Baptism of Mr. Lykins. He is appointed a missionary. Temperance society. Journey to Detroit. Appointments from Government. Disinterestedness of the missionaries. Arrival of missionaries. Church constituted. Severe sickness of the mission family. Death. Arrival of a missionary, . . 131
- CHAP. VI.** Indian murders. Failure of a missionary. Mission Family Rules. Erection of mission buildings. Death of Mr. B. Sears. Removal to the St. Joseph's river. The school resumed. Want of supplies of bread stuff. Sickness. Benevolence of Christians in support of the mission, 164
- CHAP. VII.** Resignation of a missionary. Journey to Ohio. Loss of property in Elksheart river. A second loss. Tour among the Ottawas. Superstition. Scheme conceived for procuring in the west a permanent residence for the Indians. Major Long's exploring party visits the mission.

- Scarcity of bread. Efforts to promote colonization. The routine of business. Want of support, 186
- CHAP. VIII. Tour among the Ottawas. Medicine dance. Death of Indian pupils. Loss of property on Lake Michigan. The Government agent examines the affairs of the mission. Arrival of missionaries. Want of the means of support. Journey to Washington. Scheme for colonizing the Indians. Tour to take collections. Success. Phenomenon on Lake Erie. Mr. Simerwell joins the mission. Condition of affairs in the vicinity of the establishment. Encouraging appearances, 206
- CHAP. IX. Sickness. Visit of the Sauks. Effects of ardent spirits. Revival of religion. Journey to Ohio, and death of a child. Condition of the institution, as reported by the United States' commissioner. Baptism. Tour among the Ottawas. Selection of a site for a missionary station. Indian colonization. Continuation of religious animation, 229
- CHAP. X. Narrow escape from a murderer. Improving condition of the Ottawas. Improvements of the Putawatomies. Baptisms: Paralyzing effects of ardent spirits. Preparation of Indian youths for superior usefulness. They enter the Baptist Theological Institution at Hamilton, New-York. Indian festival. Resignation of missionaries. Condition of the school, &c. Arrival of missionaries. Efforts to promote colonization. Effects of intemperance. Cattle furnished the Ottawas. Measures of the board in reference to the missionaries, . . . 258
- CHAP. XI. Commissioner's report of the mission. Important treaty stipulations. Arrival of missionaries. Difficult journey to Thomas station. Voyage to Thomas. An idol. Two boys taken to Vermont to study medicine. Superstition. Missionaries arrive at Thomas; others return to Carey, 286
- CHAP. XII. Marriage of a missionary. Sickness. Origin of mission to Sault de St. Marie. Indian hostilities. A captive redeemed. Cannibalism. Indian murders. Journey to Thomas. Sickness among the Ottawas. Treaty at Carey. Journey to the Eastern States. Remarks on Indian reform; published. Efforts to promote

- colonization. Objections on account of slavery. First settlement of emigrants in the Indian territory. Exploring tour originated. Station at Sault de St. Marie, 308
- CHAP. XIII. Tour of exploration. Pecuniary embarrassments. Tour with Putawatomes and Ottawas. Poverty of the Osages. Indians are not taciturn. The Indians' skill in following foot-prints overrated. Miserable condition of the Kauzaus. Tour with delegations of Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. Death of a Creek Indian. Council with Osages; their buffalo hunts, names, religion, condition, tales, &c., . . 332
- CHAP. XIV. Exploring expedition continued, and terminated on Arkansas. Journey to Washington. Report of the expedition. Valuation of improvements at Carey. Influence of politics upon the subject of Indian colonization. Reprint of remarks on Indian reform. Triennial Convention. Memorial to Congress. Missionaries remove to the West. Calumny counteracted, . 365
- CHAP. XV. Baptisms. Condition of Thomas station. Tour of exploration. Sickness. Journey to Washington. Memorial of the Board of Missions to Congress. Other memorials for and against colonization. Stage accident. Proffered resignation of missionaries. Passage of the memorable act of Congress, known as "The law of 1830." Selection of Indian reservations. Sickness and death of Dr. J. McCoy. Discontinuance of the Carey station. Surveying expedition. Origin of mission among the Shawanoes. Origin of missions to Otoes and Omahas. Councils with Kauzaus, Shawanoes, and Pawnees. First request of an Indian tribe for a land patent. Ancient tumuli. Clouds of dust. Natural curiosity, 389
- CHAP. XVI. Journey to Washington. Origin of missions among the Choctaws. Station established among the Shawanoes. Difficult journey to Arkansas. Councils with the Cherokees and Creeks. Exploration. Severe storm. Alarm given the Osages. Sickness and deaths. Origin of the church among the Creeks. Exploration. Massacre of Delawares. Journey to Missouri. Location among the Shawanoes. Missionaries to Sault de St. Marie. Journey to Washington. Address to the public, 412

- CHAP. XVII. Creek treaty. Small-pox intentionally communicated. Cherokee difficulties. Triennial convention. Appointment of two missionaries. Death of Dr. R. McCoy. Settlement near the Shawanoes. Journey to Arkansas. Muscogee Baptist church constituted. Baptisms. School opened among the Shawanoes. Additional baptisms among the Creeks. Report to Commissioners. Location of a missionary among the Choctaws. Baptism at Shawanoe. Proposed mission to the Kickapoos. Kickapoo prophet. Missionary appointed to the Choctaws. Arrival of missionaries at the Shawanoe station, . . . 440
- CHAP. XVIII. Baptism. Tour in the wilderness. Arrival of missionaries. Mission established among the Otoes. Arrival of other missionaries. Journey to Arkansas. A missionary retires from labour. Baptisms. Tour in the wilderness. Journey to Washington. Enlistment of missionaries. Printing press. New system of writing. Baptism. Tour in the wilderness. Resignation of a missionary. Publication of the Annual Register. Death. Apostacy of a missionary. Arrival of missionaries at the Creek station. Death of two missionaries. Arrival of missionaries among the Choctaws. Newspaper in Shawanoe. Books in Creek and Choctaw. Baptism, and missionary appointment, 463
- CHAP. XIX. Boarding schools. Ordination of a missionary. Indian hostilities. Journey to Washington. Boundaries of Arkansas. Ottawa treaty; important amendment in favour of the Thomas station. Putawatomie delegation. Cherokee treaty. Fruitless effort to effect a better treaty. Bill for the organization of the Indian territory. Indian notion of religion. Sickness. Journey to Indiana. Appointment of missionaries to the Creeks. Missionaries leave the Creek country, 489
- CHAP. XX. Cherokee station. Omahas. Death. Journey to Washington. Treaty with Putawatomies. Baptisms. Tour in the wilderness. Seat of government of the Indian territory, &c. Missionaries arrive at Shawanoe. A design to get the Indians' lands. Periodical account published. Annual Register. Establishment of the Ottawa station. Establishment of the

	Putawatomie station. Half-breed lands. Bill for organizing the Indian territory laid before the different tribes. Putawatomies divided. Baptisms. Three delegations examine the country,	513
CHAP. XXI.	Mission to the Osages. Their deplorable condition. Ordination. Death of a female missionary. Journey to Washington. Bill for the organization of the Indian territory passed by the Senate. Baptist Convention. Death. Superstition of the Chippewas. General council among the Cherokees. Expedition to Florida. Journey to the Putawatomies. Indian bill laid before the southern tribes. Improved condition of the Choctaws. Delawares desire laws. Patent to the Cherokees,	535
CHAP. XXII.	Small-pox. Death. Journey to Washington. Difficulties at the Creek station. Fourth number of the Annual Register. The Indian bill again passes the Senate. Death of a missionary. Baptisms. Missionaries appointed. Wyandauts. Stockbridges,	554
CHAP. XXIII.	Condition of affairs at the close of 1839. Puncas. Omahas. Station abandoned. Pawnees. Otoes. Ioways. Sauks. Kickapoos. Kauzaus. Delawares. Shawanoes. Books printed. Ottawas. Weas and Piankashas. Peorias and Kaskaskias. Putawatomies. Osages. Quapaws. Senecas and Shawanoes. Creeks. Cherokees. Choctaws. Obligation of the Baptists,	560
CHAP. XXIV.	Encouragement to go forward in the work of Indian reform,	577

APPENDIX.

No. 1.	Speech of the Hon. Wilson Lumpkin, in the House of Representatives, in Congress, on the bill for the removal of the Indians, May 17th, 1830,	589
No. 2.	Report of the Committee on Indian Missions of the Baptist General Convention, in May, 1832,	595
No. 3.	Speech of the Hon. A. H. Sevier, in the Senate of the United States, on the "bill to provide for the security and protection of the immigrant and other Indian tribes west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas," February 23, 1839,	598

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Introductory Remarks on the origin of the Indian Tribes: their condition; the relation which they have sustained towards other Nations since their acquaintance with them, and their prospects for the future.

SECTION 1.—On the present occasion we can devote but little time to the consideration of the subjects which we here propose to notice. Inclination would lead us to write a volume, and should life last sufficiently long, this inclination may one day be gratified. But we shall here attempt no more than a brief sketch, one object of which will be to show to the public that its credulity in many respects has long been heavily taxed with misrepresentations.

At what period, in what manner, and from what place the aboriginal tribes came to America, or to which of the nations of the earth they are most nearly related, are questions that never can be satisfactorily answered.

The most common opinion in regard to their descent, and one which our minds seem predisposed to adopt, is, that they are the descendants of Israel. Volumes have been written in favour of this hypothesis, and the evidences in its support have been presented in the most imposing manner, but such proof as is necessary to a belief of the fact assumed is still wanting. One tells us that he has heard the Indians on festival occasions use the Hebrew word Hallelujah. But others, among whom is the writer of this, have listened to the unmeaning whooping alluded to, and could perceive no similarity which a fruitful imagination could not as easily conjecture resembled words of some other language. Certain it is, the Indians do not design, by their unmeaning halloing on festival occasions, to say any thing like "praise ye the Lord." So far as we have any knowledge of Indian language, no dialect admits of this form of speech. Praise ye the Lord, cannot be literally translated into Indian.

It appears to us that a just comparison of languages would be the best test of the origin of the aborigines; but it appears equally plain that no just comparison has been instituted. The vocabularies of Indian language have usually been made by or through careless, ignorant men, and we have never seen a list of words, of any of the tribes with which we have formed some acquaintance in our twenty years' intercourse in Indian affairs, that is not too imperfect to be used for scientific purposes. Take for instance words of most common use in our intercourse with the Indians, as for example, the words meaning father, mother, brother, sister, &c. The language of not one of the tribes which ever lived between the Mississippi and the Atlantic ocean, admits of this mode of expression; in this case the noun cannot be expressed without the pronoun. In vocabularies of the Putawatomie language *nosah* is given for the word father, but *nosah* is *my father*, *kos*, *thy father*, *ossun*, *his* or *her father*. *N'sessah* is *my elder brother*, *messah* is *my elder sister*, *n'sheemah* is either *my younger sister* or *my younger brother*, gender not being implied. In Indian speeches which have appeared in print, the speaker is invariably made to use the word brother or father, and in every instance he is misrepresented, because he has no word for *father*, *mother*, *brother* or *sister*, as is seen in the example above. If he uses the word father, he says *my father*, *our father*, &c.; he has no separate word for either *brother* or *sister*; if he uses the word brother, he says *my elder brother*; if he speaks of a sister, he says *messah*, which is *my elder sister*; if he omits the adjective *elder*, he is compelled to imply the adjective *younger*—he uses the word *n'sheema*, which, as before stated, is *my younger brother* or *my younger sister*.

A list of similar blunders might be extended, until the patience of the reader would be exhausted. We select these, the most familiar and the most easily understood, as a specimen of the inaccuracy of Indian vocabularies, and to show how little we can gain by them.

In a comparison of languages for the purposes under consideration, the idiomatic construction would of course be particularly noticed; but it should be borne in mind that the Indian is the pupil of nature—the construction of his language, as well as his modes of obtaining subsistence, is such as is most natural. Hence we would expect to find its construction most nearly resembling the most ancient languages.

Customs among the Indians have been compared with Jewish customs with much satisfaction by those who believed these people were of Israel's line; but it is observable that *all* the

customs referred to among the Indians are such as are perfectly natural to people in their condition—precisely such, and such only, as we would expect to find among them, had they descended from any other people, and hence no argument is furnished in favour of the hypothesis under consideration.

We are referred to certain ceremonies respecting uncleanness and sanctification, in which the parties for a time are separated from other company; but with the Indians this retirement is the result of that sense of decency which belongs to human nature every where, the observance of which is more rigid in refined society, and less in barbarous. The poverty of the Indians in regard to raiment and houses increases the necessity for separation from company.

We have been referred to Indian festivals as bearing a striking resemblance to those of the Jews, particularly the festival of the Indians which occurs at the use of the *first ripe fruits* of the season. They have three festivals of this character in the course of the year, and each is evidently produced by causes perfectly natural, and need not be attributed to tuition. The first occurs in the commencement of the summer, when the people, after a separation from their villages, and after wandering in an unsettled condition during the cold season, commonly in small detached parties, return to plant their vegetables, and to commence the culture of their small patches. The second occurs at the time when their corn, (maize,) soft in the ear, becomes eatable; and the third takes place after they have gathered the fruits of their fields, at the commencement of cold weather, when they are again about to separate on their winter's wandering. They, like all other people, are *social* beings, and after a separation from kindred and acquaintances eight months, are happy to see each other at the common place of annual meeting; and from the same principle that festive parties would be induced in civilized society, under circumstances as nearly similar as we could expect to occur, the Indians collect, to *talk*, to make speeches, to eat, beat their drums, rattle their gourds, sing and dance. Their feasts, or dances, one appellation being about as appropriate as the other, or *parties*, as we would denominate them if they occurred among ourselves, happen frequently, and depend on the disposition of an individual to enjoy a social interview with his friends. But a festival at meeting in the spring season is observed as a national affair. A second regular national meeting is expected when, after the season of greatest scarcity, which is that between assembling at the villages and this time, they can gather enough from their fields for

a plentiful feast; zest is given to this occasion, and the hilarity promoted by music, dancing, &c. In the autumn they again assemble for the parties to take leave of each other, and that a similar feast should occur is perfectly natural.

Their division into *tribes* has been compared to the patriarchal state of the Hebrews. But this division is a necessary consequence of their seeking subsistence chiefly from the spontaneous productions of nature, so that whether they be Israelites or not, the division into tribes and the existence of chieftaincies are things which we should expect to find. The seeking of supplies from the chase, or from spontaneous vegetable productions, necessarily leads to a division into parties, and the division into tribes is the result of the same causes operating upon a larger scale, and dividing them into bands under leading chiefs. A man by heirship may be a chief, but often this honour is attained because in the first instance a man may choose, with a selected few, to separate from the main body of his people, on account of the greater facility with which supplies could be obtained for a small company than for a large one. His age or his industry secures respect, and ultimately he becomes an acknowledged chief; his followers sometimes strengthen their number, and from a small band grow into a tribe.

The absence of idol worship among the aboriginal tribes, and their belief in the existence of God, have been esteemed striking proofs that they were the descendants of Israel. We have been astonished to notice the stress which has been laid upon this matter by many; it seems to us that a little reflection, uninfluenced by some of the dogmas of theology which were in better credit a century ago than ought to be awarded them in this age of light, would make it apparent that idol worship, or a disbelief in the existence of God, could not possibly prevail among any people in the condition of savage Indian tribes. These have no regular system of imparting religious instruction; the Indian is the *pupil of nature*; his religious opinions are natural; he is a rational being, and as such as naturally feels that there is a Creator of himself and of the wonders by which he is surrounded, as that he contemplates any other matter. To this Almighty Being he gives such a name as appears most appropriate, the Great Spirit, the Father of Life, our Creator, &c. He acknowledges his superintending providence, and endeavours to secure his favour or avert his displeasure, by such a sacrifice, offering, or gift, as he fancies will be most acceptable. He feels his own accountability to God, and hence believes in the immortality of the soul and future rewards and punishments. This

he believes, not because he has been taught it, either by tradition or otherwise, but because God has made him a *rational being*. "For God hath showed it unto them—for the invisible things of God, from the creation to the present time, being evidently seen and their existence understood, even by the heathen, by the tangible objects of creation, even the 'eternal power and godhead' is believed, so that the savage as well as the civilized sinner is without excuse."*

Infidelity, whether in the form of atheism, deism, or idol worship, is a folly into which nature or common sense never did, and never will lead a man. Let man follow the dictates of common sense, and he feels that there is a God, and that there is a hereafter in which his soul shall be rewarded or punished for the deeds done in the body. Life, in connexion with immortality, or a holy and happy immortality, is "brought to light through the Gospel," but immortality itself, or a future state of existence, is the natural belief of man, though he be destitute of the Gospel.

The Indians have not time to attend upon religious instruction; their precarious habits prevent the concocting of systems of mythology or the organization of a priesthood. To these the mind of depraved man is prone; and so far as the Indians have opportunity, it is thus misemployed in forming systems, which invariably are more absurd in theory and of more cruel tendency than are the views and practices of such as have less leisure. Hence upon the entrance of Europeans into Mexico, where the natives were found in larger bodies, and were more civilized than in countries farther north, there was the semblance of idol worship. Even the poorest tribes have a little leisure to think and talk about religious things, and just so far as time and circumstances have enabled them to build up a system, it has invariably proved to be composed of absurdities in theory, and clothed with debasing ceremonies.

Man, though he knows God, hates holiness, which implies sanctified affections; and hence, when he feels the necessity of pleasing God, he devises a service congenial to his love of unholiness. With his predilections for unholiness, he starts wrong, and the distance that he diverges from truth is in proportion to the extent of the system which he forms. The mythology of the Hindoos leads them into greater absurdity than that which attends the Indian. But place the Indians in circumstances which would enable them to form a system of mythology, and at the same time withhold from them the light of the Bible,

* See Romans I—18, 19, 20, 21.

and, like other heathen, they would not stop short of worship rendered to the creature instead of the Creator. It appears to me that nothing of the kind can be more evident, than that the absence of idol worship among the Indians is owing to their unsettled habits.

If we could suppose that the absence of idolatry was because they had descended from the Jews, we should expect to find with them some sentiment of dislike to idol worship; but we perceive no such thing. They have no impressions about idols, either for or against them. They sometimes pay religious adoration to the sun, to the elements, or to a mysterious production of nature: such, for instance, as the curious salt-spring, on Solomon river;* but the idea never enters into their head that matter, which is completely under their control, is to be worshipped.

Considerable stress has been laid upon the traditions of the Indians, some of which have been thought to favour the idea of their descent from Israel; but it is probable that none have ever become acquainted with the traditions of any tribe, until after the tribe had derived some notions of Christianity from white men. They are, in their original state, so destitute of any thing like historical knowledge, that they would, with great facility, receive an impression from a hint respecting the creation, the flood, &c. All traditions of a religious cast, which are not utterly unworthy of notice, savour of sentiments which evidently were not common to Indians before their acquaintance with the whites.

Nothing can be more opposite to fact than the supposition, that important information may be deduced from the traditions of the Indians, either in matters of religion or of history; and, moreover, many of the Indian traditions of which the world has been informed have been manufactured by other people. From tradition and imaginary hieroglyphics among the Indians of Mexico, the Abbé D. Francesco Saverio Clavigero wrote the history of those nations, commencing with generations before the discovery of the New World by the Spaniards. Now, one who will make himself acquainted with the Indians at their homes, will be induced to believe that he could, with equal accuracy, compile a history of the tribes of Missouri from the paintings upon the buffalo robes which we get from them. The same kind of vanity which induced the conquerors of those countries to call their chiefs emperors, kings, and lords, prompted them to represent that the natives were so much civilized

* See an account of this natural curiosity on a subsequent page.

that they had a regular system of hieroglyphics, which foreigners, without instructors, could learn to decipher. Since we have become acquainted with the Indians, every one can perceive that what they termed kings, noblemen, &c., were only what we term Indian chiefs; and that their hieroglyphics were little, if any thing, superior to the marks which our Indians in the present day use to distinguish their family, their clan, or their tribe, or their freaks of fancy in painting a skin. The Spaniards' own story of the conquests of Mexico, though it is told with the design of conveying the idea that the people were so far civilized that regal governments were organized, and kingdoms and empires formed, nevertheless, shows that they were at best only poor, naked savages. Witness the victories obtained by a handful of Spaniards over thousands, and, as they reported, tens of thousands of Indians. Can any one in his senses believe that this could have been done, if those people had risen materially above the common condition of unimproved Indians? All Indian tribes, in their original condition, have been found to be the reverse of courageous; yet where is the tribe of Indians in the recesses of our vast wilderness, or where has ever been the tribe, since a faithful historian has written, that could be whipped a thousand to one, as the Spaniards say they whipped their Indians?

If the Mexicans had advanced in civilization as far as has been represented by their conquerors, it is reasonable to suppose that they would have discovered the art of manufacturing iron, and of subjecting animals to servile purposes, in bearing burdens or in draught. They were surrounded by thousands of buffaloes and elks, and were in the habit of using their flesh for food and their skins for clothing, and yet they had never subjected one to labour. All wooden materials for building had to be prepared without an edged tool, and all, whether wood or stone, had to be transported to the place of building by human strength alone.

Hieroglyphics and tradition were the guides which led the Spanish, and some other visionary writers, back into ages past, and enabled them to present the history of the Aborigines in a form more easily understood.

That little reliance can safely be placed upon Indian traditions is susceptible of demonstration. Inquire of an Indian what were the circumstances attending the first acquaintance of his nation with white men, a few generations past, and you will find him exceedingly deficient in knowledge, and wandering into great error. His story will be just such as we ought to

expect from a people who keep no records, who have no established system of giving or receiving instruction, and who are not in the habit of burdening their minds with study or reflection.

It would afford us pleasure of a peculiar character to be able to believe that the aborigines of America belong to the select nation which claims so large a place in our sacred history. It may be so: none desires, and most certainly none will ever be able to prove the contrary—to prove that they are not Israelites. But I must declare, that in all that I have read, or heard, or seen, I have not discovered a particle of evidence that carried conviction to my mind that they were of that family.

It is most rational to suppose that they are nearest of kin to the nations nearest to them, or from whom a passage to this country would appear least difficult, either by accident or by design. It is, therefore, commonly conjectured that they originally came to the American continent somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bhering's straits, because in that place other lands approach near to this. There is also some physical resemblance between the Asiatics on the coast nearest to us and the aborigines of our country. An emigration may have been designedly effected at this place. But it is most probable that this country was peopled by accident. If a company had voluntarily emigrated to this continent, it is reasonable to suppose that they would have brought with them some knowledge of the arts of civilized life, and that some traces of the existence of such knowledge would have been found among them by Europeans. A knowledge of the use of iron would hardly have been lost, where the necessity for that article was continually very great, and in a country abounding with iron ore. The subjecting of animals to servile purposes of burden or draught would have been resorted to if they had landed with the design of forming a settlement.

Rev. Mr. Parker, a Presbyterian missionary on the Columbia, informs us in his journal of an exploring tour beyond the Rocky mountains, that in March, 1833, a Japanese junk was driven to and wrecked upon the American coast, about two degrees north of the Columbia river. Out of seventeen persons, only three survived the wreck. These were found by Captain McNeil, of the *Lama*, and brought to Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia river, and, in the following October, were sent away by ship, with the design of restoring them to their country.* It is also

* We regret that our author has not stated some other circumstances attending this affair, which would have enhanced the value of his information. In this respect his account of this matter is very deficient.

reported, upon good authority, that other vessels belonging to the coast of Asia have been forced by contrary winds to some of the South Sea islands, within the last few years. These facts confirm the probability of the conjecture, that America was first peopled by accident. Most probably a vessel at sea was forced on to this coast from the nearer parts of Asia.

Some, who have attempted to compare Indian languages, have discovered such differences as to induce the belief that these people have sprung from three or four different nations, and hence suppose that some may have found their way to the continent from Greenland and elsewhere. That a migration from Greenland is possible, none will doubt; but few can consider it probable; and we feel very confident, that a fair investigation would not furnish any evidence in favour of this hypothesis, from affinity of languages. A great difference in words used by different tribes, to express the same ideas, is known to exist, but we feel pretty confident that the construction of all Indian languages is essentially the same. The Indians being destitute of writings, and by their habits of obtaining subsistence often parted asunder in small bands, each of which may be the nucleus of a tribe, are subject to rapid mutations of language.

SEC. 2. But whether the aboriginal tribes all sprang from the same root, or from various companies, it is evident that all commenced their residence in America under similar circumstances, and have continued in similar circumstances ever since, with the exceptions produced by the presence of the whites. These circumstances have been peculiar to themselves. The original condition of the Indians is every where virtually the same, and in all places different from that of any other people ever known in the world. In speculations, which were rather idle than useful, we have sometimes been told of the advances which man has made from a barbarous to a civilized state, and step after step has been pointed out, as though civilized nations had risen from this barbarism; when the truth is, that no nation, since the world was made, excepting the aboriginal tribes of our continent, ever existed in the barbarous state supposed. Adam and his sons were not in this barbarous condition—Cain was an agriculturist, and Abel a shepherd. Noah and his family left the ark and entered upon similar pursuits. And ever since, the most barbarous nations have had domesticated animals, have known the use of iron, and in some other respects have been superiour to the lowest state of barbarous existence.

The aborigines of this continent had no domestic animals

except their dogs, which so nearly resemble the wolf as to justify the belief that they are of the same species. They manufactured no metals and no cloths. The world before them afforded room for them to obtain subsistence chiefly or entirely from the spontaneous productions of the earth and the waters, and they never adopted any mode, or invented any thing which was not essentially necessary in their mode of obtaining subsistence. They did not study the improvement of mind, because the man would be as expert a hunter if left to grow up to maturity under the guidance of his necessities, as if he were trained to the studies of a philosopher. The cultivation of the earth was resorted to so far only as was necessary to supply the deficiency of the chase or other sources of subsistence, and their efforts in mechanic arts extended no further than their simple mode of living positively required.

In the commencement of this wild career of savage life, we contemplate human beings left, for the first time since the creation of man, in a state of nature. Fancy portrays them struggling through the waves to an unknown shore, and perhaps separated forever from companions which still cling to the wreck of their ship, or have sunk in the deep to rise no more. No human voice tells them where they are, to what dangers they are exposed, or what methods to adopt to preserve their existence. "Here man begins a state of existence as if in another world, where all is unknown except the brook at which he slakes his thirst; without an implement of iron to fell a tree, to till the ground, to butcher an animal of the forest for food, or to catch a fish in the waters, or even to dig a root from the earth; no spinning-wheel or loom on which to manufacture a garment, and no seed-corn from the mother country.* They have every thing to learn; and the brevity of life (especially under the calamities of this new state of things) soon deprives this destitute race of profitable recollections of the arts of life of the mother country. No book of record preserves the story, or encourages succeeding generations to improve their condition, by telling them of what is done in other lands. Tradition alone tells of the past; but with them no regular institutions exist to preserve the veracity of tradition," and all the past becomes shrouded in obscurity, which increases with the distance of time. Nature would not postpone her demands: they must eat, and a sufficiency could only be obtained by the application of all their mental and physical energies; and it is probable that, by the

* Maize, or Indian corn, was indigenous and peculiar to America. The small grains, such as wheat, rye, &c., have been brought from other countries to this.

time that experience in their new modes of living had become such as to afford occasionally a little leisure, their anxieties and sufferings had reduced them to the condition in which they were discovered by Europeans.

This must have always been a state of great hardship and suffering. Nevertheless, it was evidently a tolerable state, because under it the people must have increased from a *few* to *millions*. So far as we have data in this case, their numerical decline commenced with their first acquaintance with white men, and that decline has been continuous with all tribes who have intercourse with the whites. And since all tribes, or nearly all, on the continent, have formed some acquaintance with the whites, all are thus declining. The exceptions applicable to some of the emigrant tribes within the Indian territory, will be noticed hereafter.

Much that has been said of the condition and habits of the Indians is fabulous. The world is too much inclined to suppose that there are some traits in Indian character peculiar to that race, and which might not exist with others, though they were placed in similar circumstances; and writers too often, for reasons not obscure, endeavour to frame their story so as to suit this morbid taste for the romantic. Facts declare that the Indians are only what others would have been, had they been placed in similar circumstances—neither better nor worse, neither more nor less wise, or virtuous or vicious, than others, and naturally no more attached to hunting or war than others. In a word, they are precisely what we should reasonably expect to find them.

It is not our business now to write a history of the Indians, We shall attempt nothing more than a correction, so far as our limits will allow, of such prevailing mistakes in regard to Indian character as evidently hinder their improvement.

1st. The Indian is represented to be exceedingly taciturn, and of phlegmatic temperament, so that he is seldom aroused into cheerful conversation by the most animating circumstances, and cannot be induced to notice with interest magnificence in any form in civilized life.

With regard to loquacity and cheerfulness, precisely the reverse of the above representation is the fact. Among themselves they are as cheerful as any people upon earth, excepting when severely oppressed with want; and even then, if they are not cheerful, they are patient. So far from being taciturn, they are rather loquacious than otherwise; they not only detail facts,

but, like other depraved people, run into romance.* They relate anecdotes for amusement, and appear to enjoy themselves well in this kind of sociality, as is evinced by frequent and loud peals of laughter. They have their improper as well as their proper amusements. Of the former, are racing, playing at games of chance, and dancing. In these they greatly indulge when their circumstances bring considerable numbers into the same place.

That they should not manifest surprise or wonder at what we deem magnificent is perfectly natural. Take, for example, a splendid edifice. You admire the workmanship, because your thoughts have been turned more or less to the erection of buildings, or to their convenience and elegance. The Indian, who has never aspired to any thing more substantial or elegant than a fragile and temporary hut of bark, or of skins or flags, does not class your objects of admiration with those of his own. But show the Indian something wonderful in his line of things, and you will find that his soul is tempered like your own. The philosopher gazes with rapt astonishment upon the starry heavens, while others contemplate them with little more interest than they do the ceiling of their room.

The supposed dulness of the Indians has been assigned as an obstacle to their improvement, when no such dulness belongs to Indian character.

2d. The aborigines have been supposed to be strongly predisposed to the pursuits of hunting and war. The world has long been taught to believe that so strong were their predilections for these pursuits, that it was almost or quite impossible for civil institutions to direct the mind, even of Indian youth, in any other channel. A greater mistake than this could hardly be conceived. Fearless of successful contradiction, we aver that the supposition is unphilosophical and at variance with facts: that Indian youths early receive impressions which incline them to the pursuits of the chase, none pretends to question; but these impressions are made by the hunting habits of the people with whom they mingle, and are not innate. The son of a blacksmith, on becoming able to lift a hammer, might choose to use it, because it was the business of his father, and one, the operation of which he had witnessed from his first recollections. But who ever heard of a race of men who came into the world with so strong a propensity to work in iron that it was almost or quite impracticable to induce them to follow other trades? And who

* See a subsequent page.

would not brand with absurdity the supposition that an Indian child was born with an inveterate predisposition to hunting or war? The absurdity is too glaring to require argument to expose it; and yet, absurd as it may be, it would seem that a large majority of those that can find time to think of the Indians, believe it to be true. Some of our most scientific countrymen have published these opinions, and the people, without consideration, have generally adopted them. Certainly "a sober second thought" would make the former blush on account of publishing opinions which the most common capacity can perceive are repugnant to reason, and well known matters of fact; and the latter to feel ashamed of their credulity. Indian children, taken into our schools before they have received impressions from the habits of their kindred, manifest no more fondness for the bow than the white children with whom they mingle; they adopt the same amusements with equal facility; and every body knows that white youths, taken captive by the Indians, easily adopt the habits of their captors, and become assimilated to them; proving to demonstration that there is naturally no difference between the natural propensities of the white and the red man.

The Indian directs his attention to hunting or fishing, to digging roots, gathering wild fruits or plants, or peeling the tender and juicy bark of trees, for food. As his necessities command his attention to one or more of these pursuits, his thoughts and conversation dwell more upon them than upon other branches of the business of life, for the same reason that the agriculturist thinks of his farm, and the merchant of his merchandise. Nothing can be more obvious than that Indians have naturally no uncommon fondness for hunting—they are not born hunters in disposition, but are made so by surrounding circumstances; and hence, a change of circumstances would be followed by a change of habits.

Of similar character is the silly supposition that the Indians are strongly predisposed to war. Why should we think so? It would be as absurd to suppose that Indian children came into the world with a peculiar passion for war, as to suppose that they were born hunters in miniature, or that white children were born cobblers or tinkers. If the Indians are a warlike people, they are made so by extraneous causes, and not hereditarily. But the Indians are *not a warlike people*. The whole history of our settlements in America, and of our operations in forcing them from their countries, to which they were strongly attached, shows that they were not a warlike people. By degrees the tribes near the white settlements acquired courage to fight, until

their *yell* became dreadful to their invaders; but the Indian in his original condition is precisely the reverse of what he has been represented to be. A few Spaniards could enter their country, and enslave and butcher their hundreds of thousands. If the natives had been as courageous as civilized white men usually are, the task of destroying their invaders with sticks or stones would have been easy. All along the coast of the Atlantic, small companies of Europeans planted settlements; the natives invariably, sooner or later, resisted their encroachments; but their want of success, with their vast advantages of numbers, proved that they were neither disposed nor accustomed to hard fighting.

That the aborigines in their original condition are not a war-like people, we have at this time positive evidence close at hand, in a comparison of the unimproved indigenous tribes between the white settlements and the Rocky mountains, with our roving frontier citizens, or with the tribes which have long resided near the whites. Hundreds of these Indians at a time, well mounted upon horse, and equipped for battle with gun, bow, and shield,* have attacked, without success, comparatively small caravans of traders returning from Santa Fe to the State of Missouri. They commonly contrive to rush suddenly upon the caravan, coming at full speed, with a front as widely extended as their numbers justify, hallooing, and exhibiting an appearance as frightful as possible, in the hope of frightening the animals of the caravan, and throwing the company into disorder; but on discovering that the assailed are not to be driven from their places by their impetuous onset, they wheel and retreat before coming near enough either to kill or to be killed. In one instance nine men, who had gone about eight miles from the company, were approached by sixty Pawnees and Camanches, in open prairie. The assailed found nothing to shelter them from their assailants but a little unevenness of ground occasionally, and their enemies had not the courage to surround and take them, and all safely rejoined their company. Three Shawanoes, not far from the same period, followed a company going to Santa Fe, with a view of joining it. They were attacked by more than three times their number of Pawnees. The former found a small grove or thicket, in which they sheltered and defended themselves until night afforded them an opportunity of leaving the place unhurt,

* An Indian's shield is a piece of raw buffalo hide, divested of the hair, and round, about twenty inches in diameter. The arm passes under leather thongs fastened on one side, by which means it is held in a proper position to shield the person from arrows or bullets, the force of which it would in common repel.

when they returned and brought a scalp, which they had taken from the Pawnees. The Shawanoes, like many other tribes, have been near neighbours to the whites ever since the settlement of the latter in America, and on this account have acquired the feelings which arm men with courage in deathful contests with their fellow men.

The Kauzaus and the Pawnees have been at war from time immemorial. The former reside on the Kauzau river, and the settlements of the latter commence on the same river, less than one hundred miles above them. The intervening country is open level prairie, without mountain, marsh, or water, to obstruct a passage from one tribe to the other. The Kauzaus number only about seventeen or eighteen hundred souls, and the Pawnees about ten thousand. The latter are sufficiently numerous to surround the Kauzau villages and cut them all off, and thus at once rid themselves of their troublesome neighbours. But in doing this they would necessarily encounter some danger and lose some lives, and therefore the Kauzaus are permitted to live, though not a year elapses without mutual depredations upon each other's property, and the loss of a few lives on both sides.

Evidences are almost endless that the Indians in their original state are *not* a warlike people—they are not as much inclined to war as civilized man is, and as they advance in civilization they become more courageous in contending for their rights, whether real or supposed. The time has come for us to understand facts in regard to the Indians. We have been too long deluded and amused with false theories and romantic stories about the aboriginal tribes; and even at this time fictions are crowded upon public credulity, under the name of truth, served up to the taste of the novelist. When the true character of the Indians comes to be drawn, even from the showing of the visionary historians who have laboured to produce a different impression, how exceedingly foolish their pages will appear, in which they have described in glowing colours the propensity of the Indians for war! and how ridiculous will be the attitude of those who predict the failure of all efforts to improve the condition of the Indians, because their supposed fondness for hunting and war is unconquerable!

Our limits will not allow us to enlarge upon this subject, but as great stress has been laid upon the opinions we oppose—as they have long and almost universally prevailed—as they have furnished heroes for romance and pictures for fancy—as they have been the ground of apology for oppression, and a pretext

for withholding justice—as they have produced an impression that this portion of human beings are in their minds radically different from all other human beings, so that like causes operating upon them will not produce effects like those produced upon others, and hence Christians excuse themselves for not applying the golden rule, of doing to others as they would desire others to do unto them, and thus withhold the blessings of the Bible from the Indians, who are perishing by their side, we desire to be *distinctly heard, and understood, and noticed*, upon this subject. Here, then, *we declare, that the Indian is naturally no more inclined to hunting than men of other nations placed in similar circumstances; and he is LESS inclined to war than men who are more civilized than he.* In confirmation of the truth of this declaration we appeal to the whole history of the intercourse of white men with the Indians, although the whole has, perhaps, been written under the belief, or with the design to produce or foster the belief, that the contrary of what we declare was true. As soon as the reader divests himself of the impression that there is something *queer* in the Indian character, and settles in his own mind that all human beings *must necessarily be the same kind of beings*, he will discover from the history of Indian intercourse, to which we have appealed, that the Indian has been misrepresented. Surely when we reflect upon this subject philosophically, the absurdity of the statements and theories, the truth of which we deny, will appear so glaring that there will be few who will not regret that they had prevailed, and wish that they could be obliterated, and not transmitted to posterity, to produce in them such feelings, in regard to us and generations which preceded us, as we realize in regard to blue laws and other indications of the foibles and mistakes of our forefathers.

The Indian, instead of being a taciturn, dull being, inclined only to hunting and war, as he has been represented, is, when not oppressed with suffering, cheerful and conversable. This is precisely what we ought to expect to observe among them; because, elsewhere, we find the spheres which are least improved and refined are most inclined to cheerfulness and talk. He is no more inclined to the chase than the white man who, having been made a prisoner in youth, has grown up by his side. He is *less* disposed to war than others, and meets an enemy with greater dread than men more civilized. Sanguinary contests are seldom, and when they do occur it is when one party has greatly the advantage of the other. Usually their wars are carried on without great sacrifices of life, according to the

example furnished above in reference to the Kauzaus and Pawnees.

We find, therefore, in the Indian nothing peculiar—his habits are formed by his circumstances. Like other people, he is susceptible of impressions, and these may be made by the same means that are employed in reference to others, and with equal success.

SEC. 3. There is among them little order or regularity in reference to any thing. Their departure from and return to their villages are directed by the seasons. There are some rules observed in relation to games and dances, the ceremony of adoption, the making of an atonement for crime, &c., and there exists a semblance of order in reference to chieftaincies, the conduct of councils, and retaliation for murder. The public have heard much said of their modes of courtship and their ceremonies of marriage. We have been sorry to see some of these accounts inserted in our *religious* newspapers; and one such has recently come before the public, which belongs to a course of lectures, which are being delivered in many cities in America and in Europe, on Indian manners, and attended by exhibitions. Here the young man who desires a partner is made to whistle on a wooden instrument prepared for the purpose. This is understood by others, and negotiations between parents and parties follow, until the nuptials are completed according to rule or custom. This makes a pretty good story, but its misfortune is, that it is altogether fabulous. We have been more than twenty years among the Indians, and have formed an acquaintance with more than twenty tribes. We have inquired of missionaries and others in the Indian country, and of the Indians themselves, and desired them to state when or where a marriage with any kind of ceremony ever took place among the Indians, unless prompted by a desire to imitate the customs of their civilized neighbours, and we have never yet heard of one single instance of the kind. We have often seen and heard the Indian's flute, on which our celebrated lecturer makes the lover play his wooing notes, but, excepting when the flute is played for innocent amusement, it is employed by a worthless fellow, who, if he attract company, finds it suited to his own character, and such as a common share of self-respect, even among savages, would teach a man to shun.

As might be expected among a people in the condition of the Indians, the obligations of marriage are supposed to be exceedingly lax. The parties come together without ceremony, and when either becomes tired of the connexion, they separate with

equal facility. The child remains subject to the control of the parent only as long as it may choose.

They are without law. Theft and murder, and other crimes, are not punishable, only as an avenger chooses to retaliate upon the aggressor.

In this condition they were discovered by Europeans. The latter seeing many places at which Indians had once resided, left destitute of inhabitants, supposed that the neighbouring tribes had once been much more numerous than they were at that time—but of this there is no evidence. The story of a fatal disease having nearly depopulated large districts in the regions of New-England, a short time before the landing of the Pilgrims of Plymouth, is improbable, and the mistake is easily accounted for by all who are acquainted with the Indians in their own country. Their necessities often compel them to change the locations of settlements.

The supposition that they had either been preceded by a more civilized people, or had themselves degenerated from a more civilized state, is also unfounded. Ancient mounds, fortifications, and other indications of the residence of human beings, made probably centuries before the sprouting of our oldest oaks, show that they were made by savage and not by civilized men. Hewn stones are not found; but stone, when used, is as it was taken from the brook or loose quarry. In their construction there is not a nearer approximation to order in arrangement than would suggest itself to a savage mind. Indians erect their huts in their villages without regard to the order which would produce streets. They are placed promiscuously, as leaves fall from the trees, and they never plant their corn or other vegetables in rows. Similar indications of indifference to order characterize the ancient works to which we have alluded. All which prove that our modern Indians are really the aboriginal race, and that they never had been more civilized than they were when we first became acquainted with them.

We have never heard of a skeleton being found in one of those ancient mounds, with which was connected any marks of civilized man. Native copper ornaments, and trinkets of shells, &c., are sometimes discovered with the skeleton, showing that the habits of those people were the same as those of our modern Indians. They are still fond of such ornaments, and are in the habit of placing such things, and weapons of war, &c., in the grave with the dead.

Some have supposed that the number and magnitude of those mounds are such as to indicate the existence of a race of men

more industrious than our modern Indians. But in regard to this, it is evident that conclusions have been drawn too hastily. A little reflection will show that the amount of labour required in their erection did not surpass the common industry of the savages. Suppose a mound to be forty feet in diameter at its base, and to rise by steps, one foot in height and a foot and a half in depth, to the height of thirteen feet, with a level surface on the summit four feet in diameter. It would contain about six thousand two hundred and thirty-three cubic feet of earth, or a fraction less than two hundred and thirty-one cubic yards. To deposite on the mound one cubic yard of earth, would be a moderate day's labour for one man. Therefore the erection of the mound under consideration would employ two hundred and thirty-one persons *one day only*. Among the Indians, the women would perform as much of this kind of work as the men, or perhaps more, and more than twice this number of persons able to labour are frequently at one village, or one encampment. It is probable that the custom of mound building existed several centuries. If so, we shall only be surprised that they are not more numerous. Either the uses to which they were appropriated did not require them to be greatly multiplied, or the people were not tenacious of the ceremonies connected with them, or they were too much averse to labour to increase their number. Within the Indian Territory we have ninety-four thousand inhabitants; one fifth of these, or more, are competent to labour. This gives eighteen thousand eight hundred labourers; if each of these would, in the course of twelve months, bestow only as much labour on the erection of mounds as would amount to one day, eighty-one mounds would be built in one year. And if the work should progress at the same rate, with an equal number of inhabitants, three centuries, twenty-four thousand three hundred mounds would be constructed within the Indian Territory. This would be more, by a great many thousands, than have ever been found within an equal area. A few reflections of this kind must satisfy any one that the supposition that such a people as our Indians could not have erected those mounds, on account of their aversion to labour, is entirely groundless.

There is another fact in relation to this subject, which, if properly weighed, would clear it of much perplexity. Very many of the large mounds reported to be artificial are not so, and upon examination would appear to be natural. Many of those natural mounds have probably been improved by the labour of man. In those vast prairies of the Indian Territory, artificial mounds

are exceedingly rare, but natural mounds of an imposing appearance are very numerous, many of which rise one hundred feet or more from the level of their base. The appearance of these, in their distinct form and isolated situation, is often such that the observer can scarcely resist the belief that they have been formed by the hands of man.

We are also prone to run into wild conjectures concerning the purposes for which these mounds were erected. That they were either watch-towers or defences is too unreasonable to be supposed: neither their construction nor their locality favour, in the remotest degree, any such hypothesis. If we will suppose that the mound builders observed some such forms of worship as prevailed among the heathen in the days of Moses, and for about five hundred years afterwards, all becomes easy. In those days there was a strong and widely prevailing propensity to worship in *high places*, to which the Scriptures refer more than forty times. Those *high places* were, no doubt, artificial, because they were frequently demolished, and it was a righteous act to destroy them. I think we have good reason to believe that our mounds were formed for religious purposes, like those spoken of in the Scriptures, and that more or fewer of the dead were buried in them we know from examinations which have been made.

In view of the whole matter, we shall discover nothing at variance with the supposition that those mounds were erected by the Indians, and when they were in a condition similar to that in which Europeans first discovered them.

SEC. 4. It is not probable that much had been thought or said among the Indians about metes and bounds of country, before the formation of white settlements, because all had so much room as to render it unnecessary. Nevertheless, the tribes occupied countries which they respectively considered their own, and upon which others could not intrude without a supposed trespass. It was esteemed the province of each to roam or rest within its own country. We must not suppose that because the Indians were in their villages in summer, and the residue of the year were roving or encamped in clans on their hunting grounds or near their fisheries, that they laid no claims to any particular country. Evidently each tribe did claim a tract of country, and there is much evidence too, and some of it not very pleasant for us to reflect upon, that they *felt the love of country*. It sometimes happened that a tribe was driven from its territories by the invasion of a stronger, and was in a formal manner granted permission to locate upon the lands of others. There

were some places which combined local advantages, which occasioned contests for possession by various tribes; among these was the country near the rapids of Grand river, in which the Ottawa Baptist missionary station was located, in Michigan. The rapids of the river afforded a fine fishery. The great number of mounds, &c., show that it had long been a place of resort for multitudes, and ditches and embankments prove as incontestibly, that the parties have struggled for the mastery and for the occupancy of the ground.

Whether Europeans on coming to America supposed that the Indians, on account of their unsettled habits, had no ideas of claims to land, and were strangers to the love of country, or whether they supposed that the claims of these naked, unlettered, and comparatively inoffensive people, ought not to be respected by civilized nations, is uncertain. But, whatever were their views, they at once decided that the aboriginal tribes were not the owners of the lands they occupied, and therefore they laid claim to the whole country, without a knowledge of its extent. This first step in Indian affairs was *wrong*, and was the beginning of a policy unrighteous in principle, and oppressive in its operations. This principle was universally adopted. All denied that the Indians were the owners of the country, and therefore the whole was divided among European Governments, each of which made such assignments as it chose to companies or individuals of its subjects.

We can now easily perceive that our ancestors were in error, and that the Indians were unquestionably the real owners of this country. We can bring no argument in favour of the claims of any people which will not apply in favour of these. Europeans claimed by right of discovery: but the Indians had not only discovered, but had *lived* in this country for ages. But it may be argued, that the Indians lived chiefly by the chase and by fishing, and cultivated but little land: the same may be said of thousands of the citizens of the United States; and yet they are competent to own lands. What law of nations ever prescribed the quantity of land which must be cultivated by a given number of citizens, in order to render valid the claims of the nation to territory? Such a thing was never heard of. If it be contended that the cultivation of the soil is necessary to the establishment of a right in land—which, by the way, every body knows is not the case—then have the Indians established their claims; for they were on our arrival, and had been from time immemorial, cultivators of the soil. Their patches were small; nevertheless they often furnished supplies to the Europeans

when in want. The aborigines are a barbarous, uncultivated people. But where is the rule by which we may determine the extent to which they must advance in what we call civilization—what shall be the extent of their knowledge of letters, and of the arts and sciences in general, before they can be competent to hold lands?

SEC. 5. The different European Governments, which took possession of this country, did not always resort to the same means to produce the removal of the natives, in order to make room for white settlements. The Spaniards depended chiefly upon their arms. Further north, upon the Atlantic coast, milder measures were commonly resorted to. But every company, from every nation which landed, was resolved to remain, if possible, whether the Indians consented or not. The Pilgrims of Plymouth came to this country without the consent of the Indians, and were resolved, if practicable, to take possession of the Indians' lands, whether they were or were not agreed. The Indians did pretty soon object to their encroachments; but the immigrants fought them manfully, and conquered and took possession. We have instanced this case, because we suppose that that company was more virtuous than most others that made settlements in those early times, and to show the principle adopted by the best of men in reference to Indian rights. The name of William Penn is favourably known in reference to this subject: but nobody believes that he intended to abandon the design of forming a settlement on the Delaware river, if the Indians should not consent to it. He went there with the same design that other people went to other places—to take the country, whether the Indians consented or not. He, like others, chose the measures which he deemed most expedient in the case: these, we admit, were more humane than some others adopted; but the *principle* upon which he proceeded *was the same*.

If the Indians had been esteemed the owners of the country, exercising a rightful sovereignty over it, the immigrants would have entered it with some feelings of respect for them, as they would have entered the territories of other nations. It would be a very singular circumstance, if a company of her Majesty's subjects from England should now enter the United States, under the authority of their sovereign, and attempt to establish their own laws, regardless of those of the United States. In wars the Indian tribes were not treated, by the early European settlers, as men who were contending for their country and their rights; they were proceeded against, and treated, when vanquished, as *rebels*.

As driving the Indians from their territories by force was always attended with serious inconvenience, the more easy method of inducing them to remove by means of *treaties* was generally resorted to, when practicable. These treaties were, in reality, unmeaning conventions; or if any definite meaning did belong to them, the world has not yet learned it. The operations we understand; but we can perceive no propriety in denominating the promises exchanged at these meetings a *treaty*. The whites resolve to occupy a certain additional portion of land which the Indians claim. They call the latter into council, and propose their terms: that is, if the Indians will leave the ground peaceably, they shall be paid so much; and, in order to render the propositions less unpalatable to the occupants, the land is called theirs, and they are asked to *cede* it, &c. But the Indians are not ignorant of the fact that the whites are resolved to have the land, and that they have power and disposition to execute this design. The terms proposed, therefore, are accepted; not from choice, but from necessity.

Usually the desires of the Indians cling to their country with wonderful tenacity, and if the tribes treated with had been allowed to choose for themselves, it is probable that no treaty would ever have been made. In order to obtain a public acknowledgment of assent at treaties, preliminary measures are usually put into operation to secure the assent of some or all of the most influential chiefs and principal men. These measures are not in all cases such as a "tender conscience" could feel easy in managing; but they produce the desired effect, and negotiators on our side excuse themselves by supposing that "the *end* sanctifies the *means*." The members of the tribe generally, not being subject to the same influences that are felt by their leaders, invariably complain of the hardship of yielding up their country. But there is in the case no alternative.

In the progress of treaty making it was discovered by white men who mingled with them, that those occasions afforded favourable opportunities for acquiring large sums of money with facility. First, there were their children of half Indian blood, whom they requested should be provided for by a reservation of land, or in some other way; but these provisions were often appropriated by the father to his own use. Secondly, the trader makes out a large account of debts due him by individuals of the tribe. In order to give the transaction the colour of fairness, the principal men in council are induced to acknowledge the account to be just, and to request that it should be paid: at the same time they may know that it is almost wholly fictitious.

They have their reasons for doing so. They are obliged to part with their country, and they are tempted to take all they can get for it. If they will acknowledge the justness of the account, and stipulate for its payment, the creditor will allow them a pecuniary consideration. Strong objections to the allowance of these *claims*, as they are usually denominated, are frequently felt by the commissioners engaged in the negotiations; but the claimants having adopted methods which will certainly influence the Indians, the latter cannot easily be induced to sign the treaty, until the payment of these claims is stipulated for. We believe that few important treaties have been made in late years, at which the purchase of the consent of the traders was not necessary to their consummation.

SEC. 6. The policy introduced by the early settlers, and adopted by all the colonies, was transmitted to the United States when the Union was formed; and until some of the tribes were located within what we term the Indian Territory, they never were admitted, in principle, to be the sovereign owners of land. Some remnants of tribes yet remain in the State of New-York and in New-England. But those bands have never been permitted to act for themselves: they cannot alienate their lands without the consent of the States within which they respectively lie, and in all cases they are subject to such restrictions as the State chooses to impose.

At the conclusion of the last war, between England and the United States, the commissioners at the treaty of Ghent agreed that a line through our northern lakes to north latitude 49° , and thence with that line of latitude to the ocean, should be the dividing line between the two Governments. This line, extending across the continent from east to west, was, with the exception of a small portion at the east, through countries to which it was not pretended that the Indian title had been extinguished. If the aboriginal tribes had been admitted by the two Governments to be the real owners of the soil, they would not have claimed the right to divide the country between them. It would be a strange thing for the United States and the French Government to call a convention, and draw a line through the British possessions in Canada, and mutually admit that each had jurisdiction on its side of the line! This is what the British and United States Governments did in relation to the Indians' country, and in that convention they agreed that "the recognition of a boundary gives up to the nation in whose behalf it was made, all the *Indian tribes* and countries within that boundary." Here *all* the country north of the line agreed upon is declared

to belong to England, and *all* south to the United States; and this is not all—the *Indian tribes* are “*given up*” to each party, as well as the country they inhabit. The article implies that both the country and the tribes which inhabited it were subject to the control of the parties prior to this convention; hence they had the power of “*giving up*” the country and the Indian tribes, and at this convention the parties agree upon the portion which each shall subsequently control.

It is evident that the Indians were not admitted to be the owners of the countries they inhabited, and to this agree text books on laws of this nature: “What is the Indian title? It is mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting. It is not like our tenures; they have no idea of a title to the soil itself. It is overrun by them, rather than inhabited. It is not a true and legal possession. It is a right not to be *transferred*, but *extinguished*. It is a right regulated by treaties, not by deeds of conveyance,” &c.*

Whatever might be the meaning of Indian treaties, it is evident, from the whole history of the intercourse between the white and the red men, that the former did not admit that the latter were the owners of the countries they inhabited; and this fact is confirmed by negotiations between European nations which claimed possessions in America.

We have already intimated that this denial of Indian rights was the beginning of our troublesome policy in regard to Indian affairs. The British, Spanish, and French Governments, commonly acted in these matters more consistently with the principles adopted by all, than did the United States, though with less kindness towards the Indians. Those Governments commonly took possession of the country, from time to time, as their convenience required, without the forms of a purchase. The United States adopted as a general, though not an invariable rule, a course less at variance with a sense of justice than the measures of her neighbours. The forms of a purchase from the tribes were observed. As her citizens became more enlightened by her republican institutions, they manifested greater regard for the rights of the Indians. Hence the price paid for the extinguishment of Indian claims increased with the treaties of almost each succeeding year, until within the last few years a hundred

* We here write from notes made at a former period, and have not the authors, from which our quotations are made, at this time, before us; but we believe our notes are correct in referring to Vattel, book 1, sect. 81, p. 37, and sect. 209, book 2, p. 96; Montesquieu, book 18, c. 12; Smith's Wealth of Nations, book 5, c. 1; Cranch, vol. 6, p. 121.

thousand dollars have been given for a cession of land, for an equal quantity of which the United States, a few years previously, would not have paid five thousand dollars. But still the inconsistent policy was continued.

SEC. 7. It is not our business to argue questions upon this subject, but to state facts, a knowledge of which may be of use in reading the following history. Nevertheless, it will, perhaps, not be too great a digression for us to state what we think experience, under the light of our republican institutions, now says, pretty distinctly, would have been a proper policy to observe between European immigrants and the aboriginal tribes.

If the interests of Europeans required them to make settlements in America, they had a right to do so only by observing due respect to the rights of the inhabitants of this country. If their necessities forced them from the mother country, they were justifiable in forcing themselves into this; but this forcible seizure of this country could not affect the validity of the claims of the aborigines. In times of war, possession, regardless of the wishes of the owner, is taken of his lands, buildings, and other property, and the same is applied to uses which the emergency demands. But in justification of this exercise of power, the necessity of the case is alone urged. The rights of the owner are not denied; they are admitted, and he is entitled to ample remuneration for his losses.

We therefore suppose that Europeans, on coming to this country, ought not to have set up a claim to it upon the principles of the right of discovery, because they had not discovered an uninhabited country; the country was covered, though not densely, with inhabitants; and the claims of these inhabitants ought not to have been denied, merely because their modes of obtaining subsistence were in some respects different from those of Europeans. When *necessity compelled* the latter to enlarge their settlements, they ought to have made ample remuneration to the owners.

Here we may be met by the objection, that the condition of the Indians rendered them incompetent to the management of their own matters, and therefore the management of the whole matter devolved upon the whites. Be it so. This could not affect the principles of justice between man and man. We properly assume the management of the property of the minor, because he is incompetent himself; but his rights remain unimpaired. If his property be taken for public purposes, he is entitled to its value in something else. On account of his incompetency to act for himself, we may not purchase or other-

wise get his property from him, even with his acknowledged consent, without securing to him its full value. But although the Indians were at first incapable of properly attending to their own interests, and most of the tribes have not yet risen above this condition, yet, latterly, exceptions have occurred. The Cherokees, for instance, have become capable of understanding and pleading for their rights.

Having admitted that the aborigines were the owners of the country which our necessities had required us to wrest from them, we should have made them ample restitution. This we have not done. And as they were incapable of managing advantageously the price which we had paid them, it should have been managed by us with the scrupulous care of the guardian over the ward. This we have not done. We have kept them, from generation to generation, in a state of entire dependance upon us, when we ought to have applied to their improvement the amount justly due them; the judicious application of which would, in a short time, have elevated any tribe above the dependant condition of wardship. We have in word, especially in the instruments called treaties, admitted that they were a nation, or body of people competent to act, and that they were the owners of the soil, when, in *fact*, we admitted no such thing. As children may be amused with fair speeches and toys, and be induced to yield to any measure proposed, so have we endeavored to amuse the Indians. When these milder measures failed, and the Indian, though incapable of publishing his own story to the world, *felt* that he was oppressed, and manifested a disposition to contend for his rights in his own way, he has been compelled to yield to superiority of power.

This is the unfortunate policy which was entailed upon our Government by that which preceded it. In this lame manner we hobbled onward, from the first of our existence as a Government. The inconvenience of the policy was increasingly felt as the Indians near us advanced in civilization, and, therefore, self-interest would have prompted the desire that they should remain ignorant and dependant. But whilst a sordid principle of self-interest seems to have had too much influence upon many who have been among and near to the Indians, it has been otherwise with our citizens generally. Sympathy for the suffering red people, and a desire to do them justice, have rapidly increased within the present century; and with increasing solicitude the inquiry has been made, "what can be done for their relief, and how shall we discharge the debt we owe them?"

The answer to these inquiries at once suggests a change of measures. Happy would it have been for the present generation if our ancestors had made this change; but they did not do it, and it remained to be done by us. A change in an unvaried custom, which had been adopted at the time of our first settlement in America, could not be effected without objections on account of clashing opinions and clashing interests. But we happily perceive that the current of public opinion is gradually turning into a channel favourable to a radical change in the management of Indian affairs. Circumscribed to small spheres by the settlements of a people of other interests, in the institutions and prosperity of whom the Indians could not participate; thrown by the prejudices of their neighbours around them out of society, and rendered ineligible to an equality with them as associates, neighbours, or citizens; exposed from childhood, through life, and from generation to generation, to the contaminating influence of both the scum and the dregs of the society of those who surrounded them; prevented from indulging such habits of savage life as made it tolerable, and allowed to retain so much as, in their present condition, is hurtful; each band isolated in its settlement, and deprived of the advantages of union with other tribes; each forming a little band, without any profitable connexion with any other people upon earth; without the prospect of deliverance, for the present or succeeding generations, from this deplorable state of degradation and dependance—they have not prospered; and reason and observation declare, that neither they nor any other people could prosper under these circumstances. They are not within the influence of the common incentives to action. What is there in their condition to call forth either mental or physical energy? What can they do to improve their condition? Like prisoners, circumscribed to the limits of the prison-yard, they may have a competency of food and raiment; but this is the utmost of their hopes. They may acquire an education; but whatever may be the extent of education, or the weight of talents, the most ambitious can aspire to nothing superior to the condition of an Indian chief—a principal man among a few dependant people, who, like himself, are under the control of others. Under these circumstances they have been perishing ever since the formation of European settlements in the country, and under them they would continue to decline until the last had perished.

SEC. 8. The Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws, were not so rapidly hemmed in by white population as other tribes further north; they were allowed the occupancy of a large extent of country, the locality of which was such as long since

excluded the temptations of the hunter state. The tribes respectively had an opportunity of stimulating each other by counsel and conduct to improve their condition; and in the resources of their country, their combined counsels, and mutual examples, they had prospects which made them feel, in some degree, a sense of national character, national dignity, and that kind of laudable ambition which aspires to greatness.

These tribes had made such advances in civilization, that at the beginning of the present century, or at least within ten years afterwards, the extent to which their agricultural and manufacturing operations were carried seemed to entitle them to the appellation of a civilized people. They were so, indeed, when compared with the unimproved tribes. In these improvements the Cherokees were foremost. Written laws were adopted by most, or all of those tribes; and at length the Cherokees resolved to appear as an independent Government among the other Governments of the earth. They formed a constitution, and asserted their sovereignty within the limits of the country which remained to them, after frequent and extensive cessions made to the United States. In asserting their sovereignty they meant precisely what they said. They showed their neighbours that they held all persons who stepped within their lines subject to their laws, and amenable to their tribunals. One instance was the arrest, trial, conviction, and punishment by whipping, of a worthless white man who entered their country and stole a horse.

Then came the crisis. Before the existence of the Government of the United States, the claims of Georgia and Virginia extended west to the Mississippi river. Excepting comparatively small settlements of whites, those countries were occupied by various Indian tribes; but, in the estimation of Europeans, these tribes were not the rightful owners of the soil. When these two colonies united in the confederacy of States, their claims to their respective territories were recognised by the confederation; and when, at different periods, agreements were made between these States and the General Government of the United States, the settlement of those western territories by citizens of the United States, was stipulated for. It seems that no formidable obstacle to the removal of those tribes, as fast as the advancing white settlements required it, was at that time anticipated.

It had so happened that the tribes which lay within the claims of Virginia, like those within the States further north, were not in a condition to complain with success. Although, in their inability to wield the pen in defence of their rights, they

sometimes used the tomahawk most terribly, they were forced to yield. The southern tribes, though advancing in civilization, it was expected could be removed as fast as necessary. This opinion was so general, and its correctness attended with so little suspicion, that, in 1802, the General Government, in a negotiation with the State of Georgia for lands towards the Mississippi, agreed to incur the expense and trouble of removing the Indians from the limits of the State of Georgia, "as soon as it could be done peaceably, and on reasonable terms." It is evident, from the lax phraseology of this agreement, that the parties supposed the existing policy in relation to Indian affairs would produce the removal of the Cherokees without serious inconvenience. But when the Cherokees rose up and asserted their national character, and their rights as a sovereign Government, the State of Georgia became alarmed; she appealed to the General Government for a fulfilment of its engagements, made in "good faith," and for a valuable consideration, to extinguish the claims of the Cherokees. It was then discovered that this could not be done "peaceably, and on reasonable terms."

At that time the ugly features of the farce of treaty-making began to be viewed in a true light, and the perplexing nature of the policy in relation to the Indians severely felt. The State of Georgia pleaded for the fulfilment of promises made to her by the United States, and the Cherokees pleaded for the fulfilment of promises made to them in treaties, with apparently "good faith." Of course the United States could not fulfil its engagements with both parties. The State of Georgia asked for nothing more than each of the other States had claimed for itself, and which all had conceded to her: she claimed the right to manage all men and matters within the limits of the State. But here was a Government of Cherokees set up *within* her limits. She was unwilling to yield her rights to jurisdiction, and she was unwilling to lose the country claimed by the Cherokees.

This incongruity of a sovereign and independent Government, competent to the enactment and execution of its own laws, and to enter into negotiations with other Governments, existing *within* one of the United States, will hereafter appear so clear, that future generations will wonder how such a proposition happened to find advocates. Moreover, if the claims of the Cherokees to sovereignty had been admitted, twenty other tribes, or more, within the United States would have been induced to form similar Governments, each claiming similar rights to rule all within its jurisdiction. The result would have been a perversion of order and the abolition of all Government.

It was argued that the Cherokees were originally, and at present, the real owners of the country which they claimed, and that their rights had been repeatedly admitted by the General Government in treaties with them; and that in these treaties the Cherokees had been recognised as a *nation*. All this was true; and the perplexities which we at this time felt on account of the bad measures adopted by the first European immigrants were only what would have been realized fifty years before, if a tribe of Indians, like the Cherokees, had at that time asserted similar rights. Our country knew that the Indians had been injured; but to do them justice at this time, in the way that the Cherokees demanded, would ruin the Government of the United States; and it was impossible to believe that such a sacrifice was proper.

Our intercourse had not borne heavier upon the Cherokees than upon other tribes, nor indeed so much so, as was evident from their numerical strength and their comforts, when compared with other tribes; and yet it was remarkable that the sympathies of the public were almost wholly concentrated upon that tribe.

The lands of the Cherokees extended into other States besides the State of Georgia, none of which manifested the least inclination to admit the Indian claims. The State of Georgia was most interested, and took the lead in action. Between the years 1828 and 1830, she enacted laws, the force of which was to be felt within the Cherokee country, and the result of which was to be the abolition of the Cherokee form of government. Among these laws were also some which were designed to rid the Cherokee country of such white men as would exert an influence prejudicial to the interests of the State of Georgia.

SEC. 9. About this time the subject of Indian affairs was peculiarly perplexing. Nothing could be more certain than that the tribes, and remnants of tribes, could not be allowed a permanent resting place on the east of the Mississippi, without the almost unanimous consent of the people of the United States, because the privilege to fill that region with citizens of organized States had become incorporated with our federal compact. It was equally certain, too, that the several bands could not prosper in their isolated condition, each separated from the other, and distinct from all other people, and pressed by its neighbours, to the will of whom it was subject. The necessity for a change of measures had become apparent. We owed the Indians a debt which we could not pay in *kind*; therefore, we must make restitution in some other way. Their just

claims to land and sovereignty could not be satisfied on the east side of the Mississippi. This could only be done on the west of the State of Missouri, and the Territory of Arkansas, in which region State claims did not exist. That country was exclusively the property of the General Government, and it could be secured to the Indians as certainly as lands could be secured to her own citizens. The tribes being placed together, would mutually assist each other in their advances in civilization. Enjoying the prospects of a permanent home, and encouraged by their numerical strength, they would naturally feel something of national character, and would aspire to an equality with their white neighbours. A meeting of delegates from the several tribes, in a general council, once a year, or oftener, would tend to harmonize their feelings, and stimulate all to improve their condition. The council would acquire the essential properties of a Congress, or a Legislature of one of our States. They would cease to be distinct bands of men, *without law*, headed by chiefs, and subject to the custom of retaliation; but they would be under the protection of such laws as, from time to time, they should find to be necessary. These laws having been enacted by themselves would sit easily upon them, at the same time the circumstances of contemplating them, and the interchange of views which would take place in making them, would doubtless have a happy effect in enlarging their minds and in promoting their attachment to the institutions of civilized man. The brief authority of chieftaincies would disappear in the increasing lights of civil government, and all the ramifications of the system of Indian agencies (the whole of which are well calculated to promote savage habits) would soon be repudiated. The system of Indian agencies was never necessary, but always wrong. The only colourable pretensions in its favour are found in the uncivilized habits of the Indians, over whom agents are placed by the Government, somewhat in the character of overseers. But as the Indians advance in improvement, the imaginary necessity for such overseers vanishes. The Indians, in their own country, could manage their own affairs. The United States being bound, in moneyed and other obligations, to every tribe, it was expected that the confederacy would be represented at each session of Congress by one or more of their own people, chosen by themselves, and attending to the interests of their countrymen.

This condition of the Indians would be similar to that of citizens of the United States in new countries; and they being "men of like passions with others," would doubtless advance in

improvement at the same rate, making the proper allowance for their present degradation. Schools could be established among them regularly and systematically, and the missionary would not, as in other places, find his flock diminishing in number, and the people of his charge perishing, but precisely the reverse; the same as ministers find their congregations enlarging in new settlements of white people.

Necessity on the one hand, arising out of bad measures, adopted under an erroneous estimate of Indian character and rights, and a desire on the other hand to rescue the red people from extermination, and elevate them to the comforts of civilization and the richer blessings of Christianity, have induced the Government to set apart a country in the West, as the permanent residence for the nearer tribes, in which the experiment of a change of measures may be fairly made. Should this experiment succeed, as it doubtless will, and the nearer tribes become prosperous, similar measures may be applied to those more remote. Other colonies can be formed in suitable districts within the vast wilderness inhabited by Indians.

Some brief historical sketches of the collocation of the tribes within the Indian Territory, and their present condition, will be found embodied in the following History of Missions.

HISTORY OF MISSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Correspondence, and appointments to Missionary service. First efforts. Location on Wabash River, Indiana. Journey among the Delawares. School commenced. Necessity for removal. Second tour among the Delawares. Sickness. Baptism of the teacher. Journey to Fort Wayne.

On the 26th March, 1817, I wrote from the western part of the State of Indiana, to the Board of Managers of the Baptist Missionary Convention for the United States, that I should be happy to accept an appointment from it, to labour as a missionary on the Mississippi river. A preaching tour which I had performed in that country the preceding year, and inquiries made of me by the agent for the board, Rev. L. Rice, had directed my thoughts towards St. Louis, as the most eligible place of location. The great want of preaching, which was obvious among the destitute white settlers in those frontier regions, had induced me to employ most of my time among them, and a desire to continue those labors still predominated in my mind. Missions to the Indians were at that time a secondary consideration, and the same was evidently the case with the Baptist Board of Missions, as appeared from their proceedings and inquiries. About the date of my application to the board for an appointment, they wrote me through Mr. Rice, inviting me to accept of their patronage, and these letters passed each other on the road.

In May, the Rev. J. M. Peck and Rev. J. E. Welsh were appointed missionaries to the west, and directed to locate at St. Louis. I was requested to labour further east, and to inform the board what places in Indiana and Illinois were most destitute of preaching; in complying with this request, I expressed a desire to extend my labours to the *Indians*.

On the 17th October I received an appointment from the

board, to labour as a missionary for one year. I was instructed to give attention to the Indians as far as practicable, but as a number of counties in Indiana and Illinois were described as the field of my labours, and as my appointment was limited to *one year*, I could not suppose that the board had contemplated that I should do any thing of importance for the Indians. By this time my anxiety to preach the gospel to the Indians had become great. But I was so much discouraged by the limited terms of my commission, that for a while I abandoned the idea of extending my acquaintance to them during this year. The inquiry of a gentleman, who was not religious, if I would not soon make an effort to preach to the Indians, aroused a more laudable zeal in their behalf, and I resolved that, notwithstanding I had no assurance of patronage beyond the current year, I would, the Lord willing, make an effort to establish a mission, and to employ the remainder of my life and labours in the promotion of their temporal and eternal welfare.

On the 24th of November I applied to Gen. Thomas Posey, United States' agent for the Weas, Miamies, and Kickapoos, in Indiana and Illinois, for information respecting the condition of those tribes, and for his aid in introducing a mission among them. He approved the design, and kindly promised his co-operation. Matters were so far matured that I was about commencing actual operations among the Weas and others, when a sudden check to my arrangements was occasioned by the death of the agent, which occurred in March, 1818. I lost no time in applying to those who succeeded Gen. Posey in the Indian agency for their co-operation, and in June, at the time of paying the Indians an annuity, I was introduced to them by the agent. The subject of the mission was brought to their notice, and their reply was as favourable as could have been expected from uncultivated Indians, who were not prepared to appreciate the advantages of education, and who had not felt the want of religious instruction; but it was by no means such as was desired. It seemed to be the result merely of Indian courtesousness. They spoke to the following effect: "Yes, we are very glad to see you, and to hear your propositions to benefit us. We believe you are sincere; we will think of this matter, and at a future opportunity we will give you an answer," &c.

The Government annuity was paid to them in goods. The quantity which the agent stated to be due them was laid in a pile on the earth. This heap was divided by two Indians, who alternately took a piece of goods; and when it was necessary to divide one, the measurement was made by extending the

arms apart at full length. On these occasions the Indians are not favoured with an opportunity of comparing their receipts with an invoice; both quantity and price are left to the honesty of Government agents who deliver the goods.

At this meeting two lads—the mother of one of whom was Putawatomie, and of the other Wea—were promised to me as pupils in school by their respective fathers, who were Frenchmen. As those boys were related to respectable Indian families, and as each of them could speak English, it was hoped that they would be of much advantage as interpreters, &c., in the commencement of a school. This matter ended in disappointment; for when, subsequently, the school concern was in readiness to receive them, their fathers, who were Roman Catholics, objected to placing their Indian sons in the school of a Protestant, lest “they should lose their religion.”

In order to elicit interest in the subject of missions in the western States, I issued, in July, a circular, explaining our designs, and appealing to humanity and religion for patronage. This was circulated pretty widely in the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky. While absent from my family, upon a tour of some weeks among the churches of Kentucky, our eldest child, a daughter, between thirteen and fourteen years of age, sickened and died of typhus fever. This stroke was the more severe, on account of its occurring in my absence. Nevertheless, we afterwards believed that the event was sanctified to our benefit, in inducing us with less reluctance to let go the hold which our affections had upon people and things in the regions of civilized society, and in enabling us to trust *all*—our children, ourselves, and all our interests—to God. In view of taking up our abode in the Indian country, we had felt great anxiety on account of this daughter; our other children were small, but she was of an age to make it particularly desirable that she should enjoy the benefit of a good school in the midst of good society. We could not think of keeping her with us in the woods, and it seemed not very convenient for us, in our frontier country, to leave her in a suitable place, especially as the mode of life upon which we were entering would likely deprive us of the means of meeting the expenses of a favourable situation. But our Heavenly Father, by one stroke, taught us not to feel undue anxiety for any thing on earth, not even for our children; and we afterwards, for our motto on the subject of our children, wrote in our journal the words of the Psalmist—“‘I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.’ Our children may be injured by our residence in the

Indian country, and so they might become worthless were they brought up in good society. But the additional risk on account of their residence in the Indian country will be more than balanced by the mercy of Him who has called us to labour there." This confidence in God has not been disappointed; and we mention it here, for the encouragement of other missionaries who may realize painful anxieties on account of their children while resident among a heathen people. No parents were ever more happy in reference to the deportment of their children than we. Most of them have been taken from us, but we believe that they are in heaven.

We were exceedingly at a loss to determine by what means to establish ourselves as missionaries in the Indian country. The patronage of the board had been pledged to us only *one year*, and about nine months of this had elapsed. We rightly judged, as circumstances afterwards proved, that the uncertainty of the further patronage of either the Baptist board, or of others, would be increased, if the year should expire without a permanent beginning among the Indians in some way. A location in the border of the white settlements would be fifteen or twenty miles from any Indian village, and on many other accounts it would be unsuitable; but there was not time to make arrangements for locating at an eligible site in the Indian country. The distance between us and the board was such that we could not expect an answer to a communication in less than two months; but had it been otherwise, we should not have consulted the board upon the subject. During the tardy movement of Indian matters, I had been much engaged in preaching, &c., among the destitute white settlements; and this, I believed, was about all that the board had expected that I would do. I could not therefore expect that they would approve of a proposition to make a permanent location in the Indian country, and therefore I did not ask leave to do so. We resolved to show to those whom it might concern, that when we spoke of labouring for the benefit of the Indians, we meant precisely what we said; and having actually made a beginning among them, we hoped that if the Baptist board of missions should not continue its patronage, help would be obtained from some other source. As no further time was to be lost, I purchased a small tract of land a little without the white settlement, and as near to the Wea Indians as I could get, on which I erected two log cabins, which would answer, without great inconvenience, for the accommodation of the family and of a school.

It was on the 27th of October, 1818, that we set out for the

mission premises, a distance from our former residence of ninety miles. My commission from the board had ere this expired. With my wife and seven small children I went into the wilderness, to seek an opportunity of preaching Christ to the Indians, without a promise of patronage from any one, looking to Heaven for help, and trusting that God would dispose the hearts of some, we knew not who, to give my family bread, while I should give myself wholly to the service of the heathen.

Our separation from our church was affectionate—such as might be expected after a happy connection of eight years. On the evening preceding our departure, a meeting for prayer was held at our house, which was attended by many. We had previously consulted the church of which we were members, and had obtained its approbation of our course. We arrived at our station on the 30th October. We were so far in the wilderness that it was difficult to hire that assistance of labour which was needed at a new settlement, and, withal, we had commenced under circumstances which rendered the most rigid economy indispensable; and we therefore had to labour with our own hands much more than would have been expedient, could it have been avoided.

On the 2d November we hired Mr. C. Martin, to teach school. He was not a professor of religion; but, on the contrary, he professed to disbelieve the Scriptures. Under other circumstances, the employment of an infidel would have appeared improper; but I was alone, and found assistance indispensable. He was a young man of decent acquirements and good sense, and one whose sense of honour, we believed, would induce him on all occasions to adhere to the measures which would be creditable to a Christian mission. As a matter of economy, we designed to collect into a school a few white children, from some frontier settlers, for whose tuition we should receive a small compensation.

About the middle of November I was present, several days, at a meeting of Weas and Kickapoos, called by the agent; during which time I had several *talks* with them upon the subject of our mission. I had an interview of some interest with Peter, a Putawatomie, but was compelled to use two interpreters, one to translate from English to French, and the other from French to Putawatomie. This was a poor way of conversing upon subjects of importance, but it was the best that circumstances admitted. Peter said he was well pleased with my proposals; but, during the last war, his nation had suspected that he was too friendly to the people of the United States; and,

although he knew that a compliance with my overtures would be greatly to their advantage, he would not now be the *first* to accede to the proposals, lest he should increase the jealousy of his people. But I might feel assured that, although he should not be *first* in this matter, he would not be *last*. In pledge of which, he rose and gave me his hand, said he had confidence in me, that he would mention the subject to his people, and concluded by desiring me to go among them. While we were in conversation, a Kickapoo chief came in, to whom Peter mentioned the topic of conversation. "Ah!" replied old Kickapoo, "I would rather have a good dram of whiskey than to hear that."

On the same day I had an interview with several Delawares, who appeared unusually friendly, and said that they thought that some children for our school might be obtained at their village, and that their chief would be glad to see me. Two days after this, I reasoned with a Delaware, (Billy Killbuck,) who could speak English, on the propriety of schools. He promised that on his return from his present hunting excursion, he would place in our school his only child. This promise he never fulfilled, notwithstanding I frequently saw both him and the boy.

It was rarely the case that I found an Indian with whom I could converse, except through interpreters, and these were Frenchmen, traders, or United States' interpreters, and Roman Catholics by profession. Hitherto they had appeared friendly, but now they began to manifest a very different spirit; and the United States' agent appeared to be under the influence of kindred feelings, though professing at the same time much friendship for me. The United States' interpreter said publicly, though not in my presence, that "none but a fool would attempt to instruct Indians;" accompanying his words with a profane oath. They positively refused to interpret any thing relating to the subject of religion. About the same time the conduct of the Indians, which had previously indicated the warmth of friendship, became cool and distant, which I was obliged to attribute to the influence of those men. In his manner, a Kickapoo (the English of whose name was Flour) was an exception. He had heard me explain the objects of the mission, and had heard arguments in its favor, so far as could be done through those interpreters. During a day that we were both in the same village, I frequently met with him; he never failed, at meeting, to give me his hand, and with a countenance indicating affection, he would point towards his breast, and towards mine, and then towards heaven; but his words I could not

understand. At length I met him in presence of one of the United States' interpreters; Flour went through the usual ceremony, when I asked the interpreter what he said. He hesitated to interpret; but at length said, "the Indian says that he loves you as a brother in the Lord." I then asked the Indian, "Do you love God?" He answered in the affirmative. "Do you pray to him?" The interpreter now refused to communicate, and replied for himself—"The Indian does not pray, but sometimes he fasts." I was exceedingly distressed that I could not converse with him on the subject of religion; and after inviting him to visit me, which he promised to do, I left him, consoling myself that he was in the hands of a merciful God.

The agent had carried his professions of friendship so far, that he had, without solicitation, promised to employ two Indians, without cost to me, to accompany me on a tour through the Indian country, and to give me letters of introduction, &c. He had also been instrumental in making an arrangement with Stone-Eater, an influential Wea chief, for a formal council on the subject of the mission; but in all he disappointed me. I waited on him, and respectfully, yet plainly, told him that I was unable to account for these disappointments, which were unexpected. He endeavoured to apologize, or rather to supply the place of apology, by renewed expressions of friendship. I asked him if the two Indians, whom he had said he had sent for, to accompany me through the Indian country, had arrived, or would arrive soon. He replied, there were some goods at that place for them, and they would probably come after them. He had all along assured me that he would have them there at that time; yet I ascertained that he had not sent for them at all.

Never before had I been so sensibly affected with the unhappy condition of those miserable Indians. The whites furnished them with ardent spirits, under the influence of which the horrid shrieks, lamentable crying, and awful howlings, which emanated from their encampments, I thought would have been sufficient to awaken the compassion of all who could have heard them, except those sinners who profited by their ignorance and sported with their miseries.

With my measures thwarted, and my expectation of immediately doing something beneficial for the natives baffled by wicked men, I returned, sad enough, to my lonely family, late in the night. What is to be done? Shall we interpret our disappointments to indicate that we have mistaken the path of duty, or shall we at once adopt the maxim to increase our efforts

in proportion to opposing difficulties? We incline to the latter, and look upward, fully believing that an arm of flesh is too feeble to extricate the poor Indian from his lamentable condition.

I now concluded to make a tour through the Delaware country, and to extend my journey as far as a settlement of Shawanoes, on the frontiers of the State of Ohio, a distance of about two hundred miles. My object was to extend my acquaintance with the Indians, to obtain pupils for a school, and to ascertain where, and how, I could most successfully labour for their spiritual and temporal benefit.

On the 1st December, in company with Mr. Martin, whom we had hired as teacher, &c., I set off upon our journey. My wife and I both felt a good deal of anxiety at our parting. She was left in the woods, in unfinished cabins, with our little children, without any one near her interested in our enterprise; but, most of all, we were uneasy because we had not heard from the Board of Missions for a long time, and knew not whether they or any others would aid us in our undertaking; and we were not in possession of the means of proceeding without the patronage of others. We travelled on a path through the wilderness, so small that we lost our way, and had some difficulty to recover it; passed several Indian encampments, and at night made a shelter with bark, which we happened to find at an old deserted Indian camp. We had hobbled our horses, (tied their two fore legs together,) which, being less pleased with the place than ourselves, attempted to go back, and gave us some trouble in the night to overtake them.

On the following day we passed some Indian huts, but the owners were all absent on their hunting excursions, excepting a solitary woman and child. We slept on the ground, without any shelter. The grazing for our horses was so poor, that they seemed determined to return, and occasioned us two unpleasant jaunts in the dark, among the brush, to stop them.

On the 3d we passed through a Wea village. Not a house smoked with fire on that frosty morning, except that of a French trader. The Indians were on hunting excursions. There we found four Frenchmen and three Indians; one of the latter we hired, to put us in our path. We slept in a deserted Indian camp.

On the 4th, at noon, we arrived at a Delaware village. Mr. Conner, a trader, to whom I had letters of introduction, was absent; but we were well treated by his partner, both of whom, like most traders located in the Indian country, were married to Indian women. We were now travelling through the

country of the Delawares, and within the chartered limits of the State of Indiana. We lodged at night at the house of Betsy Pitcharker, a widow, with several children. I was happy to find her a Christian. She had united with the Baptist church in the State of New-York. She related to me her Christian experience, and conversed freely upon experimental religion. Her eldest child could read. She had two Bibles in her house. She said she would be happy to send four of her children to school, were it convenient.

At noon on the 5th of December, we procured a little corn for our horses, and dined at the house of an elderly couple, the wife being a woman of note, named Nancy, who could speak English tolerably well, and who was the principal manager of matters around her. I informed her of our endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the Indians, with which she appeared to be much pleased. We passed through several villages along White river, rode all day through rain and snow, and at night, when the storm had become still more severe, we took shelter in a deserted Indian wigwam, where, as usual, we made our own fires and prepared our own suppers. The wind and snow rendered my horse so uneasy, especially as he had nothing to eat except brush, that I resorted to the expedient of tying his two hind legs together, instead of the fore legs, as usual.

We left this uncomfortable place early on the 6th, and prosecuted our journey along a narrow path, leading through a brushy wilderness, with the bushes loaded with snow. We passed an encampment of wretched looking Indians, who appeared less hospitable than those people usually are. We had little to eat for ourselves, and still less for our horses; and having had an uncomfortable day's journey, were glad to enter the cabin of a white man on the frontier. We had now left the Indian country, and the two succeeding days' journey were over exceedingly bad roads of mud and ice, with here and there a house.

I had intended to visit the Quaker missionary station among the Shawanoes, which I now found myself unable to do. I spent some time with Mr. Johnson, United States' agent for the Shawanoes, Miamies, and some other tribes. We concluded that the most eligible place for our missionary establishment, which at that time presented itself, was among the Miamies on the Wabash, upon a tract of land about thirty miles square, reserved at a late treaty for the residence of that tribe. By agreement I was to meet Mr. Johnson at that place the following May, at which time he would aid me in making the necessary arrangements with the Indians.

Several considerations favoured this location; but there I should be compelled to communicate with the Indians through the medium of Roman Catholic Frenchmen, as interpreters; and so great was the influence of this class of men, that in order to obtain a favourable consideration of my business, Mr. Johnson advised me to secure the particular friendship of some such one, who would commend the mission to the natives. It was also agreed that I should accompany the agent among the Delawares, in the hope that we could there establish another mission. At this time we were so ignorant of the general indifference of Christians to the improvement of the condition of the Indians, that we imagined if favourable openings for missions could be found, and the means of support for missionaries be obtained, there would be no lack of men to enter upon this work of benevolence. Alas, up to this present time, facts show that in this matter we were sadly mistaken.

On the 15th of December I commenced my journey homeward; on the 17th we halted awhile at some Indian camps, which they were preparing to shelter them from the cold. A Shawanoe who spoke English, on being informed who I was, and what was my business, appeared very friendly. He spoke of the death of his wife, and the difficulty which he experienced in making comfortable three children left in his charge. I proposed to take them and educate them, to which he seemed ready to consent; and I was concluding to wait with him until he could prepare to accompany me home, when one of his neighbours came in and dissuaded him from his good intentions. This day one of my feet was a little injured by the frost; we slept on the frozen ground, without shelter.

On the following day we put up at the house of Captain Anderson, the principal chief of the Delawares. He was very hospitable, prepared food for us, and endeavoured to make us comfortable. He called in his interpreter, and listened respectfully to my *talk* upon the subject of our mission. I had been informed that he was decidedly opposed to education, and to civilization in general; and this information, I presume, was correct, yet he declared to me that he felt otherwise. He said that they were at present unsettled, and could give no definite answer to any of my overtures. "A little more than a year ago," said he, "the United States' agent advised us to adopt the habits of civilized life. At that time his word was very good; accordingly many of us procured cattle and hogs, &c. Scarcely had we commenced this course, when we were asked to cede our lands to the white people. Something of this has been

done; the white people now claim our country, and desire that we should leave it—and now we know not what to do! I think that the men who made the bargain with us have done wrong, and that they had not been authorized to purchase our country; and I hope the transaction will not be approved by Congress.”

I assured him that there were many white people who felt under obligations to do something for the relief of their red brethren, upon whose lands they were living, and he must not doubt this if he should perceive among some a different feeling towards them. He declared that he felt entirely confident that I lacked neither disposition nor ability to help them; he would speak of me and my business to his chiefs, and in the spring following he would be able to give me an answer, and said he would be happy to see me at that time at his house. Fifteen women were carrying fire-wood to the chief's door, from a distance of half a mile or more. They carried enormous loads, tied together with leather ropes, and swung upon their shoulders like a soldier's knapsack. At one time an old man addressed them in a speech of about fifteen minutes' length, which I was sorry that I could not understand. When their labour was completed they partook of a plentiful meal, and each carried away a small present of food. About one-half, or more, of the Delawares at this time lived in small log cabins, the residue in bark huts. Their prospects for improvement would have been promising, had it not been for the necessity which arose for their removal.

Within that same year, 1818, they had ceded their country to the United States; nevertheless, I discovered that many of them upon whom I called still hoped that they would not be compelled to leave it. On that subject I chose to be silent, notwithstanding their many inquiries. From the agent I had letters to Mr. Conner, a trader, requiring him to further my designs as far as opportunity would admit. This he appeared ready to do, but it was now winter, and the Indians generally were dispersed at their hunting camps, which to them were *winter quarters*, so that nothing effectual could be done. The weather was extremely cold, and we had found much difficulty in crossing streams of water, on account of the ice. White river we once crossed upon the ice, on a dark night. I had been unwell two days, when at our camp on the 20th I became quite sick. I left camp on the 21st with a considerable fever, and travelled in pain all day, and still became worse. We lost our way, and I spent another painful night on the frozen

earth, with the additional anxiety attendant on the circumstance of not knowing the right way. About ten o'clock the following day we recovered the small path. My fever, attended with delirium, increased until I was scarcely able to sit upon my horse. Had I not reached home on that day, I must have been carried thither in a litter, or have remained in the woods. The Lord knew how far I was from home, and said to my afflictions, "Hither shalt thou come, but no farther." I found my wife almost blind with sore eyes; still the Lord had been round about the family, during a time which had been lonely enough. It was about the last of January before I had so far recovered from this sickness as to be able to leave my room.

On the 1st January, 1819, we opened a small school of six scholars from the frontier white settlers, and one Indian boy, of the Brothertown Indians; he was boarded and clothed at the mission gratuitously. His mother at the same time came to reside in our family. About this time the measles prevailed in our family, and added not a little to the burden of Mrs. McCoy's labours; she, too, had a turn of sickness. These afflictions lasted until the latter part of February. We felt the want of missionary associates, and began almost to despair of doing much, without the co-operation of others. Nothing, however, so much discouraged us as the silence of the board; they had been informed of our proceedings, and of our desire to enjoy their patronage, but as yet we knew not that any would be willing to help us.

On the 9th January we received a communication from the board, which, though not exactly such as we desired, nevertheless gladdened our hearts by an assurance of their patronage. Under my embarrassments on account of being unable to speak any Indian language, I resolved, if possible, to acquire a knowledge of the Miami. As soon as my health admitted of my riding abroad, I visited some of that tribe, with a view of obtaining one to instruct me, but I was unable to make such an engagement. I then made an effort to obtain a white man who understood an Indian language to instruct me; in this I was equally unsuccessful. We also began to despair of doing much at that place, at which we had settled, not as a matter of *choice*, but of *necessity*.

On the 14th March I was prepared to make another excursion of some extent in the Indian country, but was prevented by a heavy fall of snow, and the anticipation of high waters. Five or six families of Indians spent the winter a few miles

from us, and probably designed to cultivate a little corn there the ensuing summer, to whom we hoped to extend our labours; but to our grief and mortification, some of our nearer white neighbours, having resolved on their removal, went to them on the 13th, and ordered them to leave the place within two days. This was an unauthorized and cruel proceeding, but the Indians prudently departed. We could not hope to succeed in meliorating the condition of the Indians alongside of people whose hearts were so manifestly destitute of the feelings of humanity.

In April my business required me to make a journey to Vincennes, a distance of about ninety miles. There I found Billy Killbuck, the Delaware, with whom I had formed an acquaintance some months before, and two other Delawares, in prison, for killing a white man. In a neighbourhood in which whiskey was vended to the Indians, these men had become intoxicated, and in an affray had committed this deed, for which they had been arrested. Killbuck seemed transported with joy on seeing me. I told him I was sorry to find him there. He said he was intoxicated when he committed the crime. I reminded him that I had warned him against drunkenness. "Yes," said he, "I well remember what you said to me that morning, at my camp." I said, you have done wrong, yet I cannot forget you; when I pray, I will pray for you. A white prisoner requested that I would then pray, which I did. Soon after the door was closed, I heard one speaking within, in a solemn tone; the jailor said it was Killbuck engaged in prayer. On the following morning I visited them again. On my inquiry respecting their condition, they said they suffered with hunger; and I could see that they were in great want of clothing. I carried them some bread, and a little calico for shirts. I visited them several times afterwards. About the time of their trial, they made their escape from custody.

The preceding January I had written to Hon. W. Taylor, in Congress, requesting him to endeavour to obtain from the Secretary of War permission for us to settle in the Indian country. The necessary permission was obtained, and reached me in April. This I hoped would be of advantage, if in May I should be able to join Mr. Johnson, the agent, in the Indian country, agreeably to our arrangement. During my absence to Vincennes, many Indians had frequented our house. Mrs. McCoy had no other company than a hired female, and our own children, and an Indian boy; nevertheless, the Indians on all occasions were respectful in their deportment, though they were often said to be insolent at other houses on the frontier.

On the 2d May I received a communication from Mr. Johnson, agent, whom, by agreement, I had hoped to meet in that month in the Miami villages, informing me that the agency of the Miamies had been given to a Dr. Turner. Here was another disappointment. The new agent was a stranger to us, and before we could take another step in the business of locating among the Miamies, I must make an acquaintance with him. About this time I received intelligence of the passage of a law of Congress, appropriating ten thousand dollars annually for purposes of Indian improvement, to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States. Disappointed in regard to my contemplated tour in the Indian country, I made another journey to Vincennes, to endeavour to obtain a portion of these facilities in aid of our enterprise. Several gentlemen united in a communication to the President of the United States, in favour of the measures which I had proposed. Although our hopes were not fully realized, yet this application for aid from Government, it was believed, was not without a good effect. On my return from Vincennes I found Mrs. McCoy and two of our children sick.

Indians frequently called upon us, but we had not been able to secure any regular attendance upon instruction, either in letters or religion. The latter part of May I concluded to make another tour through the Delaware country. It was with some difficulty that I found an Indian who could be hired for a reasonable price, to accompany me. At length I hired a Wea, who called himself John, an exceedingly worthless fellow. He left a little boy at our house; this we considered our second Indian scholar, though he was rather too small to study, and after a few months he was removed by his mother. Among Indians it is not always the case that children in a state of minority are under the control of their parents: they are often under the guardianship of an uncle, aunt, or some other relation. In this case John's brother claimed the boy. When we began to divest the little fellow of his few filthy rags, and clothe him better, his owner became jealous, supposing either that we were introducing an unwarrantable innovation of Indian habits, or else that we would acquire a paramount claim upon the boy. He wished immediately to take him away; and it was not easy to persuade him to allow the boy to remain.

On the morning of the 28th of May I again left our affairs about the mission house in charge of Mrs. McCoy, and, with Wea John, set out for the Delaware towns.

We travelled a very small path, and the day was rainy, so

that we found travelling through the wet bushes somewhat unpleasant. We stopped a little before night to avail ourselves of a shelter in a bark hut, in a small village, to which the proprietors had not returned from their winter's *hunt*. John could scarcely speak any English, and I spoke less Indian; so that we could not be very communicative, notwithstanding we employed both head and hands to assist our tongues. He was quite sprightly in making a fire, but the preparation of the supper I took upon myself, as I could better relish my own cooking than his.

Through the day we had passed many miserable creatures, some travelling on horseback, others wading through the mud and weeds on foot, and some lying in their wigwams; some half dressed, and others far less, and several of both sexes in a state of intoxication. John informed me that a few yards from where we slept, an Indian not long before had killed his wife with a knife, which was the third wife that he had murdered. About three nights previous to our departure, the brother of the same murderer, in a drunken frolic, killed two women with a tomahawk. Some others were injured in the same fracas.

I find in my journal the following:

“May 29. We had another day of rain, and consequently unpleasant travelling through wet bushes. About noon we halted, and endeavoured to make fire; but our spunk had become damp, and John, after trying a long time without success, in a fit of impatience threw away both spunk and flint, and left us destitute of the means of making fire. A few hours ride brought us to Eel town, (Wea,) which I would willingly have passed without stopping, but we were under the necessity of seeking for the means of making fire; and before we could obtain these, we had called at many huts. The Indians were generally in a state of intoxication, as usually happens on their return to their villages in the spring.

“In the first cluster of cabins we found several sick, having, as I supposed, contracted colds in their drinking scrape. A little further we met an acquaintance, Old Nettle, riding briskly. He was without clothes, with the usual exception of the small cloth about the waist. His face was painted black as high as the nose, with red around his eyes. His appearance was rendered still more hideous by a second coat of painting of mud, which he had involuntarily received. A little further we saw a great many drinking, and heard many more singing and howling in adjacent houses. Two young men came running to us in a style which indicated that they designed to have some sport by insult-

ing us; but on coming up they recognised me, and behaved well. An intoxicated female approached, and begged for bread. We had none to spare; and if it had been otherwise, I should have been unwilling to have opened a bread sack there. Intoxicated Indians from all quarters began to gather around us, and I was not sorry when John turned and rode off briskly. I readily followed his example, and as we were leaving them they declared that they would kill us, and accompanied the threat by oaths in the English language.

“About three-fourths of a mile further, at a trading house, a Frenchman gave us the means of making fire, and Old Nettle begged of us a shilling for accompanying us. In the early part of the day we had passed an encampment of Indians, at which was Stone-Eater, the principal chief of the Weas. He showed us some attention, but chiefly with the design, it would seem, of seizing the opportunity to beg a little bread for his wife and children. We gave out sparingly, because we could not replenish our stock of provisions, if once exhausted. Though he was chief of his tribe, he appeared as wretched as any. A few filthy blankets, pack-saddles, camp kettles, &c., constituted his moveables, while his live stock consisted of some horses, too many dogs, and not a few cats. We have no shelter to-night; have peeled a little bark to keep us off the damp earth, and have spent an hour and a half in drying our clothes.

“May 30. Another rainy day. Am sorry that the traders, whom I hoped to obtain for interpreters, are absent. A Delaware chief and several others called on me, and appeared very friendly; but as I had no interpreter, I could not say much to them.

“May 31. Had more rain. After calling upon several families, we arrived at the house of Captain Anderson, principal chief. A considerable number of men were about him, engaged in a council. He appeared less friendly than I desired. He gave me to understand that it would not be convenient for us to lodge in his house. This relieved me from some embarrassment, which I anticipated, in eating some of his cookery, which I saw in progress, and which I was sure I could not have relished very well. He sent a man with us to look out a house to lodge in, who conducted us to a cabin, which, though perhaps as comfortable as the village afforded, was filthy enough. Between my two blankets I lodged on the floor among Indians and dogs, and the vermin which infest both.

“June 1st. I returned to Captain Anderson, who called in his interpreter, a black man, through whom I communicated to

him at large my business in relation to the Indians. He replied, 'Since you was here last winter I have assembled the chiefs, agreeably to what I promised you, and informed them that our brother had come to assist us—to teach us to read and write, to raise corn, and to make our clothes. I did not say much, but sat and listened to them; some of them were in favour of the measures you proposed, and some were not; some said that a good while ago the white people took one of our people, and gave him a good education; perhaps ten years afterwards they took another, and taught him to read also, and both of these men were afterwards killed by the white people. One was killed as he lay asleep, and the other was shot by a *boy*; and perhaps the white people desire to educate more, so that they may kill them. For my part, I think what you say is true—it would be of great benefit to our children for you to instruct them. Were we to remain in this country, we should be glad if you would come and live near us, and we would send our children to you; but we are soon to leave this country; nevertheless, I will assemble the chiefs again, and tell them what you say, and if any of them agree to your proposals, our children will be taken to your house; if they do not, you will not hear from us any more until we become *settled*. I have written to the great council of the Seventeen fires [Congress] to send me a paper that will give us a sure title to the land to which we are going, so that the white people may no more disturb us. When I get this paper, and we shall have become *settled*, we will think of doing something for our children—we will then send for you to come and instruct them; but at this time nothing can be done—*I wish you to notice that.*'

"I had no reason to doubt the truth of his closing remark, that nothing could be done with him at this time. Most of the people of the village were in a drinking frolic, which induced me to leave the place sooner than otherwise I should have done. Near where we lodged, both men and women were all night beating their old drums, singing, dancing, and hallooing. This morning a spectacle of drunkenness was exhibited around us too disgusting to be related. On the same day an influential old woman, who is a kind of a head of a party, said that if the tribe should go to the west of the Mississippi, she and her party would remain near our establishment.

"June 2d. Agreeably to a promise made yesterday, seven influential Delawares assembled, to whom I communicated our plans and proposals, an aged female acting as our interpreter.

They declared that they were well pleased with the overtures I had made them, but their contemplated removal to the west of the Mississippi would deprive them of the opportunity of complying with my requests. Were they settled, they would certainly agree to my proposals; and as it was, they would never forget what I had said to them. Some Miamies being present who could not understand, the company, at my instance, crossed White river with me, where at a small Miamie village a council was convened, to which the Delawares communicated what I had said to them. The Miamies received us with politeness. A bench was placed for the chief speaker and myself to sit upon, while the others sat around on the earth, on mats, logs, &c. Our council was begun and ended with the ceremony of smoking; the chief speaker smoked the first half of his pipe, and allowed me to smoke out the other. In the evening we prepared supplies for our journey. In making bread, I chose to perform the kneading myself, as I had not confidence in the cleanliness of John.

“June 3d. On setting out this morning we swam our horses across White river by the side of a canoe—slept between two pieces of bark which I had peeled on my way out. In the afternoon, and during the night, I was quite sick.

“June 4th. On account of my indisposition, I did not rise so early as usual, and when I did I found John preparing our breakfast; but his cookery was such that I could not partake of it. In going a few miles my horse sunk in a mire, and I went through without him. Through John’s assistance I recovered him. On reaching Eel town I was so unwell, and there was so much whiskey among them, that I concluded to pass on without stopping; but before we were fairly through the settlement, Stone-Eater, the principal chief, having heard of me, overtook us and requested me to return and have a council. I turned and went with him three-fourths of a mile, and halted at a few tents pitched in the shade of some trees. Stone-Eater rode about and collected his chiefs and others, among whom, unfortunately, were some who were intoxicated; the most troublesome was a young Delaware, whom they in vain endeavoured to persuade to leave the place. We had seated ourselves in a circle on the earth, and Stone-Eater was about opening the *talk*, when the loquacity of the Delaware broke the conversation. Again they endeavoured to get him off, but failed. At length a young Wea approached him with a piece of bark in his hand, as if designing to tie him, and gave him much loud

talk, and many an angry look. The altercation became so warm that I was looking to see their large knives resorted to in order to settle the dispute.

“Times becoming more quiet, we resumed our *talk* in council. Agreeably to custom, at the conclusion of each sentence the party spoken to responded Ho-o. On these occasions the young Delaware, whom we had been compelled to admit to a seat with us, would halloo aloud, to the great annoyance of every one. Presently a bottle of spirits was brought by some one, and placed within our circle; the chief placed it by his side, to prevent others from drinking. Seeing how matters were going, he said, ‘We had better make short speeches’—this was to enable me to leave the place as soon as possible. To this I had no objection. Being apprehensive that I was in danger, the chief directed me to pursue a by-path, by which I could get off with the least exposure. Before I could mount my horse the chief himself was overcome by temptation, and took a full dram. Whiskey and intoxicated Indians were now fast accumulating about us, and before we had proceeded one rod, John too insisted on having a dram. Our interpreter was an Indian; I requested him not to allow John to become intoxicated. I was glad when we got away from these wretched people.

“Some twenty miles further we passed another village, where I saw a man whom I had once engaged to teach me the Miami language. He said that the reason why he had not fulfilled his engagement was, that he was afraid to live so near the whites, lest he should sustain some injury at their hands. John also expressed similar fears, and said that on that account he would take his boy from our house on his return; and asked me to loan him a horse to bring him back as far as the village in which we then were. I perceived that his object was to steal my horse; I therefore told him I should not grant his request. He appeared much offended, and insisted that I should allow him greater wages for his services than had been agreed upon. To this I would not consent. He probably thought that as I was alone in the Indian country, I would be afraid to deny him, lest advantage should be taken of my situation. Finding that I spoke and acted with decision, he admitted that I was right, and we slept peaceably together in the woods another night.

“June 5th. The best breakfast that our means afforded this morning was hot water thickened with a little flour, and slightly sweetened. In the afternoon I united again with my family.”

On the 4th of August I was attacked with bilious fever; I

prescribed for myself, and for ten days was not severely indisposed. I regretted the loss of time, and being unable to go abroad to mingle with the Indians, I endeavoured to get one to sit by my bed-side and instruct me in the Indian language, but I found none whom I could thus employ.

August 13th, I became so unwell that a speedy dissolution was apprehended. A messenger had been sent ninety miles for a physician. A while after, our eldest son, about twelve years of age, was also to human appearance brought near to death. It was the 5th of October before I could leave home. The interests of the cause in which we had embarked requiring me to make a journey of ninety miles to Vincennes, I set out when I was so feeble that I had to lie down and rest frequently. I returned home on the 13th of November, when, from the fatigue of the journey, I relapsed into violent fever. My case became so serious that an unskilful person, who styled himself a physician, was called in. After being greatly injured by his prescriptions, I was under the necessity of refusing to follow them.

On the 25th of October the symptoms of my disease were strongly such as in that country usually attended those who were dying with the disease with which I was afflicted. I supposed, and so did others around me, that I was dying. On being asked by my wife, if I thought there was *any hope*, I replied, "there is none, only that with God nothing is impossible; that for me to live would be a miracle little less than for one to be raised from the dead. I knew that I had to die, and I could not expect the Lord to work a miracle in my behalf." For about forty hours my distress was very great; so much so that my dearest friends desired me to die, that I might be relieved of my pains. I begged the Lord by some means to lighten my pains a little. Mr. Martin, our teacher, who had become serious on the subject of religion, fell on his knees by my bed-side. The Lord pitied and spared. It was the latter part of December before I became tolerably well.

During my illness two of our children were also very sick. The watchings and anxieties of Mrs. McCoy, together with the heavy charge of the affairs of our large family, and the increasing cares of the institution, became a burden so onerous, that we had reason to fear that she too would fail; but the Lord mercifully sustained her. While I was confined to my bed by my severe sickness, Mr. Martin, who was an avowed Deist when we hired him to teach school, made profession of the religion of the Lord Jesus, and was baptized at the mission house by Rev. Wilson Thompson, of Ohio, who, with Rev. A. Frakes,

had paid us a visit. Shortly after his baptism, Mr. Martin left our place, with the view of preaching the Gospel among the whites, which he did for several years to good acceptance.

Amidst our great afflictions the Lord afforded some encouragement. This was not only derived from the conversion of Mr. Martin, but from other circumstances. While I lay sick, five children of the Brothertown Indians, and another Wea child, were taken into the family. We now had eight Indian children, all feeding at our table, and dependant upon us for clothing. The family thus increased, the business of the institution became rather too great for Mrs. McCoy. For a while studies in school had been suspended; they were resumed on the 15th of November, while I was sick, under the management of Mr. Johnston Lykins, who had been employed on the departure of Mr. Martin. He was not a professor of religion. This to us was the less discouraging, on account of the favour which had been shown us in the conversion of our late teacher; nor have our hopes in this case been disappointed, for Mr. Lykins at this time (1839) is a faithful missionary.

I had become able to handle my pen, and no more, when I received information that the President of the United States designed to apply the ten thousand dollar annual appropriation for Indian reform, in conjunction with the labours of benevolent societies; and that such as would avail themselves of those Government facilities should report their plans, and the condition of their missions. Accordingly, about the middle of November, I reported to the Secretary of War. I further made application through Mr. Taylor, member of Congress, for permission to establish missions among the Kickapoos and the Delawares, when those tribes should become settled on lands which had lately been assigned them in the State of Missouri. At the same time we determined, the Lord willing, to get into the country of the Miamies as soon as possible. To carry into effect our plans, several more missionaries would be indispensable, but these we hoped the Lord would provide. Our plans and operations were communicated to the board of missions.

In our inquiries for more missionaries, we had understood that Mr. Thompson, who had recently been at our house, would like to unite with us; and believing that he was qualified to be useful, we opened a correspondence with him upon the subject; but this design failed. After many vexatious disappointments in regard to the employment of an Indian to instruct me in the Miami language, I commenced the study of Delaware, with the assistance of one whose English name was Ben

Gray. He, with others, had acquired some knowledge of our institution while I was on my late tour in their country. I engaged him for twenty-one days only. In this short time I could not hope to learn much, especially as I had much other business to look after, and had to study under great disadvantages; nevertheless, I commenced. While I received instructions from Ben, Mrs. McCoy afforded some instruction to his wife. Ben had not been long at our house when he informed us that a white man, not far off, had told him that he would be killed if he remained so near the white settlements with his family. We, however, prevailed on him to remain with us a while longer.

On the 16th of February I joined in marriage Mary Ann Isaacs, of the Brothertown Indians, who had been spending a few weeks at our house, and Christmas Dashney, a half-breed Wea. Our near Indian neighbours were invited to attend the ceremony, and we had the happiness to have twenty-three of the natives partake of a meal prepared on the occasion.

Waupungea (alias John) had erected a little hut near our house, in which he and his family had resided for a few weeks. We had encouraged them to this in the hope of doing them good, and because we would, on that account, more probably keep their children in our school. On the 15th he informed us that he thought he had better not live with us any longer, he had better go among his people. God had made the Indians as they are, and therefore it would be proper for them to continue as they have been made, and not to change their manners and customs for those of the whites. White people would be happy in the enjoyment of their own customs, because the Great Spirit had placed them in that situation.

He was told that our object was to make the miserable happy, the poor man rich, and the mean man great. The fashion of dress, and such like things, we cared but little about. This he knew, because we had a few days before given him paint for his face, and we had made his children clothes after the Indian fashion. Our attention was directed chiefly to things obviously beneficial, and calculated to do them lasting good. He concluded to remain a while longer.

I did not make much progress in the study of the Delaware language, as I had scarcely one hour in twenty-four which I could devote to it. But I had been criminal indeed, if, upon becoming better acquainted with their deplorable condition, I had not become more anxious to acquire a knowledge of their language, that I might preach to them the unsearchable riches of

Christ. Ben Gray, who was my instructor, also evidently profited by our connection. In their little matters of housekeeping they became much more neat, and his wife learned to knit, and perform some other work well. They had removed a few miles from us, when Mrs. McCoy and I made them a visit as neighbours. They were exceedingly gratified. For our repast they pounded dried venison in a mortar, until it was almost reduced to powder, and then mixed with it a considerable proportion of bear's and racoon's grease.

Exceedingly anxious to get to a more eligible site within the Indian country, I had engaged an Indian to accompany me through the wilderness (180 miles) to Fort Wayne, to consult the new agent, Dr. Turner. Ben Gray also was to accompany me, that I might prosecute my study of the Delaware language on the way. This journey I was compelled to relinquish, on account of the poor state of my health, and the cares of our establishment, which were too onerous for Mrs. McCoy alone. Mr. Lykins was sent thither, accompanied by a half Indian. The waters were very full, on account of which they were exposed to great inconvenience, and not a little danger both to themselves and their horses. They returned on the 9th of March, after an absence of fourteen days.

They had carried a communication to Pishewa, the principal chief of the Miamies, and to Dr. Turner, their agent, both of whom appeared to favour our designs. We desired to settle at the Miami Massassinawa villages; but the agent urged the propriety of our locating at Fort Wayne. He and others urged that, at Massassinawa, not only would our property be destroyed by the Indians, but our lives would be in jeopardy, on account of intoxicated Indians. At Fort Wayne we were offered the use of public buildings gratuitously, and promised the hearty co-operation of the agent in promotion of the objects of our labours. The Indians would readily have consented to our wishes to settle at Massassinawa; but the agent, who resided at Fort Wayne, employed his influence to get us to the latter place.

Having hired Silk Hembus, a Delaware, to accompany me, I started on the 18th of March, to go and see the agent myself. We lost the small path, and travelled almost the whole day without any trail. On the second day Hembus's horse began to fail, and he was obliged to walk and drive him; and on the third day we had to leave him, having first tied his two fore legs together with bark, so that he could not wander far from the place before our return. He hid his saddle, bridle, &c., in a hollow tree, and carried his blankets on his back.

My horse having no company on the following night, manifested a strong inclination to leave me. I had taken the precaution to tie his fore legs together, and his head down to them. About midnight Hembus told me that he had heard my horse going off. I wished him to go with me in pursuit of him; but as there was much water on the ground, and the night dark and cold, he preferred remaining at camp. I took fire in my hand, to make light, and went in quest of him alone, but had to return without him. I felt not a little anxiety on account of my situation; I thought my horse had probably made his escape, and my poor state of health rendered me unable to travel on foot to any place of human residence. However, I resigned myself to the care of Him who had been with Jacob in the desert, and again wrapped myself in my blankets. In the morning, however, we recovered my horse.

That night, as Hembus and I lay by our fire, I introduced in conversation the subject of religion. He said all the Delawares believed that good Indians go to God after death, and bad ones to the devil, to be punished in a great fire. All, both good and bad, had to appear before God, who looked upon them, and decided who was his. He said it was very bad to make pewter money; and all who did so would go to Muh-tunh-to, (the devil,) to dwell in a hot fire. They would be very thirsty; and, when they would ask for drink, would be forced to drink melted pewter. It was reported that in dealings the whites frequently passed counterfeit money to the Indians. It is possible that the impositions practised upon them in this respect had caused the crime of "making pewter money" to appear more heinous than it would otherwise have done.

On the 21st, Hembus, who was travelling on foot, tired, and we had to encamp before night. On the day following, as we were entering the Miami villages on Massassinawa river, Hembus, who was walking before me, discovered a company of Miamies sitting on the ground before us, drinking. He instantly turned back, saying, "I do not like drunken Indians." He went off another way, and made inquiry if we could not cross the river by a way by which we should avoid those who were drinking. I discovered that he was afraid; and as he was a man of good judgment, and familiar with such circumstances, I was induced to estimate the danger of our situation in proportion to his fears. We were, however, under the necessity of passing within sight of the company. They no sooner discovered us, than several ran rudely towards us. To our satisfaction, at this juncture, a sober young man came to us, with whom Hembus was acquainted, which at

once dissipated his fears. An elderly man, considerably intoxicated, as he made towards us, threatened personal injury. But being told by the sober young man that Hembus was his friend, and that I was a good man, he left off his threatening. Hembus took my horse, and examined the river, and finding that I could cross without swimming, drove the horse across back to me, and I rode him over.

Hembus, who had met with an acquaintance with whom he could rest contentedly, and being much fatigued by travelling on foot, now proposed to go no further; and that I should proceed alone, and he would remain here until I should return. We were more than sixty miles from Fort Wayne, the way a wilderness, through which I had never passed, and the waters high, so that I could not think of getting on alone. With some persuasion he consented to proceed five miles further, to the residence of Joseph Richardville, son of Pishewa, the chief. When we arrived, we found that he, with those about him, were also engaged in a bacchanalian revel. He was at the time asleep in his house, while several women without were making much noise. Hembus was afraid to awaken him; and, in waiting, we spent an hour or two very disagreeably, on account of the drunken Indians, who crowded about us. In the mean time Hembus had quietly found a small hole in the wall, through which he could discover the sleeper within, and to which, with some impatience, he often applied his eye. Oh! what a wretched people!

We had no sooner made our acquaintance with Richardville, than he washed the paint, &c., from his face, and required others around him to do the same; and some, who were too far overcome with ardent spirits to obey, were sent away, being told that they must not annoy the good man who had come among them.

I endeavoured to hire a horse for Hembus to ride, but failed. I was in a strait when Richardville consented to bear me company. He was exceedingly hospitable, and on the following morning we proceeded. The Wabash river intervened between this and Fort Wayne, which was now swimming deep, and had to be crossed where no one resided. Hembus agreed that on a certain day, which I named, he would meet me at the river on my return, to aid me in recrossing. Richardville and I swam our horses, and crossed ourselves in a small canoe. We slept in an Indian village, and the next day we swam our horses across St. Mary's river, and reached Fort Wayne.

I persevered in my purpose to get, if possible, permission to

settle at the Miami villages on Massassinawa. But the agent, the principal Miami chief, and many others, were united in endeavouring to bring us to Fort Wayne, and I was under the necessity of consenting. True, it was a central point between Shawanoes, Putawatomes, Miamies, and others, a trading post to which many Indians resorted, and from which we could extend our acquaintance among the Indians in every direction; and as we could get buildings and a garden to occupy, without cost, I consoled myself somewhat, by supposing that we should lose little by stopping there, and we should, perhaps, while at that place, be able to make the most judicious selection for our permanent settlement.

There were other considerations which weighed heavily in favour of accepting the invitation to Fort Wayne. We began to perceive that we had been mistaken in supposing that so much sympathy for the Indians could be excited in the Christian public, that a competent number of missionaries could be obtained. As yet, none had become willing to unite with us in our work. Our family had increased to the number of about twenty persons, and half of these were Indian children. No one female could be supposed to possess either muscle or mind sufficient to sustain the charge which devolved on Mrs. McCoy. In my absence, the care of every thing without doors, as well as within, came upon her. She seemed to be sinking with fatigue and anxiety. At Massassinawa, a place still more remote from supplies, and from places where labourers could be hired, and from which our circumstances would oftener carry me from home, these difficulties would be augmented. Moreover, the erection of buildings would be attended with considerable cost, especially so far from the settlements of labouring people; and we were not quite certain that the Board would agree to meet the expense of erecting buildings, &c.

The chief attention of the board was directed to Burmah and other countries beyond the seas, and missions to the Indians were a matter of no more than secondary consideration; and upon the mission begun at St. Louis, and designed to be extended to Indians west of the Mississippi, their favours for Indians would probably be exhausted. Neither the particular members of the board of missions, nor others, seemed to feel so much interest in the subject of Indian missions as to make themselves tolerably well acquainted with it. The public conjectured that a people so wretched as these Indians are would eagerly seize our offers to do them good, and were not prepared to make any allowance for the thousand disappoint-

ments and delays to which we were subject, especially when labouring under so many disadvantages.

We did exceedingly regret that we had not heard our patrons say to us, "Seek out the most eligible site for your location, and study the most hopeful means and measures for accomplishing the designs of the mission; take time to confer freely with us; give yourselves wholly to these things, and *we* will take care that the necessaries of life shall be furnished you." Had they given us this assurance, our course of proceedings, from the first, would, in many respects, have been different from what it was.

The hardheartedness of the frontier white inhabitants, and other causes, were driving the Indians further from our house, so that we could not hope to enlarge our school or improve our operations in that place. If our business should appear to the board to be stationary upon its present small scale, we should soon expect them to advise the discontinuance of our labours, especially as they had not, as we believed, felt altogether hearty in sustaining them. We were obliged, therefore, as soon as possible, to get to some place where we could increase the number of Indian scholars, and be able to make it appear to the public that our business was improving. Necessity, and not choice, compelled us to consent to go to Fort Wayne.

In returning from Fort Wayne I had the company of a white man forty miles, when I hired an Indian lad to go with me as far as the crossing of Wabash river, which was still swimming deep. I was a day later than the time appointed for Silk Hembus to meet me there, to aid me in crossing; and I had some fears that I should not find him at the place. But as I came near the crossing I heard him hallooing for me in the woods, on the opposite side of the river. He had come to the place on the day appointed, and had waited for me. This was an instance of fidelity in an Indian truly honourable.

After I had crossed, he said he was exceedingly hungry, and hasted to put upon the coals a piece of a turkey he had killed; and, rather than detain me long, was about to eat it before it was cooked; when I prevented him by opening my provision sack, and requiring him to take time to eat.

The next day, March 30, we left camp very early; and, notwithstanding we lost our way, and travelled till near twelve o'clock before we got right again, we should have made a tolerable day's journey, had not my travelling companion, who was on foot, tired again. In the forenoon of the 31st we reached the

place where we had left his horse. We had been absent ten days, and it was by this time not an easy matter to follow the horse's tracks. With a search of about four hours we recovered him, hobbled as we had left him. Hembus lost nothing of the things which we had left, except a little storage on his saddle and bridle, which some animal of the woods had taken in advance, to satisfy its appetite. On the 2d of April we arrived at the mission house.

The night of the 4th of April Ben Gray and an aged Delaware lodged at the mission house. I had by this time become capable of conversing somewhat in the Delaware language. In conversation on the subject of religion, some inquiries were made respecting their views of futurity. The old man, who was chief speaker, said they believed that virtuous persons, such as would not steal, get drunk, swear, [they have no profane swearing in Indian,] commit murder, and the like, but who returned thanks to Ke-esh-she-la-mob-ko, (our Creator,) for their food and drink, their clothes, and other good things, would, after death, go to God. There the inhabitants live in large houses, clean and comfortable, made of cedar, or some such wood, which emits a pleasant odour. There would be a great plenty of deer, bears, and turkeys, and all very fat. The inhabitants would always have plenty, and would spend most of their time in *singing*. Such as were bad, were unthankful, would steal, and do other bad things, would go to Muh-tunh-to, (the devil;) there they would be punished in a manner similar to their manner of sinning whilst upon earth. If the man had been a drunkard upon earth, he would, in the world of spirits, be compelled to drink *hot whiskey*, and thus it would be in regard to the several crimes which each had committed upon earth. All had to dwell in a great fire.

From a correspondence, for a few months, between the Rev. Mr. Peck, one of the board's missionaries to the Mississippi, we had been led to hope that he would have been at my house about the time of my return from Fort Wayne, and that he would become united with us in labour. It was a grief to receive a communication from him which made us despair of the happiness which we had anticipated, of having him associated with us. On my return from Fort Wayne, I had only two days' rest before our business required me to make another journey to Vincennes, on which it was necessary for Mr. Lykins to accompany me, so that Mrs. McCoy was left in charge of the whole concern, without the aid of even a hired man. In the ten days' absence on this last journey, I under-

went more fatigue in travelling, and exposure by riding in the night, than my slender constitution could bear, and I had hardly reached home when I was attacked with vomiting and fever. We became very uneasy, lest, on this account, our removal to Fort Wayne, to which we now attached much importance, should be delayed. The Lord pitied and spared, and it was not long until I was again able to attend to business.

CHAPTER II.

Removal to Fort Wayne. The School prospers. Baptisms. Journey to Ohio. Sickness. Journey to Vincennes. Arrival of a Missionary. Awful effects of Intemperance. Embarrassments for want of the means of support. Baptism of a Delaware woman. Difficulties in obtaining School Teachers.

On the 3d of May, 1820, a batteau, containing most of our moveables, and pushed up the Wabash river by four men, with poles, left Fort Harrison for the direction of Fort Wayne. We had only six Indian children to take with us, five of whom went in the boat, and one accompanied my family by land. We left our first two children at different places in the State of Indiana, and on the 4th May I started to Fort Wayne, by land, on horseback, with my wife, six of our children, and an Indian boy, and one hired man besides Mr. Lykins. We drove with us fifteen head of cattle and forty-three swine. Eighteen or twenty of the natives encamped near us the first night; some said they would go with us the whole journey, for the purpose of assisting us, and some for the purpose of sending their children to our school. The first night was rainy, and not a little disagreeable for women and children to lodge on the ground amidst the wet bushes and weeds.

On the following day, as we passed an Indian village, we were informed that Stone-Eater, the principal Wea chief, had recently been murdered by one of his own people. A friend of the deceased followed and brought back the murderer, who was put to death, and both corpses were then buried in the same grave. This circumstance had occasioned a considerable excitement. Among the questions which were to be settled, was one in relation to the succession to the principal chieftaincy. At this village our whimsical Indians, who had set out to go with

us to Fort Wayne, all deserted us. Considerable numbers visited our camp that evening and the following morning. We were in great need of assistance, but could get none of them without greater wages than we could afford.

Neither cattle nor swine had ever been seen in the Massassinawa villages, nor had a family of white people, in like manner, ever passed that way. From the insolence of the Indians to white men, at divers times, when travelling through their villages, we had great reason to fear some serious interruption, especially if the Indians should be engaged in drinking, which was probable. We had endeavoured to hire one or two Indians to accompany us, to inform others who we were, and what were our reasons for passing through their country, but they had deserted us on the way. We had not even an interpreter, to enable us to converse with them. By an old Indian, who, with his wife, had travelled with us a day and a half, we sent a communication to Joseph Richardville, who had recently treated us so kindly, desiring him to meet us, or to send some suitable person to us, to accompany us through the villages, that we might be saved from insult and injury. We placed in the old man's hands a reward for the service he had undertaken, with which he appeared perfectly satisfied. But he deceived us, and we heard no more of him. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th day, May 10th, we were within three miles of the first Massassinawa villages. Hearing nothing from either our Indian messenger or Richardville, we halted the company, and leaving only one man with them, Mr. Lykins and I set off to find Richardville. On entering the first village, we saw a company at no great distance, sitting on the ground, who Mr. Lykins said he thought were eating. On approaching them, we found one carrying around a vessel of whiskey, and giving to each a sip from a ladle which he put to the mouth of each with his own hand. Two of them arose and gave us their hand in friendship. As we passed on we discovered that the villages were in an uproar. Many were seen riding and running in various directions, by far the greater part of whom were intoxicated; all, however, appeared friendly except one, who came towards us, holding a small dead dog by the heels, apparently with the design of throwing it upon one of us. I was holding myself in readiness to dodge, when a young man of our acquaintance, though himself intoxicated, spoke to the insolent Indian, upon which he turned away and left us. Richardville received us with his accustomed urbanity; said he would give notice to the Indians of our approach, and would require them to allow us to pass un-

molested ; and, further, that with one or two others he would meet us on the following day, and pilot and otherwise assist us in getting through the towns.

As we returned we saw many drunken wretches, among whom was one that, Mr. L. said to me, came running after us, to which remark I paid no particular attention, but as I stopped my horse to speak to some decent looking young men, this fellow, who was in chase, seized my horse by the bridle, cursing me bitterly with English oaths. I could not tell what he wanted. The young men present instantly spoke to him, but spake as if they were themselves afraid of him. I discovered that he was in a rage. I had no weapon of defence about me ; and made no effort to escape, but kept my eye closely upon him while he held my horse with his left hand, and with his right felt around his belt for his knife. I determined, in the moment of haste, that so soon as I saw the knife in his hand, I would throw myself off my horse on the opposite side, and then shift as circumstances might dictate. Providentially, at that moment, one Lewis Godfroy, an Indian somewhat related to the French, rose up the river bank on which we were, and on discovering my situation called out to the Indian who was endeavouring to injure me. This diverted his attention from me long enough for him to turn his eyes towards Godfroy, but he showed no disposition to desist from his malicious purpose. Godfroy, however, prevailed on him to desist. Godfroy, who could speak a little English, then told us to follow him, saying, "me horse very good for run." He also called upon a young man, who by this time had come to us, with whom we were slightly acquainted, to accompany us ; and so we all rode on, and when drunken Indians came near us we galloped the faster, and kept out of their hands. When we were entirely beyond the last houses, our two conductors turned back, promising to be at our camp early the next morning. This was a noble act of friendship. To their drinking may be attributed the breach of their promise to meet us on the following day. To save Mrs. McCoy and others from anxiety, I requested Mr. L. not to inform them of the insolence of the Indians. We got back to our camp at dark. After others had pretty generally lain down, I noted in my journal the adventures of the day, and carefully put my papers in my saddlebags, lest my wife should see them, and become acquainted with the unpleasantness of our circumstances. This was a night of great anxiety to me. Here lay my wife and our little ones, in this desert. We were so hemmed in by Massassinawa and Wabash

rivers, and the dense forest around us, that we could not possibly go around the Indian settlements. There was no alternative, but either to attempt to go on through the villages, or to retrace our steps of five days' journey.

On the following morning, May 11th, I went alone towards the villages, in the hopes of meeting and hastening Richardville, or some one whom he might send to aid us. Finding none, and despairing of obtaining any assistance, I concluded that we would commend ourselves to the care of a kind Providence, and move forward without it. In my absence on that morning, my wife, for the purpose of filling up some lonely moments in the woods, had found my journal, and on my returning to camp smiled at the pains I had unsuccessfully taken to conceal from her the impudence of the Indians. She, however, cheerfully consented that we should make a trial to proceed. Our design was to stop the stock before we entered the settlement, and to endeavour to get my family through first. We had proceeded about one mile, when, to our great satisfaction, two Indians met us, who had been sent to our assistance by Richardville; as an apology for not coming in person, he informed us that a friend had died, and he was obliged to attend the funeral. We discovered that our coming was universally known. Children and others had placed themselves behind trees, for some distance along the road, before we reached the town, through curiosity to see us. Hundreds of eyes were staring at us. Many were intoxicated, but were kept out of our way by those more sober. All appeared cheerful and pleasant. They kept the way open for us to pass, and did not allow their dogs to frighten our stock; our guides were active, and took much pains to make our passage safe. Having gone beyond the villages, we rewarded our guides and they returned. It rained on us a good deal through the day, which lessened the comfort of our night's lodging on the ground. After several hours' labour in drying our clothes, we were compelled to lie down in them wet. On the two following days it rained upon us severely. We sometimes in heavy showers threw blankets about the children, to shelter them a little. Wearing wet clothes through the day, and sleeping in them on the ground through the night, endangered our health, but it could not be avoided.

We passed through two Indian villages, near one of which we were deeply affected at seeing a mother in a swamp, digging wild roots for subsistence, with one child tied on her back, and another standing by her side. We arrived at Fort Wayne on

the 15th of May, after a journey through the woods of eleven days. A few days afterwards our boat reached the portage, and we found ourselves safely housed in the public buildings, and had also about two acres of land, already ploughed, furnished us for a garden gratuitously.

At Fort Wayne was a little village of traders, and of persons in the employ of Government, as interpreters, smiths, &c., some of whom were French, of Canadian and of Indian descent. The nearest settlements of white people were in the State of Ohio, and nearly one hundred miles distant. By our neighbours we were treated with great kindness and respect, which created affectionate recollections which years of separation have not obliterated. I preached to them in my own house every Sabbath. A few days after we reached Fort Wayne, Mr. Lykins's engagements with us terminated, and he returned to the settlements on Wabash.

On the 29th of May our school was opened at Fort Wayne; I was teacher myself. We commenced with ten English scholars, six French, eight Indians, and one negro; the latter we hoped would one day find his way to Liberia, in Africa. We had opportunities daily of conversing with Indians of different tribes. On the 4th of June, some with whom I was conversing informed me that they had to attend, near our place, the ceremony of making an atonement for the dead: they term it "covering the dead." A few weeks previously a woman had killed her husband. In those cases the nearest relative to the deceased has a right to take the life of the murderer; but if the offender, either in person or by his friends, offer to the offended party such an amount of property as will satisfy them, they may accept it as an atonement for the crime, and let the offender go free; but it is discretionary with the offended to accept the atonement or not. Notice is given to the injured party that an atonement will be offered. The time and place being agreed upon, the parties meet; the offender is usually present; the price of atonement, which may consist of blankets, clothing, horses, or any other property, is placed together, not far from which the offender takes his seat on the earth, and bows his face towards the ground, in token of submission. The offended party then decide whether they will accept the price of atonement, or will take the life of the culprit, and they proceed immediately to do the one or the other. In the present case the murderess had concealed herself, and her friends had procured and offered in her behalf two suits of clothes, which were

accepted. About this time they had a great dance and parade, when adopting one in room of a person who had died.

I wrote to the State of Ohio, to hire a man to teach our school, and on the 11th of June Mr. P——r arrived for that purpose. We had so much business on hand that every thing could not be well attended to. A teacher for the school promised some relief. We hired an Indian woman to assist in domestic labours, but she afforded little help. Besides the care of eight Indian children, and six of our own, the whole charge of the family, consisting of about twenty persons, devolved on Mrs. McCoy; she also endeavoured to instruct neighbouring Indian females in the art of knitting, and other domestic labours. We had to work hard with our own hands. The Indian children were clothed, and fed, and lodged, at the expense of the mission; they fed at the same table with my own family. This course was necessary, in order to silence the jealousies of the Indians generally, and this course we ever after pursued.

Mrs. Turner, the wife of the agent, was a half Indian, who, with her sister, Mrs. Hackley, had received a decent education. Their relations among the Miamies were influential, for the improvement of the condition of whom, and for the welfare of all the Indians, these women manifested a commendable solicitude. Mrs. Turner was indisposed, and on the evening of the 6th of June Mrs. McCoy left her in much darkness and distress on account of her sins. In the night she sent for Mrs. M., who, fearing that she had become more indisposed, hastened to her room, when she was agreeably disappointed; for on entering her room, Mrs. T. said, "I have sent for you to tell you how happy I feel." She gave satisfactory evidence of faith in the Lord Jesus, and for some days enjoyed great peace of mind. By the reading of the Bible, previous to our going to Fort Wayne, her mind had become much exercised upon the subject of religion, and she had enjoyed some manifestations of mercy, but still could not hope that she was really a Christian. In reading those passages in the Bible which spoke of God's displeasure with the *heathen*, she supposed that as she was an *Indian* they applied to her, and that therefore *she* had no right to hope for mercy. Upon the subject of baptism her mind was clear, but, on account of scruples of her husband, her baptism was deferred for several months, and until he consented.

About this time her sister, Mrs. Hackley, also gave satisfactory evidence of conversion to the faith of the Lord Jesus. Her baptism took place on the 18th of June. The scene was novel to all, both white and red, and on that account excited

the more interest. At ten o'clock I preached on the subject of baptism. We then assembled at the fort gate, about sixty yards from the brink of the river Maumee. As the procession moved to the water, we sung—

“Thee, great Jehovah, we adore,
Who came the lost to seek and save,” &c. &c.

At the water we sung the following lines, which had been prepared for the occasion :

Glad tidings, so the angels sung,
Until the heavens with gladness rung ;
Glad tidings late my soul replied,
For me my Lord was crucified.

“The news shall spread through all the earth,”
So sang the host at Jesus' birth.
Ye gentle waves, I call on you
To say, is not this promise true ?

This very stream was lately stained
With blood from strangling soldiers drained ;*
Now, strange to tell, the Prince of Peace
In it displays his sovereign grace.

Ye oaks, which shook while cannons roar'd,
Now bow your heads and praise the Lord ;
Tell the wild man beneath your shade
Why Christ in Jordan's stream was laid.

Those warlike towers on yonder wall,†
Like those of Jericho, must fall,
While deathful weapons dormant lie—
Shout, saints, the *Ark* is passing by.

Ye winds, which spread the news of death,
No longer breathe offensive breath ;
But the glad tidings loud proclaim,
“Here saints rejoice in Jesus' name.”

Sure all who hear will join and sing,
Glory to God, our Christ is King.
Still let the Gospel spread abroad,
Till *all the world* shall worship God.

The mixed assembly, consisting of whites and Indians, behaved well ; many appeared serious, and some shed tears. As the candidate came out of the water, an elderly white woman, who in earlier life had been prisoner many years with the Indians, took her by the hand and said, “I wish it was my case.”

* Several bloody battles, between white people and Indians, had been fought at and near Fort Wayne ; the most distressing of which, on the part of the whites, was that known as *Harmar's defeat*, when, it is said, dead corpses almost formed a dam across the St. Joseph's river, a little above the place of baptizing.

† Military Fortifications.

The afternoon's service was better attended than usual. This was a good day to a couple of poor missionaries, who hoped that the blessing enjoyed might be but like a drop before a copious shower.

It became indispensable to make a journey to the State of Ohio, in order to purchase supplies. With a hired Frenchman I set out on the 17th of June. We purchased a two horse wagon, a spinning-wheel, raw materials for spinning, &c., and hired a religious young woman to assist in domestic labours. I enjoyed the satisfaction of preaching several times while on this journey, and once to a little few in a remote place, who seldom indeed enjoyed the privilege of public worship. The way was chiefly a wilderness. Water at that time was very scarce; we often had to drink of filthy ponds, and even from puddles in the road. Much of the way I had to drive the team myself, while the Frenchman looked out the way among the trees and brush. We became much exhausted with heat and fatigue, and I came home sick.

At Fort Wayne the necessaries of life were dear; our flour and meal had to be hauled in wagons about one hundred miles, and most of the way through a wilderness and over a bad road. Corn, which in the white settlements seldom sold for more than twenty-five cents per bushel, here cost one dollar and a half, and two dollars. The cost of supporting so large a family as ours became pretty heavy, and the want of missionaries, or persons who would feel some *interest* in the success of our enterprise, became very great. With a view of obtaining help in both these matters, I issued a printed circular, in which were set forth our want of assistance, and our prayer that such as could delight to aid the work of Indian improvement would contribute for the supply of the wants of the Indian scholars, clothing, raw materials for clothing, books, articles of food, &c. For a moderate compensation we engaged Mr. Martin, who had been our first school teacher, and who had been baptized at our house, to disseminate those circulars, and to endeavour to collect for the support of the mission such things as could be obtained.

After my return from Ohio I continued unwell for several weeks, and until my symptoms were so unfavourable that it was deemed expedient by those about me, as well as by myself, to send for a physician, who came ninety miles to see me. Through mercy I was again restored. The first year of my services under the direction of the board they gave me a specific sum for my support, and which was sufficient, and barely so, for the

time. After the year for which I was appointed had expired, we proceeded several months without knowing from whom we should receive assistance, or whether we should be patronised by any. During this period of uncertainty, and ever afterwards, we kept a regular account of our expenditures and of our receipts; and when we were assured of the patronage of the board, these accounts, in the form of debtor and creditor, were from time to time forwarded to the board. Every item of expenditure was therefore made known to them. The board, however, desired me to accept a specific salary for the support of myself and family, and that these accounts should embrace only what they termed *extra* expenses. But the Indian pupils of our school, and all whom we employed to aid us, either in the school or elsewhere, fed at the same table, and the Indian youths were also clothed and lodged at the mission; so that it was impossible for us to keep accounts of expenditures for others, distinct from those of myself and family.

When we commenced at Fort Wayne, we were so destitute of the furniture necessary for the comfort of so large a family, that we were actually ashamed of our poverty, even in the presence of some of the more rational Indians. The weather was yet warm, and a small amount of bedding sufficed; but to keep our large family of children decently clothed was not an easy matter. No greater care could have been taken in relation to food, to save every crumb from waste, and to apply every thing to the best advantage. While we were poor, and laboured hard with our own hands to save expense, it gave us much pain to ascertain that the board thought that our expenditures for a living were too great; so little did they understand our condition, or the circumstances under which we were placed.

On the 23d of July I baptized a white man, when I was so unwell as scarcely to be able to walk to the river. By the 19th of August, the number of Indian pupils had increased to nineteen, among whom were a son and a grandson of Pishewa, the principal Miami chief. Pishewa appeared to interest himself much in favour of our school; being related to the French, he professed to be a Roman Catholic, in matters of religion.

There was a Putawatomie who lived some sixty or seventy miles from us, named Peresh, to whom I sent a message by a Frenchman, between whom and the Indian the following conversation took place.

Peresh.—Well, my brother, how does your school at Fort Wayne come on?

Frenchman.—Very well; there are twelve or fourteen Indian children who attend school: they are the children of ——, &c.

Peresh.—Do your children go to school?

Frenchman.—Certainly—I send two.

Peresh.—You are a fool.

Frenchman laughs.

Peresh.—You need not laugh—you will know, by and by, that you have been a fool. Do you think that that man (McCoy) is rich enough to educate all our children for nothing?

Frenchman.—There is a large company engaged in the business, and they are rich.

Peresh.—If they are rich now, they intend to be richer hereafter. After our children have been with them a long time, and have been taught to read and write, they will make us pay dearly for their education. We shall, at a great price, have to buy them back again, before they will let us have them. I was well pleased with the school when I first heard of it, and intended to send two of my children to it; but when I was last at Fort Wayne, I was told what I now tell you.

Such jealousies of the purity of our motives, as the foregoing conversation discloses, and which were too often cherished by persons who lived upon the wretchedness of the Indians, were formidable obstacles, to overcome which required something more than a *hasty* interview—time to test our sincerity was necessary. Desirous to extend our operations as widely as possible, and hoping that missionaries would be found to occupy the openings which we might be instrumental in creating, we concluded to make another effort to do something for the Shawanoes of Ohio. In August I wrote to the Quaker missionaries at Waupaughkonetta, that if it would be agreeable to them I would like to visit the Shawanoes of that place, and take a few of their children into our school, should any consent to the measure. They returned a modest answer; but it was evident that they preferred that we should not make any such propositions to the Shawanoes. We therefore declined any further attempt for that band.

On the 14th of August, a new agent, Mr. Hays, succeeded Dr. Turner in the agency. Early application was made to him for permission to continue our residence in the fort, &c., and to request his favourable countenance of our undertaking, so far as related to intercourse with the Indians within his agency. Our requests were complied with cheerfully. The man whom we had hired to teach school was not religious, and in several

respects, did not meet our reasonable expectations, and, in the latter part of August, the connection between us was dissolved, and we engaged another, also from the State of Ohio. Mrs. McCoy became so worn down with care and fatigue that a little respite seemed really necessary. At the same time it was thought that she could render some service to the mission, by a hasty visit to Ohio. She left home on the last day of August, and was absent fifteen days. About the time of her leaving home, and soon after, five of our own children were attacked with bilious fever, and a little later two of the Indian children sickened; some of these cases were severe, but none of the afflicted died.

By the 20th of September it became necessary for me to make a journey to Vincennes, a distance of about two hundred and seventy miles; on which occasion Mrs. McCoy was necessarily left sole manager of matters at the mission-house. White Raccoon had heard that we were to pass through his village, and had the kindness to prepare for us a palatable meal. I was now travelling with a gentleman who spoke the Miami language, so that I could communicate with the people among whom I travelled. At a second village I visited and conversed with many. On the following night (my interpreter not being in company) we lodged in one of the Massassinawa villages. No people could appear more hospitable and kind than the Indians were, at every place where we met with them. Out of respect, and with a view to our comfort, at this latter place, they swept out one of their huts for our accommodation. True, the wall and roof of the house were bark, and the floor was the earth, but it was the best that they could do for us; they took care of our baggage *with their own hands*, which is not a common act of hospitality with them, and gave us a supper of their boiled bear's meat. The great kindness of the Indians shown me now, as I was retracing the steps which, with my family, I had taken about five months before, under somewhat different appearances, was a matter of great encouragement, because it evinced that they *now* indulged a favourable opinion of the mission. On the next day we suffered for want of water; we encamped near Lefambois's village, which we entered on the following morning before the inhabitants had risen. I informed some of them that we were scarce of provisions, who had the kindness to give us a quart of sweet corn and a piece of boiled pumpkin. The former served for our supper and breakfast at our next camp. On halting for a short time in a village, I was requested to visit some sick persons who lay in a little hut:

one of whom was a lad reduced to a skeleton by an imposthume on the hip, and who appeared to be near eternity. The filthiness and wretchedness of these poor creatures, within a little bark hut, without a floor, with a smoking fire in the centre, were indescribable. Their sufferings awakened the tenderest sympathies of my heart, and the condition of their souls made me tremble. They took pains to make me understand that the suffering young man had been at my house, and that he remembered our kindness to him. Alas, for want of a sufficient knowledge of his language, I was not able to make an expression of sympathy by telling him of Jesus, the Saviour.

The land, and other property, belonging to the mission, or rather to the board of missions, except the little which we transported to Fort Wayne, was sold and accounted for to the board; and to attend to this was a part of my business on this tour to the settlements.

In company of my little son and daughter, whom we had left in the white settlements when we went to Fort Wayne, and a coloured young man, I entered the wilderness on my return, the 14th of October. The preceding night it had rained and snowed so that it was unpleasant under foot, and more so above, as the snow hung heavily upon the bushes along our narrow path. In passing through an Indian village which the inhabitants had left on their winter's hunt, we noticed that they had set up a few small stakes in a line, with a piece of pumpkin or something else on the top, to attract notice, and the stakes inclined to the direction in which the company had gone, to direct any who had been left behind, which way the company had journeyed. We encamped near Lefambois's town, where we endeavoured in vain to purchase a seed of corn for our horses. Without solicitation, a woman gave us a piece of venison, and early on the following morning she brought to our camp another present of the same, as she said, for my children. This was an act of kindness very grateful to us, as we needed provision for our journey.

On the 18th, I saw where an infant had been interred in a fallen tree. A small trough, sufficient to contain the corpse, had been made in the log with an axe, in which the body was laid. Over the trough was placed a covering of bark, and a second covering consisting of a piece of timber. Stakes were driven into the earth on each side of the log, and at a little distance from it, and wood was piled up between them to the height of five or six feet, so that the dead was enclosed within a pile of wood resembling wood in cord.

This method of interring is seldom resorted to except when the earth is frozen, or when, from some other cause, it would be difficult for them to excavate it with the implements at hand. Often, too, the mother of the new born infant is alone, or almost alone. The small axe is invariably carried for the purpose of preparing a temporary shelter, and of procuring fuel; and when, on those occasions, death bereaves her of her charge, she can in this way more conveniently secure it, for the present, from the vermin, than by placing it in the earth. In the course of a few years the stakes decay, and the timber tumbles down, and in a few instances I have seen the skeleton exposed. Near this grave we saw also the board upon which the babe had been tied while alive. This piece of furniture is merely a smooth board, a little longer than the infant, upon which it is placed upon its back, and made fast by leather strings; a wooden bow encircles its head, to prevent the covering from lying too close upon its face. This is a convenient method of taking care of an infant, and one which has been suggested by the peculiar circumstances of these people, in their homeless wanderings in the wilderness. In travelling, it is swung upon the shoulders of the mother, and carried with the same convenience that a soldier carries his knapsack. When they halt, it can be placed against a tree or wall as conveniently as we place our shovel and tongs, and with less danger of being injured than if it were laid upon the ground. When, at camp, it becomes necessary to rock the child, a blanket is suspended by the four corners, between two trees at a suitable distance, and the babe is swung backward and forward.

In my absence, several of the family had been sick. Mrs. McCoy had taken into the family six more Indian youths. The whole number of our Indian pupils was now twenty-six. By the arrangements of the board, we were obliged first to create accounts, and then submit them for payment. No money being placed in our hands, with which to purchase supplies, we were compelled to go in debt for every thing we needed; this subjected us to loss as well as inconvenience, for supplies could be procured cheaper for cash in hand than upon a credit. It subjected us to much anxiety also, because, when we were creating debts, we knew not that our accounts would be approved by the board. If any of them should not, then we would at once be ruined, because we could not command the means of paying our debts. With a family of twenty-six Indian children, who, besides clothing and lodging, fed at our table, in addition to the residue of our family, we could not but feel anxious concerning the

means of support. Our business, also, was too much for my wife and me ; we often worked ourselves sick, and then grieved the more that we should become invalids when our services could so illy be dispensed with. Our multiform labours and cares also deprived me of the opportunity of studying any Indian language to advantage. I had despaired of doing any thing for the Delawares, who were to remove to the far west, and had undertaken to study Putawatomie, but I could give no attention to it only as I could snatch a few minutes occasionally from other calls.

On the 1st of November, 1820, we were overjoyed at the arrival of a Mr. Samuel Hill, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who came as a missionary to labour with us. He immediately took charge of the school, and we dismissed our hired teacher. Mr. Hill was a single man, and not a preacher. For some weeks in the latter part of October and the fore part of November I was so unwell that I could scarcely attend to business that called me out of my room. The people of White Raccoon's village manifested a laudable disposition to improve their circumstances. They wished to procure a suitable white man to aid them, by his contrivance and labour, in agriculture, and I was allowed the privilege of selecting the person ; at first I hoped that I should be able to procure some pious man, who would pray with them as well as work ; but, situated as we were, we could not do it.

By the principal chiefs of the Miamies it had for many months been expected, that at the payment to them of an annuity, at which time the Indians generally would be assembled at Fort Wayne, I would address them in council, and fully explain to them the nature of our mission. It was believed by those Indians, and others friendly to the mission, that explanations could then be made, and our doings referred to in a manner that would be of much advantage in correcting erroneous impressions which had been fostered in the minds of some, through jealousy of innovation. The payment of the annuity took place about the middle of November, but no opportunity suitable for me to address the Indians was afforded. We were grieved with this disappointment, and it was complained of by others. By closely watching the movements of the agent in his business, I found an opportunity of addressing them briefly, but at too late a season to receive from them an answer during their present visit to that place ; for they had no sooner received their money from the Government than scenes of drunkenness ensued. During these disorders, which lasted for many days after they received

their annuity, two intoxicated Indians set upon two white men unarmed, as they met in the road, a mile from our house; one of the white men was wounded considerably in the head and body, with a knife, but made his escape, and recovered.

We brought into our house an influential Indian, whom we had found very sick in the neighbourhood. On the 22d of November he died, and we buried him as decently as circumstances would admit. His disease was attributable to intemperance. A few mornings previously, a poor Indian was carried by our house, who, on the preceding night, had died of intoxication. On the 22d, about a mile from our house, an Indian, somewhat intoxicated, dismounted his horse and ran upon a young Indian woman, a sister-in-law of his, with a knife in his hand; she ran around first one of the company, and then another, to avoid the murderer, but in vain—he stabbed her with his knife. She fled from the company. He stood and looked after her, and finding that she did not fall to the ground, pursued her, threw her to the earth, and stabbed her to the heart, in presence of the company, none of whom ventured to make an effort to save the damsel's life. On the same night another poor wretch died of intoxication, within half a mile of us.

On the 25th, a brother of him who lately died in our house deceased in his camp. We brought him to our place and buried him. His wife, who was sick, and likely to perish with hunger and cold in her camp, was also brought to our house, and taken care of until she recovered. At the same time we heard of the murder of two other Indians in a bacchanalian revel, not far from us. With our best management in the case, we could not avoid being a good deal annoyed by them.

About the 20th of November, myself and wife, and several of our family, were sick. We were in much affliction; our circumstances had become such that we could not afford a comfortable meal for a sick person. Mrs. McCoy and myself needed little else, for the restoration of our health, than suitable food and a little *rest*. But our greatest distress was, lest for want of missionary and pecuniary aid, the children of our charge, and every thing else, would exhibit such a ragged and ordinary appearance that the institution would become contemptible in the eyes of the Indians.

On the 25th of November, a religious young woman, who had lived with us some months, took her leave of us. This increased the weight of Mrs. McCoy's labours. We had, at that time, thirty Indian youths in our family. Our temporal wants now became so pressing that they could be no longer withstood.

We were getting deeply in debt, and it had become time to pay, and we had no money. We had to borrow from one to pay another, until, among those around us, there were few to borrow from, to whom we were not already indebted. Our stock of bread-stuff was becoming very low; we had endeavoured to save it by eating hommony (boiled corn) until we had grown tired of it. Our Indian children were suffering with cold by day and by night; and in so large a family it was found impracticable for Mrs. McCoy to give attention to all the business that devolved upon her. She was evidently sinking; both her health and her spirits were declining. We concluded, therefore, that I must attempt a journey to Ohio, one hundred and twenty miles, to procure female assistance, and some supplies. During my absence, her burden would be increased. My own health was poor, and two of our family were very sick.

I left home on the 28th of November—the weather cold: I had no resources in Ohio, but hoped to borrow money to pay old debts nearer home, and to purchase food for my family. But I had little acquaintance with any one in Ohio, and would be obliged to apply to strangers for the favour; of course, success was doubtful. It was a humiliating circumstance, and could it have been avoided, I would not have asked a stranger to loan me money. But there was no alternative; a few days would terminate our mission; the school must be dispersed, and all our hopes plunged into ruin. I was in much distress of mind, and pleaded with the Lord to provide for our wants, that we should not be compelled to abandon our mission in disgrace, and to the injury of the cause of religion—I pleaded, not as a man would plead for his own life only, but for the lives of others also, who were committed to his care.

I called on Mr. Phillips, a merchant, of Dayton, and told him candidly the nature of our wants, who very kindly advanced me money to meet our most pressing necessities. This favour afforded seasonable relief. I returned with better spirits than I had left home, having purchased three milch cows, a fresh supply of flour and pork, and paper, &c., for the school, and other articles needed, and having hired a female to assist in domestic labours; we said, “It is safe to trust in the Lord.”

Another circumstance occurred on this tour, which afforded still greater satisfaction and encouragement. Mrs. Shane, a Delaware, who lived on the road to Ohio, gave a satisfactory account of a work of grace on her heart. Captain Shane, her husband, was half Ottawa and half French, and could speak English. They had visited us at Fort Wayne some months

before, at which time we were much pleased with the interest she took in religious exercises. Her husband generally interpreted to her. On my return from Vincennes in the fall, I had heard that she had been very sick, and that she had expressed a strong desire to converse with some of the missionaries. Our circumstances not allowing me to visit them at that time, as they lived forty miles from us, I wrote them a letter on the subject of religion, which was read to them, and for which they returned us thanks. On my tour to Ohio, I preached twice at their house. She stated that her grandmother had been instructed in the Christian religion by the Moravian missionaries, and had given her some instruction in the same religion when she was a little girl. Many years afterwards, and while a widow, she had a severe attack of sickness, and became deeply concerned for the salvation of her soul. She had long been destitute of all religious opportunities. "Then," said she, "I felt like I was in the fire; I prayed to God to save me, and all at once my bad feelings left me, and I felt very happy. I then prayed that I might die. Since that time I have often thought of Christ, and prayed to him, and served him as well as I knew how. When I was at your house last summer, and heard you preach, and pray, and talk a good deal, I discovered that you talked like I had felt. You told me the same things that my grandmother had when I was a little girl. I then determined, if God would help me, to serve him better than I had ever done before. A few weeks ago, when I was very sick, and my little son died, I was in great distress. But, for a few days past, I have not been in so much trouble, for I hope that when I die I will go to the same place to which my son has gone. I desire to go to that place, but I will not *pray to die*, as I once did. I think it would not be right. I will try to be willing to live and willing to die." She said she knew that the Saviour had come into this world, and had died to save sinners, and she hoped that he would save her. On her expressing a desire to be baptized, I told her that I believed that Christ was baptized by the immersion of the whole body in the water, and that such was my fashion of baptizing. At this, her husband, who interpreted, and who professed to be a Catholic, seemed shocked, and replied to me, that such had been the delicate state of her health, that for a long time she had not dared to put even her hands into cold water, and the immersion of the whole body in water would, doubtless, cause her death. I told him that I had never known any one injured by being baptized, and again desired him to interpret to her what I had said respecting the mode of baptism. She answered, "I

am not afraid to be baptized. I believe that God will take care of me." Before I left, she expressed some doubts of the propriety of being baptized soon. Said she, "I am still an imperfect sinner, but in my present unbaptized state the Lord forgives me my faults: I fear that after baptism I shall not be able to live without doing wrong; and will the Lord then forgive me as he does now?" In the course of conversation, she related the following anecdote: "When I was a little girl, I had understood my grandmother to say, that if a person would fast and pray four days, the Lord would forgive their sins and make them happy. About two years ago I was troubled because I was not more holy, and I determined to try what my grandmother had said. I remained in the woods two days, fasting and praying. On returning home, I was sorry to find there a woman who was fond of nonsensical talk; but I determined to continue serious, and to fast and pray. I thought I did pretty well until near the close of the fourth day, when the time to receive the blessing, as I thought, had almost arrived, when off my guard, I became foolish and wicked, and I found myself no better than I was before I began to fast. I now believe, that wherever we go, or whatever we do, the devil is with us, to keep us from being truly good."

Before she had an opportunity of coming to Fort Wayne, to receive baptism, she made a journey into Ohio, and, while there, some Christians of another denomination expressed to her a desire that she would join them. She answered, she would prefer joining the church at Fort Wayne, because that was intended for the Indians, and she hoped that many Indians would unite with it. She was baptized on the 24th of June, some time after which, a religious person rebuked her for wearing trinkets in her ears. She replied, "My religion is not in my ears, it is in my heart. My heart is no more affected by the jewels in my ears, than it is by any other part of my dress. Nevertheless, I will converse with the missionaries, and if they say it is wrong to wear them, I will put them away." We never deemed it necessary to make innovations on the customs of the Indians merely for the sake of *form* or *fashion*. Their ornaments are esteemed a part of their dress. She was, therefore, told that the Great Spirit had not directed what should be the fashion of our dress. Different nations and different ages had their various modes of dressing, both in regard to comfort and comeliness. Religion consisted of a right disposition of the heart, rightly influencing our actions. The circumstances connected with the conversion of this Delaware woman have been

related with the more particularity, because, up to this time (1839) she has shined as a Christian light among her benighted kindred.

Our secular concerns continued to bear heavily upon us. Our school increased so, that at the close of the year 1820, we had thirty-two Indian scholars, all of whom were members of our family. About this time it became necessary for us, in time of a snow, to go forty miles through a wilderness with sleds, one of which I drove myself, to procure corn. Some was afterwards transported from the same place, by water, when the weather was so cold that ice formed on the poles with which the men propelled the canoes, by which their hands were frost-bitten.

Mr. Hill, who had not long before become associated with us, despairing of success in the school, left it. He was an affectionate, well-disposed young man, but not calculated to manage thirty-two wild Indian youths just from the woods. We hired another young man, who taught a few days only, before he also became discouraged and quit, and I had to go into the school myself. On the 7th of February, 1821, Mr. Martin, who had been our first teacher, arrived, and took charge of the school. He was not associated with us as a missionary, but merely hired to teach. His services afforded great relief.

CHAPTER III.

Pecuniary assistance obtained from Government. Pressing necessities. Assistance obtained in Ohio. Mr. Hill quits the Mission. Indian murders. Retrospect of a year's operations. Tour among the Putawatomes. Praying Indians. Voyage down the Wabash river. Baptisms.

From the State of Ohio, and elsewhere, we received some donations in clothing, &c., and occasionally small sums of money. These donations, though honourable to the donors, for which we were ever grateful, were, by no means, adequate to the wants of the family, which consisted of more than forty persons. Amidst the anxieties which poverty, under our peculiar circumstances, was calculated to produce, a worthy Presbyterian brother, a Mr. Hudson, an entire stranger to us, wrote from Detroit, that if we were in great need, he thought, that by a visit to that place, I might, possibly, obtain assistance from

Government. As might be supposed, we were not long in deciding what to do. In company of the mail carrier, I set out for Detroit, (two hundred miles) on the 18th of February. We spent the first night in a deserted Indian camp, where, by the light of our fire, I made the following note, which I find in my journal: "My mind is oppressed with anxiety. We are deeply in debt. Our wants have long since, and often, been made known to the board, but no relief has arrived. The situation of our affairs never appeared more precarious than at the present. Old debts are becoming due, while necessity compels us to contract new ones, and, should we not obtain relief soon, our mission must be broken up."

On reaching Detroit, my business was with Governour Cass, who listened to the story of our wants with the sympathy that does honour to humanity, and having control of some public means, he was so kind as to promise me aid. He furnished about four hundred and fifty dollars' worth of clothing and food for our Indian scholars; the latter was in the form of rations for the Indians, and the money for the former was afterwards placed in my hands, so that we might lay it out to the best advantage, which we did in purchasing at the cheapest rate in Ohio. He also promised to employ a young man whom I recommended to him, to assist the Indians of White Racoon's village in farming, and to place him under our superintendence. Circumstances, however, became such, that no person was so employed. I also obtained permission to get our blacksmith work performed at the public smithery at Fort Wayne, which was a great accommodation in that remote place. It was at this time, also, that I commenced arrangements for obtaining help from Government, which a few years afterwards became the source of the principal part of the support of the mission. A treaty of much importance was to be held at Chicago, which I was invited to attend, with a view of obtaining a more eligible site for our mission than Fort Wayne, and with a view, also, of procuring treaty stipulations which might be beneficial to the cause of Indian education. On my way homeward I found a few Baptists in a small settlement at the rapids of Maumee, to whom I preached, and made promise to endeavour to get a minister to visit them, and administer the ordinances, my business not allowing me to stop and serve them. This resulted in a visit to them of the Rev. John Mason, of Ohio.

At camp, March 3d, I made the following note in my journal: "I have travelled all day along a small trace through the wilderness, have seen no one except four Indians. My own

horse having failed before I left the settlement, I hired another to ride, while I led mine. Much wearied with the day's travel, and afflicted with pain in my face, I have just finished my supper, tied up my horse to trees, and now sit alone by a little fire in the wilderness, where I make this note." A ride the following day, of twenty miles, under a continual fall of rain, brought me home. The amount received from Government at this time was a very great help for the future, but it afforded no present relief in liquidating debts which we had already contracted, the payment of which could not be delayed.

About the 12th of March I wrote again to the board, requesting in the most pressing terms pecuniary assistance, and stating to them the precarious situation of the mission for want of it. Our school had increased to thirty-nine Indian scholars. It may be inquired why we continued to enlarge our operations, when we found so much difficulty in supporting a smaller number of scholars. We had always feared that the board had been too indifferent to missions among the Indians, and that they had not cheerfully entered upon the support of the one in which we laboured, but had been drawn into its support by means which they could not conveniently control; and if our operations had dragged on at a poor rate, we believed that support would have been entirely withheld. We also obtained some assistance from societies and individuals in the western country, who perhaps would have done nothing if our business had not appeared to be flourishing. Moreover, by enlarging our business as much as possible, we hoped to attract the attention of the Christian public to the subject of Indian missions, and we were daily hoping that more missionaries would come to our assistance; and that, when the community was somewhat awakened to the matter, the means of support would be furnished. Further, had we turned away any who had applied for admission into our school, the institution would at once have sunk greatly in the estimation of the Indians. Hitherto we had so managed as to keep up the credit of the institution pretty well among the natives, though they did sometimes complain that their children were not made comfortable. But, most of all, our feelings would not have allowed us to turn any away, while a gleam of hope remained that we should be able to support them. We should have looked after them as after those whom we had consigned to ruin, the extent of which might not fully be known until the great day of accounts; and how could we have borne the thought of then meeting their accusations, that we had refused them the means of religious instruction.

It is a little remarkable, that in our embarrassments, during the many years of the existence of the mission in those regions, Providence so favoured us that we never seriously disappointed any of those with whom we had dealings, notwithstanding we often had to create a debt with one person to procure the means of paying another.

On the 15th of March our necessities compelled me to set out upon another unpleasant journey over very bad roads, and through snow and rain, to Ohio. But by far the most unpleasant part of the business was that of again asking Mr. Phillips to lend me money, before I had paid up my old debts to him. He was a humane gentleman, and sympathized with me, but hesitated to risk any more upon the patronage of the board, but desired me to call again. The following note in my journal describes part of the exercises of my mind the following night: "Spent the night in *painful* anxiety; reviewed my Christian experience, my call to the ministry, my exercises of mind on the subject of missions, my motives and my hopes, and the dealings of Providence under various circumstances. Has God, thought I, who has preserved my life, and in some instances almost miraculously, who has made me sensible of my unworthiness, and of my dependance upon him, who has comforted me often by teaching me to trust in him, and who has given me such an earnest desire to spend the only life which I have to live in this world in a way well pleasing to him, and who has taught me to pray that I might not materially err from the path of duty—suffered me to engage in the mission and to continue in it so long, and yet not required these labours at my hands? Have all my warm feelings on the subject been delusive? Have the prospects among the Indians brightened merely to confirm the delusion, to lead me further from the right way, and to complete my downfall?" Never did I more earnestly beg, really beg, that God would save us from ruin, if he delighted in our course; and if the way was displeasing to him, to correct us in *mercy*, and set us right, without allowing any material injury to grow out of our error.

Agreeably to Mr. Phillips's request, I waited on him again, and told him, plainly, that while I hoped the board would pay the debt that I wished to contract by borrowing, they were under no promise to me to do so. That if they should not choose to allow my accounts, I should not be able to pay him soon; though one day, but not in time to suit his convenience, I should pay him. My wife and I had consecrated our lives and labours to the improvement of the condition of the Indians; and all that

we held dear on earth was, in some degree, connected with this enterprise. If he could risk a loan of money under such doubtful circumstances, he might be the means of saving all; but, if not, I could perceive no way to prevent all from being plunged into ruin in the course of a few weeks. He very generously loaned me money to meet our immediate wants. I never borrowed upon interest. Matters were afterwards so arranged that he was not a loser by his kindness. The board afterwards did hesitate to pay those accounts; but Mr. Phillips was still my friend, and made a communication to the corresponding secretary of the board respecting our affairs, honourable to the mission, and perhaps to our future benefit.

Before I obtained this loan, my business had led me into Ohio, about one hundred and fifty miles from home. I had been charged for my fare in almost every place at which I had called, and in every instance I had been compelled to request them to wait for their pay until I should return. This was not a little mortifying; I felt it to be the more so, because I knew not that I should even on my return have a cent to pay at any place. In Lebanon a kind friend placed in my hands five dollars and fifty cents, as a donation to the mission. This was a great relief in reflecting upon my travelling expenses, which I had left unpaid as I came into the settlements. Little did this kind friend suspect that his donation was so much needed.

At Dayton, Ohio, I met with Rev. George Evans, who occasionally served the board as an agent. I was rejoiced to see him; I gave him a history of our affairs—of the difficulties we encountered from various sources, and particularly of our great embarrassments for want of funds. He was astonished, and manifested the sympathy and feeling of a Christian brother. He promised to spend three weeks, without pay, in endeavouring to collect supplies for us, and to write to the board in the mean time respecting our distress. Mr. Evans obtained donations to an amount sufficient to aid us materially. He afterwards visited us at Fort Wayne, and among other services which he rendered us was one of a delicate nature, which none could have managed better than he. Mr. Hill, who was associated with us, was pious and affectionate, but we had all along known that he would not probably succeed as a missionary; and being there, if he were of no use, he would be a weight upon the mission which would do some harm. But my wife and I had not ventured to say so to him, for fear of giving pain to a good man, whose feelings we respected. Mr. Evans saw him in Ohio, and

afterwards at our house; and perceiving that he was probably not in his appropriate sphere, took upon himself the responsibility to advise him to retire from the mission; which he did, without delay. As we had lived together in perfect harmony, so we parted in friendship; and at parting we gave to each other certificates, in writing, that nothing the least unfriendly had ever existed between us. This left my wife and I alone again, with a family of forty Indian youths.

My journey homeward from Ohio was extremely unpleasant, on account of rain and bad roads. I found my wife confined to her room by a burn, which, from almost unavoidable exposure in her business, had inflamed. I had taken with me to Ohio one of our Indian pupils, a lad not quite grown, who understood English tolerably well. My object was to enlarge his mind by a journey in the white settlements, and I treated him as a travelling companion. He noticed with much interest many things which occurred on the journey. Once a person related to me in his presence the story of some church difficulties, in which a minister appeared to be implicated. He asked me afterwards what was the meaning of all that? Was there a preacher in that country who was not a good man? He seemed never before to have suspected that a preacher could be a bad man. In Dayton he happened to observe a collection of people in a house, which curiosity prompted him to approach, when he discovered that it was a place of preaching. It was a meeting of a society which is sometimes noisy in time of worship. On the following day he told me that he had heard somebody preach on the preceding night, and that the people hallooed, and jumped, and fell down, and were in confusion, like a company fighting. At one time we were awhile in the company of a preacher who had carelessly fallen into a singular manner, when engaged in conversation, and whose gesticulations were more violent and less natural than those of an Indian. As soon as he had left, the lad asked me if that man was not intoxicated.

For upwards of two years I had corresponded with the Rev. Mr. Peck, one of the Baptist missionaries in the vicinity of St. Louis, in which time I had earnestly endeavoured to induce him to consent to leave those parts, where his ministry was limited to the whites, and to join us in labours among the Indians. The board of missions about this time expressed to Mr. Peck their wish that he should join us at Fort Wayne. He, however, preferred to remain in the white frontier settlements, which indeed were in want of ministerial labours; consequently, the

connection between him and the board became dissolved. Mr. Peck continues his indefatigable labours in those regions. His efforts in preaching, and in the promotion of the bible cause, the tract, the home mission, and the Sunday school departments, have been patient and persevering; and his zeal in the cause of education has been worthy of greater success than has yet attended his labours. At the same time the connection between the board and Rev. Mr. Welch, the associate of Mr. Peck, was also dissolved. Mr. Welch returned to New-Jersey, and continues to be a zealous promoter of Sunday schools, and the circulation of bibles and tracts, and occasionally fills responsible appointments in the service of societies for promoting these important objects. Intelligence that Mr. Peck had declined uniting with us among the Indians reached us the last of March. This was to us a great disappointment.

I had been informed, by an Indian trader, that on the Illinois river, some one hundred and twenty miles from Fort Wayne, there was a company of religious Putawatomes, at the head of whom was one who was a kind of preacher, whose name was Menominee. As this man exhorted his followers to abstain from ardent spirits, and many other vices, and to practise many good morals, and as a part of their religious service consisted in praying, we were induced to hope that their minds were somewhat prepared to receive religious instruction. My circumstances were such that I could not visit them at that time; but I wrote their leader a pretty lengthy letter, encouraging him in what was right, and requesting them to call and see me, &c. This communication was sent by a man who promised to read and explain it to the party. About the 10th of April, the party came to Fort Wayne, to see me; and, during several days that they remained in that neighbourhood, we had much interesting conversation on the subject of religion. The leader professed to have been called, some few years previously, by the Great Spirit, to preach to the Indians that they should forsake their evil practices, among which he enumerated the vices of drunkenness, theft, murder, and many other wicked practices. He had a few followers, the number of whom was increasing. They generally kept close together, and all united in morning and evening worship, at which times they heard a lecture from their leader, and all kneeled and engaged in prayer, all vocally reciting the same words at the same time. While they taught good morals, they appeared wholly ignorant of the leading doctrines of the Bible, which teach that salvation is by Christ. Menominee, however, appeared to be more meek, and more

ready to receive instruction, than could have been expected from a wild man who had arrogated claims to be a leader, not only in temporal but also in spiritual things. We felt much interest in his reformation, and trusted that it might prove to be the beginning of one among his people generally. At his particular request I gave him a writing, in which I stated that he had been several days with me, that I had heard him preach and pray, and had conversed much with him; that I hoped his instructions would do his people good, and therefore requested all to treat him with kindness. "Now," said he, "I will go home and preach to the people all my life. I will tell them that my father says I tell the truth."

During all the month of April, and until some time in May, I was in ill health, much of my time confined to my room, and frequently had to preach sitting in a chair, and sometimes had to write as I lay in my bed. At the same time our business increased upon our hands. In addition to feeding, clothing, lodging, and instructing more than forty Indian youths, pressing calls were made for us to afford some assistance to the poor natives at their villages. From the town in which, as we were on our way to Fort Wayne, we had seen a mother digging roots in a swamp, with a child tied on her back, and another by her side, two women came to us to get a few seeds, to put in the ground, that they might fare better. They told us, in an affecting manner, that they lived exceedingly poor at their village. The women were compelled to undergo great hardship. They desired to become more comfortable, but they knew not how to cultivate the ground to advantage: they hoped that their father (as they called me) would pity them, and send a man to assist them in farming; they would pay him for his services as amply as their means would allow, and he should eat the very best food that their village could furnish. We once thought that we should be able to procure a religious young man to aid that village in cultivating the ground, and that we should do it without drawing upon the charities of any; but our business at the mission house and my ill health disappointed our hopes. We could do no more than to loan them a plough, and some other farming utensils.

On the 7th of May we were informed that a Miami young man was lying half a mile from us, mortally wounded with a knife, which shocking deed had been perpetrated by an associate of his. The murderer had fled, in order to escape from vengeance. On the same day a Miami man and his wife were riding together, not more than the fourth of a mile from our

house, both intoxicated. She, falling from her horse, was ordered to mount again, which, either for want of ability or inclination, she did not immediately do; when the wretch instantly drew his tomahawk, and beat out her brains. He then opened a bundle of goods, and told the Indian women present to dress the corpse as finely as they pleased. The corpse was accordingly decorated with all the finery, trinkets, and painting, which the foolishness of the friends present dictated, and their means allowed. While they were performing this ceremony of dressing, an Indian rode up and inquired, "Who has done this?" "I did it," replied the murderer, with a boasting air. "Tell the relations of this woman that I shall remain here ten days; if they wish to avenge her death, they will know where to find me." Three days after this another Miami stabbed his wife mortally with a knife, within a mile of our house. On the 17th, a young Miami stabbed and killed an old woman, who had professed to be a physician, and consequently was esteemed a witch. I was informed, that some time previously a child of the murderer had sickened, and the old woman had been applied to as physician; unfortunately for her, the child died, and she was accused of killing it, either by poison or some other means, and she was now murdered, by way of revenge. Attempts to take her life had frequently been made by others, because she was suspected of bewitching their horses, and of performing other dark deeds, by familiar art. She had often been compelled to flee for her life, and conceal herself from the pursuer. Their chief informed me of the death of the old woman, and desired me to have her buried. I took a young man and rode to their camp, where we found only two men and a woman, all of whom were intoxicated. The corpse lay upon the ground, wrapped in a piece of calico and a blanket. While the grave was preparing the murderer returned, who affected to be wholly callous on the occasion, but I thought his countenance indicated a sense of guilt, and some remorse. Her grave was beside that of a poor woman who had been murdered the winter before. Several Indians came to us before we left the place, most of whom were intoxicated. Before the end of this month we heard of the murder of a Putawatomie, who was returning from our place to St. Joseph river, by the hands of one of his comrades.

Among the Indians are various games of chance, at which they play, and gamble in such articles as they possess, similar to gambling among white men. An Indian had been stabbed

with a knife, who lingered, and of whose recovery there was doubt. On the 12th of May a party resolved to decide the question whether the man would live or die, by a game at *moccasin*. In this game the parties seat themselves upon the earth, opposite to each other, while one holds a moccasin on the ground with one hand, and holds in the other a small ball; the ball he affects to conceal in the moccasin, and does either insert it or not, as he shall choose, and then leaves the opposite party to guess where the ball is. In order to deceive his antagonist, he incessantly utters a kind of sing-song, which is repeated about thrice in a minute, and moving his hands in unison with the notes, brings one of them, at every repetition, to the mouth of the moccasin, as though he had at that moment inserted the ball. One party played for the wounded man's recovery, and the other for his death. Two games were played, in both which the side for recovery was triumphant, and so they concluded that the man would not die of his wounds.

About the middle of May, Rev. John Mason, of Ohio, an elderly and worthy servant of God, visited our station. We were so much refreshed by his company, and were so greatly in want of missionaries, that, notwithstanding his age, we invited him to cast in his lot with us. Some of his family, we believed, would afford much relief to Mrs. McCoy, who greatly needed it. He encouraged us to hope that he would join us, but this also ended in disappointment.

In the latter part of May, a gentleman from the southeastern shore of Lake Erie, who had opened a correspondence with us some time before, arrived at our house, with the design of becoming a missionary. I concluded that it would be better for us not to strike hands hastily; and so we gave him some business for about three months, for which we paid him wages. He was a pious man, of an amiable disposition; but, after the trial made, we feared that he did not possess a tact for usefulness among the knotty sticks which we had to manage, and our connection was not prolonged.

The following is from my journal:
 "May 29, 1821. One year ago, this day, we opened our school at this place; we had then eight Indian scholars; we now have forty-two. These consist of Miamies, Putawatomes, Shawanoes, and Indians from New-York. These undisciplined youths have not been managed without difficulty; I have hired five different persons, who have, at different times, tried to manage the school; nevertheless, I have frequently been obliged to take the sole management of it myself. These changes in teachers

have been to our disadvantage; yet the school flourishes, and the scholars make pleasing progress in their studies. Certainly the Lord takes care of us.

“Mrs. McCoy, in addition to domestic labours, in common teaches the larger girls the use of the needle and the spinning wheel. She is more confined to the house than I am, and in the daily routine of her labours there is more of sameness than in mine; and, on many accounts, her business is calculated more deeply to depress the spirits and to unnerve the constitution than mine. The apprehension that both her strength and spirits are sinking has become another source of serious disquietude to me. I endeavour to conceal from her as much of that which is discouraging in our affairs as possible, and to place the better side of our prospects towards her; I am oppressed with many an anxious thought which I dare not communicate to her.”

“I felt wretched last night, when a man who had laboured for us, and who had patiently waited for his pay until he was about to leave the place, called for his money, and I had not one cent for him. I looked around to borrow it, but failed, and I was compelled to use money intrusted to my care by a friend, hoping that before he should call for it, I would have obtained it from some other source.”

Under these trying circumstances Providence so ordered it, that small remittances of money by mail, from societies and individuals in the western country, frequently came to our relief. The donors of these and of various articles of food and clothing designed to do good when they made their donations, but they could not set a just estimate upon their benefactions, without being acquainted with the wants of the institution. Could they have seen to what expedients we were reduced, many a time, to get a better garment for an Indian child, when one of its relations happened to be near; could they have seen the homely furniture of our table, or felt the want of a palatable meal in sickness, or realized the satisfaction of paying a debt intimately connected with the reputation of the mission, when, a few hours previously, they had not a cent in their possession—then they could have formed a more correct opinion of the value of their donations.

From the neighbourhood of Menominee, the Indian preacher, some Indians came to our place, who informed me that a proposition I had made to visit them had excited much interest. They thought I delayed, and had become impatient. Some said I had lied, and Menominee himself had become so uneasy, that he frequently visited a trading house, some fifteen miles off, to inquire for me. On hearing this, we concluded that Mrs.

McCoy must again take the sole charge of the institution, while I would visit those Indians. Her difficulties, we knew, must be somewhat increased by the circumstance of being obliged to take into the school a new teacher. Mr. Martin's engagements with us terminated on the 7th of May, when the school was committed to one unacquainted with Indian habits and prejudices, as well as uninformed with regard to all our business.

Having long been in poor health, and having barely recovered so as to be able to travel, we were not a little afraid that I should be unable to endure the fatigue and exposure of the journey. For an interpreter and travelling companion, I took one of our pupils, named Abraham Burnett. To meet my engagements with Menominee was only a part of my business; I designed to look out a site for the permanent location of our mission, as we had from the first considered our residence at Fort Wayne a mere temporary measure, dictated by the necessity of the occasion. I had been informed that the principal Putawatomic chiefs had held several councils upon the subject of our mission, and had resolved to invite us to locate among them. We deemed a tour among them necessary, in order to foster these kind feelings of theirs. An important treaty with the Putawatomics, Ottawas, and Miamies, was approaching, which would be the proper time to secure a site for the mission upon favourable conditions, and the minds of the Indians must previously be prepared to come into the measure.

We had long been so much distressed for want of means to support the mission, that while we should thankfully accept of all the assistance which the board of missions would give us, we were taught not to rely on it for support. But we resolved to seek support, as far as practicable, from Government, and from the Christian public, by our correspondence, and through such agents as we should be able to employ to take collections from the benevolent.

Ever after my journey to Detroit, in the months of February and March, 1821, I had been endeavouring to prepare the way, to get into the anticipated treaty some stipulations which should favour educational purposes among the Indians. In all this I was careful to ascertain that I acted in accordance with the views of those who would be the principal agents of the United States in the negotiations. It was believed that a tour among the Putawatomics at this time would promote these ends. It may be well here to remark, in regard to the wants of the mission, both before and after the period respecting which I am now writing, that a missionary, or agent, who could have devoted

his time wholly to procuring supplies from a benevolent public, and from Government, could have obtained support for a mission, upon even a larger scale than that of ours, without drawing a cent from the funds of the board. The truth of this assertion will appear in the sequel of our story, when we relate that notwithstanding all our cares, which were calculated to confine us at our post, we did so manage as to get help from Government, which, with the labour of our own hands, supported the mission the last four years of its existence at Carey, without drawing a dollar from the treasury of the board which they could have applied to any other purpose. But at the time of which I am writing, we had business enough at the establishment to employ at least three male and three female missionaries, while the management of every thing devolved on my wife and me. Thus situated, it was impossible for me to go abroad to solicit donations.

In company of three Indians, I set out upon my tour among the Indians the 7th of June; swam our horses across St. Mary's river, and about ten o'clock met a company of Putawatomes. We had passed them about a mile, when one of them came riding back to us in haste, to tell some news which had escaped recollection at meeting. The intelligence was, that a brother of the newsmonger had latterly been stabbed by an Indian woman, and was badly wounded, but not dead. We encamped near a large pond, which supplied us with water. It rained upon us severely through the night, and we were under an ordinary tent cloth, which was a poor defence against a shower. The loons, by their mournful screaming, and the large frogs, whose hoarse notes formed a kind of base to a thousand other songsters which inhabited the pond and the woods, gave us music in all the wakeful hours of the night.

On the following morning it commenced raining upon us just as we left camp, and with little intermission continued all day. While we stopped to eat a bite at noon, a tremendous shower poured down. I sat over my saddlebags, until Abraham, seeing that I was taking wet fast, ran to an old Indian camp, and brought thence a piece of bark, which I held over me as a partial shelter; but it was impossible to keep dry. We encamped a little before night, for the purpose of drying our clothes. We had another night of rain, but I was so much fatigued with the journey that neither the rain, nor the thousands of moschetoes which swarmed about us, prevented me from sleep. Some time in the morning my Indian friends

awoke me, and informed me that they were ready to eat and start. The following night we arrived at the house of a trader, and the next day Abraham went to the neighbouring villages to let the principal chiefs know that I would be glad to meet them in council on the following day.

June 10th, I met Topenebe, Chebass, and Cheshaugen, and others, at one of their villages. As is usual on those occasions, business was opened by throwing my tobacco in a heap on the ground, in the midst of the company, followed by a round of smoking. Next came our *talk*. I spoke very cautiously to them upon all subjects except the advantages of education, and the character of our institution as it respected education. Early on the 11th, having procured an Indian to pilot us, we set off for Menominee's village. As we approached it, Menominee and others met us with all the signs of joy and gladness which could have been expressed by these poor creatures. Menominee immediately cried aloud to his people, all of whom lived in four little bark huts, informing them that their father had arrived. I was no sooner seated, by their invitation, than men, women, and children, came around and gave me their hand; even infants were brought, that I might take them by the hand.

A messenger was immediately despatched to a neighbouring village to announce my arrival; in his absence Menominee inquired if I were coming to reside among them. Receiving evasive answers, he expressed great concern; he said the principal chief of their party, and all the people of their villages, except a few, desired me to come. He showed me a place which he had selected for me to build a house upon. Their huts being exceedingly hot and unpleasant, I proposed taking a seat out of doors. The yard was immediately swept, and mats spread for me either to sit or lie upon. We were presently regaled with a bowl of boiled turtle's eggs; next came a kettle of sweetened water for us to drink. I was then shown a large turtle which had been taken in a pond, and asked if I was fond of it. Fearing that with *their* cooking I should not be able to eat it, I replied that I was very fond of corn and beans. This I knew was already over the fire; it was placed before us in one large wooden bowl, and we ate it with wooden ladles. Menominee had two wives, each of whom presented me with a bark box of sugar, containing about thirty pounds each.

In a short time the principal chief, Pcheeko, and every man, and almost every woman and child in his village, were at Menominee's, and all came and shook hands. I was rather aston-

ished to discover that the parents required all the children, who were capable of understanding, to give their *right hand*. I had strange feelings: all were gazing on me with a kind of reverential respect that I was unaccustomed to. On the arrival of Pcheeko we had resumed our station in the house, where I handed out my tobacco; all smoked until the fumes and the heat became almost insupportable, but I mustered courage to remain, as I supposed it would be impolite to leave the room at that time. Menominee said that as I had promised them that I would visit them when the grass grew to a certain height, he had gone out every day to see how high it was; he had at length become uneasy, and intended soon to have started to Fort Wayne, to learn the cause of my delay. In the mean time, some had reproached him for being so foolish as to imagine that I would visit him; they had also said his preaching was not true, for none of them would go to God as he had said; that I preached differently from him, and that I had told the people of other villages that they might drink whiskey, &c. Still he had encouraged his people to hope that I would be faithful to my promise—"and now you see, my children," said he, "that he has come."

They reiterated their entreaties that I would come and live among them. I told them the distance from Fort Wayne was great. They replied, "It is not very great—you came a crooked road. Almost all of our people have quit drinking whiskey, and have left off many other bad practices. Whiskey will be brought into our country, and, unless you come and reside among us, we fear that many will return to drink and to other evil practices; but if you will come and live with us we will drink no more whiskey; we will send our children to school, and you can preach to us; we all desire to hear you preach. You can bring with you a good interpreter, so that you can tell us *all* your mind about religion. We desire to understand these things."

They invited me to remain with them the next day, and when I consented they entreated me to stay *two* days. If I would, they said they would send some of their young men and kill for me some fresh meat. They insisted on knowing when I would visit them again; on being told that it was uncertain, they said, "If you will tell us at what time you will visit us again, we will have something good for you to eat—now we have nothing good." Menominee delivered to his people a lecture. He had no ceremony, but commenced without even rising from his seat, and spoke with much energy. A little

before dark the company dispersed, and all shook my hand at parting as they had done at meeting. When we were alone, Menominee informed me that he had two wives. Some had said to him that if I had knowledge of this circumstance, I "would push him away from me." "I tell you," said he, "that you may know it; it is a common thing among our people; and often the younger sister of a wife claims it as a privilege to become a second wife, that she, too, may have some one to provide meat for her. This is the case in regard to my two wives, who are sisters. I did not know that it was wrong to take a second wife; but if you say it is wrong, I will put one of them away." This, I thought, appeared like cutting off a hand, or pulling out an eye, because it offended.

I desired to have a better interpreter than Abraham, when I should explain to him the sacredness of the marriage contract; especially as the delicacy of the present case was increased by the circumstance that both of his wives were mothers, and, agreeably to Indian customs, claimed his protection for both themselves and their children. I replied, "This is a subject of great importance, and I must think before I speak. You propose accompanying me as far as the lake; if you do, I will tell you my mind before we finally separate."

I sung and prayed in their wigwams, evening and morning. The women also kneeled and prayed, in their own language, evening and morning. They all vocally recited the same prayer at the same time, during which Menominee said nothing. I also heard them at family prayers in an adjoining house. These things were so affecting that it was with difficulty sometimes that I could repress my tears, even in their presence. When all had retired to sleep, I gave vent to my passion, and enjoyed a precious season of prayer and praise. Menominee at one time showed me a square stick, on which he had made a mark for every sermon he had preached. I then showed him in my journal the list of texts from which I had preached at different times, showing him at the same time that what I preached had been taken from such and such places in our good book. He immediately set about counting both his marks and mine, in order to ascertain which of us had preached most frequently in the course of a year. Finding a considerable difference in my favour, he pleaded his inferiority. He must now see all my books and papers—must hear me read, notwithstanding he could not understand a word. He must also examine my watch. I attempted to write in my journal; but he kept so close to me, and was so inquisitive, that I was obliged to defer it. I retired into the brush to make

some hasty notes with my pencil, but he followed, and in a few minutes was seen gazing after me.

In compliance with an invitation of Pcheeko, the principal chief of this band, we paid him a visit on the 12th, accompanied by Menominee and several others. Pcheeko, to show his loyalty to our Government, or rather as an expression of respect for me, had hoisted over his hut the American flag. A large kettle of hommony and venison was ready for us on our arrival. To my mess, besides some choice pieces, they added sugar. With the help of my knife, a wooden ladle, and a good appetite, I despatched a reasonable meal, endeavouring at the same time to indulge as few thoughts as possible about the cleanliness or the uncleanness of the cooks.

In private, they intimated to Abraham that they suspected me to be partial to Menominee. The lad replied, that my visit was to them all. They said that they were glad of that, and that they would be glad to attend my preaching, for they "were afraid Menominee did not know how to preach good." They mentioned some doctrines which they said Menominee had advanced, and inquired of Abraham if I had preached the same. With all that was pleasing with these poor creatures, we discovered that they were too much under the influence of *Indian feeling*, in their hopes of deriving some temporal benefit from an acquaintance with us. On this subject Abraham replied to them, as he informed me, that my business was preaching, teaching school, and instructing Indians in mechanical trades and in agriculture; that Menominee, being a preacher also, knew by experience that preachers received but little pay, and had but little to give away; the food and clothing at the institution were not really mine—they were intrusted to my care, for the benefit of the children who attended school, and for none others; but we would instruct them to make clothes, which would be far better than a few presents of clothing; the latter would soon wear out, but a knowledge of manufacturing cloth would be a lasting benefit.

The weather being excessively hot, and we being obliged to use water taken from a filthy pond, the flies exceedingly severe on our horses, and our situation in every respect being very unpleasant and unwholesome, Abraham, who was already sick, insisted on our leaving. He said, "We stay here, I'm sure we die; our horses die too. Me no want to die here." Menominee called together all his people, of whom I took an affectionate leave, after promising them that, if practicable, I would visit them again when the leaves began to fall. Menominee walked

with us half a mile, begged a continuation of our friendship, declared that he would continue to endeavour to please God, and do right; and so we parted; when I was made to exclaim, "O, compassionate Saviour! didst not thou expand thy bleeding arms upon Mount Calvary! and is there not room in thy bleeding bosom for these dear people? and will not this desert soon begin to rejoice?"

Here was an uncommonly favourable opening for doing good to these dear, artless people, who appeared ready to receive instruction in things relating both to this life and that which is to come; but it was impossible for a solitary missionary and his wife, who already had much more upon their hands than they could manage, to improve the opening here presented. It was more properly the duty of the Baptist denomination to see to them, than that of others, because Providence had allowed us to become acquainted with them; but among three or four hundred thousand of our denomination in the United States, none manifested a willingness to make his home in the desert, and teach these poor anxious inquirers the path to heaven. Within a year after the time of which we are writing, the party, as such, began to dwindle, and long since it has ceased to exist as a religious party. Some have died, and some have returned to the vices which once they denounced; but, in the great day of accounts, will they not have cause to complain of the thousands of Christians who, though not far from them, neglected to hold out to them the lamp of life? They were left to wander in the dark, and have fallen. It is done; we cannot now go back to atone for our criminal neglect of the party of poor Menominee. We shall have attained our end in telling this sad tale of our injustice, if the narrative should induce a discharge of Christian duty to others within our reach.

It was on the 12th of June that we left Menominee's village. The heat was excessive, and the flies so numerous that our horses could scarcely travel. We suffered for want of water ourselves, and often could get none, only in ponds, and so full of animalculæ, that, before drinking, we strained it through our handkerchiefs. About three o'clock we fell in with a company of Sauks, on their way to Canada, for presents, which the British there make to them, and other tribes, annually. When they first discovered us, some of them came dashing up, in a manner which made us suspect that they intended to insult us. In this we were mistaken. At sunset we arrived at a small Putawatomie village, on the banks of the St. Joseph river. I was so much exhausted that I was scarcely able to walk. I lay down on

my blankets in the yard, and listened to two men who were within a bark hut, sweating for their health. They poured water upon heated rocks, and placed themselves in the steam which arose, and by this means produced violent perspiration. They commenced with a short song, and then fell into a kind of prayer, of very few words, which was uttered in a sing-song tone, repeated three or four times in a minute. This was kept up without intermission during the whole process of sweating over the heated rocks. Having remained in the sweat-house as long as they desired, they hastened to the river; and, when in a profuse perspiration, plunged into it. After remaining in the river a short time, they returned to their tent, and wrapped themselves in their blankets.

We had not been there long before a large wooden bowl of thick soup, made of pounded corn, without grease or salt, was placed before us. I was very hungry and faint, and withal a little sick; a comfortable meal would have been very grateful, but the cookery appeared so extremely filthy, that it was with much self-denial I partook of a small portion. We then borrowed a kettle, and made coffee for ourselves. In this we were not less unfortunate; for it turned out that the kettle was so unclean, that even Abraham, who was more accustomed to Indian fare than I, could not drink our coffee. About the same time the Indians commenced eating upon the same ground; the group which sat nearest to me consisted of an old woman, with the carcass of some small animal on her lap, four children, eight dogs, and a cat. Puss and the surly curs had some contention about their claims; and as the supper was likely to be rather scant, some snapping, and at length a heavy fight, ensued among the canine guests, who were so incautious in the affray as to tumble over one of the children. For this ill manners poor Tray had to submit to a severe pelting from the affectionate mother; which, though it was a just punishment, he could not bear without complaining as loudly as the injured child.

We left this place early on the following morning; the day was rainy, and the thick brush along our narrow path wet. For our dinner we divided between us the only biscuit we had left. Passed three villages, at one of which we halted a short time, and had some conversation on the subject of our mission. In the afternoon reached the residence of the Burnetts, Abraham's relations, who were half-breeds, and who resided near Lake Michigan. Here we were made comfortable, rested two days, and obtained a supply of provisions. I was by this time so feeble that I could scarcely walk. Abraham was unwell, and

scarcely able to travel. By mingling with the Indians, our clothes had become infested with the filthy vermin so abundant among all uncivilized Indians, which was a sickening as well as an annoying circumstance. The Burnetts, who were acknowledged Indians by their tribe, were related to Topenebe, the principal chief of the Putawatomie tribe. They were intelligent, and I availed myself of their influence in bringing the Putawatomies into measures. We awaited the arrival of one of them who attended a feast at Topenebe's, at which they cooked eight deer. He also attended a council, at which the question, whether it would be advisable for the mission to be located among them, was discussed. The principal chiefs had referred the matter to the young men, who knew little about it, and cared less, and who decided that it was not necessary for the mission to be located there. This decision occasioned no discouragement, because I was confident that matters were in a train to secure the consent of the principal chief, and indeed of every one else, as soon as proper explanations of our objects could be made. A daughter of Topenebe gave me two of her sons, about five and seven years old, to take to our school. Both were so nearly naked that they could not travel among the flies and musketoos until I had procured clothing for them.

We left Burnett's early on the 16th, and at about ten miles took into our company a third Indian boy, which had been promised to me a few days before. I hired two Indians to carry the boys thirty miles. Having halted a little at noon, all were ready, and resumed their journey a few minutes before me. When I came up with them, they were halted with a company which they had met, with whiskey. Our Indians seemed to be waiting for a dram, while one of the other party appeared to be outrageously mad. He at length seized a pistol of one of our company, and endeavoured to force it from his belt, that he might discharge it at the owner. The latter at length dismounted, and raised a club upon the madman, who was hauled away by others of his party. Some heavy scuffling ensued, and I expected to see bloodshed, which, happily, was not the case. I was concerned for my little boys, who were in the midst of the tumult, and I kept my eye upon them until we were under way again. Not one of them attempted to trouble me. We travelled through a great rain, and lodged at the trading house.

On the night of the 17th we encamped near a company driving cattle through the wilderness to the army at Chicago. One of their company had sickened, and was perfectly de-

ranged. On the following morning I was requested to assist in taking him back to Fort Wayne, one of the proprietors accompanying us. We found great difficulty in keeping him upon his horse; after various unsuccessful measures, we tied his feet under the horse. A lusty Frenchman had fallen into our company, whom we hired to assist, and him we placed on the horse, behind the poor maniac, to hold him on, and the other man walked by his side, for the same purpose, while one of us led the horse. After conveying him about five miles, and finding it impossible to proceed, we turned off to an Indian hut, into which the owners kindly allowed him to come, and spread a mat for him to lie upon. Neither the circumstances of our company, nor our affairs at home, admitted of our losing time. After directing the two men whom we left, to take care of the sick man, and how to bleed him with a *flint*, as we had no lancet, we proceeded. After we left, they again attempted to travel with the sick, but the poor man died on the following day. They had not the means of burying him in the earth, and having found a hollow occasioned by a tree being torn up by the roots by the wind, they laid the corpse there, and covered it with old fallen timber, such as could be gathered without the use of the axe. We found some trouble in crossing a swamp, so that we had to lighten the burdens of the horses, and carry our baggage across upon our shoulders, and soon after we encamped, we had a violent storm of wind and rain.

On the 19th we found the creeks full; in crossing one of which, that was almost swimming to my horse, he fell with me twice, and drenched me pretty thoroughly. We had but fairly got clear of the creek, when we encountered another severe rain and wind; swam our horses across St. Mary's river, where we had a canoe for the conveyance of our persons, and entered our own door in a condition very different from dry and comfortable.

The situation of Mrs. McCoy had become such as to require attentions which our wilderness residence did not afford. The most eligible mode of conveying her to a suitable place in the settled country was to descend the Wabash river in an open canoe. The distance by water was between three and four hundred miles, and more than half of this was through a wilderness, inhabited only by uncivilized Indians. It was the 25th of June, that, with our three younger children, she took her leave, not expecting to return in less time than three months. Neither of us had ever felt a parting scene so trying as this. She was entering a gloomy desert with our three babes, and

the sickly season of the year had already commenced. It was now the heat of summer, and the musketoos were as numerous as were ever known. The first night they encamped, Mrs. McCoy spent without sleep, driving the musketoos from her little children. They were nine days on the river, and scarcely a day passed without rain, to which in their open canoe they were exposed without a shelter; their provisions damaged, and their clothing mildewed with wet and heat. Still Jacob's God was round about them by night and by day. She returned by land through the wilderness, and reached Fort Wayne the 14th of September, with the addition of one to the number of her little ones. In her absence, when I was left in charge of forty-seven Indian youths, I learned by experience how onerous had been her duties when I had frequently left her sole manager of the mission.

On the 8th of July I baptized Mrs. Turner, whose mother mother was a Miami. Of this woman's conversion mention has already been made. On the 15th I baptized a white woman whom we had hired to labour in the family, and who gave satisfactory evidence of her conversion to God.

CHAPTER IV.

Dreadful effects of ardent spirits. Superintendents of Missionary Stations. Important treaty at Chicago. Beneficial Stipulations. Indian murders. Candidates for Missionary Service. Sickness. Indian murders. Circular to the public. Want of suitable school teachers. Journey to Washington City. Arrival of a Missionary. Appointment of Missionaries. Injury received from an Indian. Manufacture of cloth.

Early in July, 1821, Chebass, a chief from St. Joseph river, informed me that no decision unfavourable to our locating among the Putawatomes had been made among them, as had been reported. Meteor, another Putawatomie chief, was present, and made something of a speech, and concluded by requesting me to furnish them with some whiskey. I told him that preachers were not in the habit of drinking whiskey. He then said that he had not requested me to drink, nor would he ask me even to procure the liquor for them; he would be satisfied if I would give him a little money with which to buy whiskey. I pointed to the pitcher upon the table, and

said, "that is very good water." Meteor paused and smiled, and taking me by the hand, said, "My father, you are right. The Great Spirit will hear what you say, and protect you, for I find that you are a good man." Fort Wayne was the resort of many Indians from different places. We frequently invited them to visit the school, and we also took pains to explain to them the mode of conducting our business generally. Many of them flattered us with approbation, who never practically manifested a desire to promote civilization among their people; and among such were the two chiefs named above.

In order to satisfy the parents of our pupils, and others who felt an interest in their welfare, that their children were treated with kindness, we had taken into our family an elderly Putawatomie widow, of much respectability among her people. When complaints would reach the parents, this old woman, in whom they had confidence, could state the facts in a manner which seldom failed to give satisfaction. Early in July, we heard of the death of her mother, who was a very aged and intemperate woman. She had been left alone at her camp, with whiskey in her possession, and was never heard of afterwards. She was, no doubt, devoured by beasts and buzzards.

As a matter of economy, in our expensive charge, we cultivated about thirty acres of corn, and mowed hay on the prairies. In attending to this business, besides our labour in a large garden, we sometimes employed the boys of our school. When they worked, I had to work with them, not only for the purpose of teaching them and of preventing idleness, but also to satisfy both them and their parents that we did not esteem labour disgraceful. In addition to the laziness which habit produces in the Indian, we have found his mistaken sense of honour, esteeming it degrading to labour, a formidable obstacle to his improvement. Their first and most intimate acquaintances are such as are connected with Indian trade. Between the principals in trade or their clerks, and their hired hands, is usually as much distinction as there is between a southern planter and his negro slaves. The Indians discovering that the employees, who alone performed the drudgery, were treated as menials, naturally drew the conclusion that manual labour was generally esteemed to be degrading among the whites. We found it necessary, therefore, to correct this impression by our own example.

On the 25th of July a Putawatomie came into my house with many singular airs. He first touched my hand, and then kissed the place on his own hand which had come in contact with mine. He then wet his finger and touched my forehead,

each shoulder, and my breast, which was virtually *crossing* me according to the Catholic ceremonies. He then bowed almost to the ground, and, rising, shook my hand and took his seat. I quietly allowed the simpleton to perform his ceremonies to his own taste. He then proceeded to inform me, that on the preceding night a friend of his had been murdered with a knife, by one of their acquaintances, and desired me to go and baptize him. I told him it was too late to baptize him; that baptism would be of no service to a dead man. He then requested me to give him four quarts of whiskey to "*cover the dead*," as they express themselves, and "to help them to mourn for their departed friend." The putting of clothes, food, whiskey, hunting apparatus, &c., into the grave with the deceased, they call "*covering the dead*." Most of the whiskey, however, on such occasions, is drunk by the living, who frequently have another murder committed before the termination of their season of mourning. I assured him that I would not give whiskey to an Indian on any occasion, but that I strove to prevent them from destroying themselves by it; but I would give him a little tobacco. He wept, and accepted the tobacco. I took one of our Putawatomie scholars and proceeded to the place where it was said the dead man lay, with a view to attend his funeral. The poor wretch was yet alive, and weltering in his blood. Many Indians were about the place, all intoxicated excepting three or four. The murderer was with the drunken. On the 6th of August we heard of the murder of two Shawanoes at Wapaughkonnetta, southeast of us; and on the 10th we heard of two others being killed among the Miamies, of Massassinawa. Such scenes were shocking in the extreme.

About this time the board resolved to "select, in the vicinity of their respective Indian stations, brethren of well known piety and discretion, to fulfil the office of superintendents" of the several missions. This regulation was really applied in regard to the Cherokee mission, but not in relation to ours. Indeed, we were surprised to find the measure proposed in general terms, as if applicable to all stations, because no such persons resided in what could be termed the *vicinity* of our station; and a man who resided one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles from the station, who had begun and intended to end his life in civilized society, who was ignorant of the manners and customs of the Indians, and of the privations of the missionaries, and whose attention was directed generally to other matters, so that he could only think of Indian affairs occasionally, must be poorly qualified to superintend.

During the absence of Mrs. M. in Indiana, the contemplated and important treaty with the Indians at Chicago came on. It being impossible for me to leave home at that time to attend it, at a distance of one hundred and eighty miles, I looked around with great solicitude for a person whom I could employ, and in whose integrity and talents I could confide. I could do no better than send the teacher of our school, who could ill be spared. So difficult was it, in our remote situation, to get a teacher who would not do more harm than good, that in a few weeks' absence of the one mentioned above I had to dismiss one and try another.

The messenger to Chicago, mentioned above, was made acquainted with all our plans and doings in regard to matters among those Indians, and both they and the commissioners were requested to listen to his propositions. His instructions were full. He left Fort Wayne on the 2d of August, accompanied by Abraham Burnett, one of our pupils. As it was at this treaty that we had long been hoping to make some arrangements for getting to a more suitable location for the mission, and for obtaining something for future support, I was distressed that I could not be present myself. In the midst of deep anxieties, it was not a little relief to my mind, when, on the 9th of August, Col. Trimble, of Ohio, United States' Senator, on his way to the treaty, looked in upon me, and inquired into our affairs. He requested a written statement of our progress and present condition. I gave him, in writing, the whole of my plans and wishes, and he kindly promised his most zealous support at the treaty, and declared his readiness to help at any subsequent period. We have reason to remember his kind offices at the treaty; and in his death, which occurred not long after, we felt that we had lost a friend. Through the favour of a kind Providence, our propositions at the treaty of Chicago were successful, notwithstanding that matters were not arranged precisely in the manner that we had marked out in our plans.

The Putawatomes gave a mile square of land for mission premises, to be located under the directions of the President of the United States, and held by him as United States' property. It was stipulated, that for the benefit of the Putawatomes, Government should place upon this section of land a *teacher* and a *blacksmith*, and should expend in their support \$1,000 annually, for the term of fifteen years. To bring about such an arrangement as this, had cost us much labour, watchfulness, and anxiety. Others, in their intercourse with the Indians, had money and goods with which to purchase their consent to mea-

tures to which they otherwise felt disinclined; but we had neither money nor consciences that could be thus used. We had, also, many strong prejudices of the natives to contend with in this matter, and still worse passions which were opposed to us by some mischievous white men. At the moment, when in council, the Putawatomes demanded of the commissioners a teacher, a certain Roman Catholic Frenchman, who was a United States' Indian sub-agent, and who, at the time, was interpreting for the United States' commissioners, stated to them (the commissioners) that the Indians desired that the teacher be a *Roman Catholic*. The Indians, the moment that they were made, by one of their party who understood English, to understand what had been just stated, positively contradicted the statement, and declared that they had not requested a Catholic teacher; that I was the man whom they desired to be their teacher. Subsequently, this office was given me by the Government, which office I held until about a year after I left that country for the Indian territory, which was in 1828. My salary was four hundred dollars a year, all of which was thrown into the common missionary fund for the support of the mission, and was regularly accounted for to the board of missions, as so much money received from them. For the time that I was allowed the salary after I left the station on Government and missionary business in the west, the allowance was continued because a missionary brother was still at the station, attending to the affairs of the mission, and my salary was applied to *his support*, and not to that of my own.

A full explanation of our connection with Government, which grew out of the treaty of Chicago, can more properly be given in another place in our narrative.

The smithery also was subsequently placed under my superintendency. Three hundred and sixty-five dollars a year was allowed for the support of the smith, and the residue of the \$1,000 annuity was applied to the furnishing of iron, steel, &c., for the smithery. These arrangements, as will be learned from our story hereafter, became a source of great relief in pecuniary matters. At the treaty under consideration, Government also engaged to furnish the Ottawas with a teacher, a farmer, and a blacksmith; to locate them on a mile square of land, to be selected and held similarly to that aforementioned for the Putawatomes, and to expend in support of those persons \$1,500 per annum, for the term of ten years; and also to furnish the Ottawas with a considerable number of cattle, farming utensils, &c. Subsequently, the Government was pleased to place under my super-

intendency the persons employed as above provided by the treaty, and also the distribution of the cattle to the Ottawas.

Had it not been for these measures, our mission there would probably have been discontinued, for want of support. In these matters, the special interposition of Providence in our favour appeared to us evident. We therefore thanked God and took courage. But it was about a year and a half after the treaty, before we derived any pecuniary aid from these arrangements.

The facilities provided for the benefit of the Ottawas could not be secured to our mission as early as those for the Putawatomies, on account of the failure of a missionary, as will be mentioned hereafter. In the mean time, the man whom I had employed to carry my despatches to the treaty, and whom I had retained in my employment, for wages, as school teacher, conceived the design of supplanting us in the matter relating to the Ottawas, merely for the sake of the salary of the *teacher* for that station, for which the treaty stipulated, without any pretensions to be influenced by regard for the welfare of the Indians. He was a professor of religion, but not a member of the Baptist Church, and he had secured my confidence as a Christian and a friend. In maturing his plans, he made a journey to Ohio, on a pretext which was satisfactory to me; and I loaned him my horse to ride, and furnished other things for his convenience in travelling. On his journey he made known to one of the United States' agents for Indian affairs his design to supplant us in the station contemplated among the Ottawas, and desired his assistance in the measure. He was considerably indebted to the agent; and whether the influence of a hope of recovering a bad debt, or some other consideration, weighed with the latter, he did undertake to aid the design, and to this end, furnished him with papers to the Governour of Michigan Territory, who had control of those appointments. The secret was communicated to me by a friend, and on his return to Fort Wayne I reasoned and remonstrated with him, but in vain. He appeared confident of success, in consequence of the high standing in the Indian department of the agent, who had given him, he said, the best of testimonials; and he even threatened, that if I attempted to expose him, it should be at my peril. He was at that time on his way to the Governour of Michigan, in company with another person. I could not possibly leave home, and I was exceedingly anxious to make a communication to the Governour as early as his application should be presented. I accordingly prepared my communication, and prevailed on a friend to enclose it in one of his own to Detroit.

This was sent by the mischievous man and his companion. Thus, without suspecting it, they carried with them a communication adverse to their application, and which, no doubt, contributed not a little to defeat it.

In bringing to view, in connection, a few prominent facts in relation to the measures which grew out of the treaty of Chicago, we have, in the order of time, advanced beyond other matters which claim our attention.

After the business of the treaty was completed at Chicago, and before the Indians left the treaty ground, they received seven barrels of whiskey, and within twenty-four hours afterwards ten shocking murders were committed among them. About the same time we heard of three murders being committed at Massassinawa, among the Miamies, and also of two Shawanoes being murdered at Wapaughkonnetta, on the east of us.

About the middle of August a gentleman wrote me, proposing to become a missionary. But, greatly as we needed assistance, I was, in conscience, compelled to dissuade him from the undertaking, as I believed that his qualifications were not such as were essential to a missionary. I had very different views of a young minister from the city of New-York, Mr. John Sears, who, on a tour of preaching to the whites, extended his route to our place, for the sake of information in relation to Indian missions, and with a view to becoming a missionary. I visited several Indian villages with him, and was so well satisfied with his qualifications as to give him assurance of my readiness to serve him in endeavouring to procure for him an appointment from the board of missions. In this month, also, I had occasion to record in my journal an instance of misplaced confidence. A soldier belonging to the army at Chicago had frequently been sent express to our post, and had insinuated himself into my favourable opinion so far, that from his having been much in the wilderness, a man of good English education, and now professedly serious, I hoped that he might be employed usefully in our wilderness excursions, and as a school teacher. At his pressing request, I wrote to the commanding officer in Michigan, and succeeded in obtaining his discharge from the army, by furnishing a substitute which he himself found. This matter cost me sixty dollars. He appeared very grateful, and his widowed mother, in Canada, wrote me a letter of many thanks. I put him into our school; but he soon became drunken and worthless, and I was compelled to dismiss him, lose my money that I had advanced on his account, and to bear the affront of his ingratitude in various ways.

On the 24th of August a gentleman from Indiana arrived, with the desire of uniting with us in our labours. I employed him a month or more for wages, and, from the trial thus made, I believed that he would not be useful, and advised him to give over the design of labouring as a missionary. It may not be amiss to remark, that our principal difficulty, in relation to this man's qualifications, was a fear that he was not a Christian. The account which he gave of a work of grace on his heart was not satisfactory, notwithstanding his morals were good, and he was an orderly member of a Baptist church. Precisely the same difficulty had been felt in relation to another person, to whom we had given similar advice. About this time I hired one Konkapot, an Indian from New-York, to carry communications to other New-York Indians, who at this time resided about one hundred and fifty miles from us. They were somewhat civilized. I informed them of our design to locate in a more eligible situation than the one which we at that time occupied; and I invited them, as I had done others in New-York, to settle around us. This design embraced their own benefit, and it was hoped that it would be the means of promoting the improvement of others who were less civilized. We had conceived a design of forming a settlement of civilized Indians; of instituting such civil order as might contribute to their growth and permanent improvement, and of holding the society together, if possible, wherever circumstances might compel us to go. But we designed what we have not yet been fully able to accomplish. On the return of Konkapot, he was accompanied by a chief and seven others of those New-York Indians. They professed to have made their visit especially to me, and hence expected me to feed them while they remained about our place. But their real errand they endeavoured to conceal from me, which was to negotiate for a residence among the Miamies, where we had been endeavouring to build up a mission, and had not yet found the man to enter upon the work. In event of their success among the Miamies, they were to prepare for the location of a mission of another denomination. Their plans were never effected.

Our neighbourhood became exceedingly unhealthy, and on the 21st of August, 1821, several of our family were attacked with bilious fevers. On the 22d seven were sick, including our little son and daughter, the only children we had at home. Mrs. McCoy had not yet returned from her visit to the white settlements, on which she had left us in the month of June preceding. On the 27th our afflictions were such that we dismissed

the school, or rather suspended studies, for our scholars boarded with us, and were clothed by us, and consequently remained with us, whether they were in the school or out of it. On the 1st of September I was attacked myself, but not confined to my bed. The neighbours around us were very sickly. It was the season when it was necessary to provide hay and fodder for food for our cattle and horses in winter. Though sick myself, I was obliged to superintend all our business, both without doors and within. At ten o'clock on the 8th, I suddenly became much more unwell, and in less than three hours my extremities had become cold, and my flesh generally numb, and my speech, sight, and hearing, had considerably failed. To human appearance, I was near the verge of time. In obedience to my instructions, those around me continued stimulant applications until I somewhat revived. I was obliged to prescribe for myself. Ours was, at this time, a house of affliction. I find the following note in my journal, written after I became able to handle the pen: "The afternoon of this day (September 8th) was a most pleasant time with my soul, and I said to my friends around me, notwithstanding I am now scarcely able to raise my head from the pillow, yet, if ever I become able to write, I will record this day in my journal as one of my most happy days. My mind was calm, and death seemed to be disarmed of his sting. I could happily trust my family to the good Providence of God. My wife and seven of our children were absent; nevertheless I felt little anxiety on that account. But when I thought of the Indians, I felt a strong desire to live a while longer, that I might see the mission settled upon a more permanent basis than it then was, and that I might preach Jesus to perishing sinners." While I apprehended that there was not a physician within one hundred miles of me, God so ordered it that that very night two physicians stepped into my room.

I find in my journal the following, written for the 14th of September: "Had been so unwell, that I recollected little that occurred between the 8th and the 14th, only that I had had two other extremely severe turns. On that day my little son, Calvin, was exceedingly ill, so that it was a question which of us would first leave the world. My little daughter and four others were sick. All seemed but a scene of distress: the school suspended, and all other business at a stand, except waiting upon the sick. I exclaimed, "Good Lord, what will become of the mission?" But mercy was mingled with our afflictions. It was on the evening of this 14th day that my wife arrived. At this time the Miamies received at our place an annuity from

Government. I had hoped that I should be able to transact much important business with them at this meeting, but I was confined to my bed. The following is from our journal:

“October 8th. Am able to walk out of doors, and notice a little the situation of the establishment. A gloomy cloud hangs over our affairs. New cases of sickness occurring in our family; our infant daughter, and her sister, two years older, very sick. The whole charge of the establishment devolves on my poor wife, while her little sick children will be consoled by none beside herself. If we had a man who would manage the outdoor concerns, it would be a great relief to her. Our Indian children have become scattered among their friends, so that, of forty-eight, we have only twenty-three with us. Still we trust that our God ‘hath broken up for our afflictions his decreed place, and hath fixed doors and bars, and said, hitherto shalt thou come, and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.’”

“October 18. It is just four years since I received my appointment from the board of missions, and my wife and I are still struggling alone, without an assistant missionary.”

Through mercy we were all again restored to health. On the 5th of November I was able to preach, sitting in my chair. About this time a Miami woman, who resided in the house in which we opened our school at this place, threw herself in the fire, in a fit of intoxication, and burnt herself to death. Two more Miamies were murdered near us.

In October I issued a printed address to the public, setting forth the condition and prospects of the mission, and requesting assistance in clothing, books, or other articles, which any might choose to contribute, and of which we were in want. I also wrote to many individuals, expressing our want of missionaries. Our efforts to obtain missionaries were less successful than those which related to the means of support.

On the recovery of our health our scholars returned generally. On the 14th of November we had the happiness again to see our school in operation; but we had no settled teacher. I prevailed upon an elderly doctor who had come into our neighbourhood to take charge of the school a few days. Afterwards I put into the school, as a teacher, a young man of very moderate education, whom I had hired to labour on the farm. I wrote to the white settlements to hire a teacher, and on the 29th of November one arrived with the design of serving us.

An instance of attachment of Indian youth to our institution may be seen in the following brief story of Consafqua. She

was a promising Putawatomie girl of about fourteen years of age, and had been persuaded to leave the institution by some of her rude kindred, who lived a hundred miles from us. She had been so long absent that we had despaired of her returning; and it is probable that her relations supposed that she had become effectually weaned from regard for the institution. On the 5th of November she visited the trading post with some of her relatives, and in company with them called to see us. We said nothing to her about returning to reside with us. After leaving, she contrived to send a message to us by one of our female pupils, and inquired at the same time if we would permit her to return. Our answer being favourable, she slyly left her company, and hid herself. Her company soon returned to our house in quest of her, some of whom appeared to be much enraged, and threatened her life if they should find her. Some of them being intoxicated, we had reason to feel apprehensions for her safety; but we could take no measures to conceal her. Twenty days afterwards, while we were sitting at the table, one of her female schoolmates informed her hastily that her relations were approaching the door in search of her. She instantly left the table, shuddering with fear, but could not leave the room, because the Indians were already around the doors. She could do no better than turn her face to the wall, in the hope that they would not recognise her, as she had exchanged her Indian dress for those of English fashion. I had strange feelings when they looked into the room, but determined not to interfere, unless an attempt should be made upon her life, which I had too much reason to apprehend. Happily the stratagem succeeded. When the Indians turned away to examine other apartments of the house, she darted out at a back door, and in less than a minute was concealed where no one would have thought of looking for her. Despairing of finding her, they retired. Her inconsiderate kindred, however, never relinquished their determination to keep her in savage condition, and, a long time after this, she was compelled to yield to their wishes, and return to them, to live and die in Indian wretchedness.

About this time another Miami woman was murdered by a monster of her tribe, about half a mile from our house.

We had made the board of missions acquainted with the provisions of the Chicago treaty, and of our efforts, in various ways, to obtain help from Government, together with the most feasible plans for future operations, which surrounding circumstances suggested. Also, I had suggested to them that, in order to secure the facilities for which we had laboured, and to mature

our plans, it might become necessary for me to wait on them in Philadelphia, and to visit Washington City. The board had approved the design last intimated, and, in obedience to their instructions, I set off upon this journey on the 4th of December, 1821, leaving our infant child so sick that her recovery could scarcely be hoped for.

The sole management of the institution again devolved upon Mrs. McCoy. We kept some oxen and milch cattle; the taking care of these, the procuring of fire-wood, &c., made it necessary to employ a few hired men. Besides, matters which belonged immediately to the establishment, the procuring of those supplies of food from a distance, such as pork, &c., which would be needed for some months to come, had to be attended to about this time.

Our school teacher was a stranger, who had been with us but a few days. I had not long been absent before one of our hired men ran away; another, and also a hired female, Mrs. McCoy was compelled to dismiss, on account of indolence, and the school teacher was discharged on account of drunkenness. Our Indian boys, in order to heap contempt upon him, without the knowledge of Mrs. McCoy, painted their faces, and took sticks, which they handled as guns, and employed an old tin vessel for a drum, and an old candlestick for a drumstick, and surrounded the room of their wretched schoolmaster, drumming and dancing in Indian style. They wished to be understood that their contempt for him was in proportion to the indignity which they believed he had offered to an institution which they were bound to respect.

Some time before I left home, we had heard that the board of missions had appointed a Mr. Clyde, as a missionary to be associated with us. He had a wife and two small children. He was not a preacher, but was a man of good sense. He was nearly fifty years of age, and was only about two years from Scotland; by trade a weaver, with a very imperfect idea of the condition of a missionary to the Indians. I had heard of his approach, and had sent a man to meet him, with horses, to assist him in coming through the wilderness. But he had not arrived when I left; I met him in the wilderness.

While I cast no reflection upon Mr. Clyde, as not possessing a disposition to render service to the missionary cause, honesty compels me to say that such had been his habits of life, that, while he remained on missionary ground, he was not of any perceivable advantage; and such was his age, that future

usefulness could not be hoped for. His own good sense convinced him of this; and after remaining at the station a few months, he prudently retired from missionary service. Before he left, we mutually exchanged certificates; that as we had lived together in harmony, so we parted in peace. The following is a copy of Mr. Clyde's letter of resignation to the board:

"Fort Wayne, April 15, 1822.

"DEAR BROTHER: The object of my becoming your missionary was, that I might thereby aid in ameliorating the condition of the Indians. My desires to be useful in this business have not abated. But, after an experience of more than five months, I have come to a settled conclusion that, owing to the present, and the prospect in relation to the future situation of my family, it would be most serviceable to the mission for me to retire from the service of the board.

"It is expected that the mission will shortly remove further into the wilderness. This circumstance has a discouraging effect on the mind of my wife, notwithstanding she is as desirous to be useful to her suffering fellow-beings as ever she was.

"Having taken all these things into consideration, and believing it to be the duty of the servants of the board to accept of their patronage no longer than they can be useful, I humbly beg leave to tender to the board of missions this my resignation, accompanied with grateful acknowledgments for their generosity and kindness.

"As preparation is making to locate the mission among the Putawatomes, and it is therefore important for brother McCoy to know who will certainly accompany him, as the season most favourable for my providing for my family will soon be past, and as the situation of my family renders a settled home indispensable, I hope it will not be considered premature for me to return to Ohio by the first conveyance.

"I trust that my resignation will not be a matter of discouragement to the board, nor to any who may feel disposed to serve them, and whose circumstances will enable them to be useful. I am more and more convinced of the duty of Christians to endeavour to reform these exceedingly depraved and wretched people, and experience has taught me the pressing necessity which calls for more missionaries at the station. I am well satisfied with the qualifications of brother and sister McCoy for the stations they fill; but what can two or three missionaries do in a work like this? Nothing short of a conviction that I could not strengthen their hands could induce me to leave this

brother and sister, with whom I could live on amicable terms, or to quit a field which, with all my heart, I wish to be cultivated.

“Your communications to me please to direct to brother McCoy. Trusting that the board will have the goodness to accept my resignation, I remain their humble servant,

“PETER CLYDE.

“*Rev. Dr. Staughton, Cor. Sec., &c.*”

I made my journey to Philadelphia on horseback, and reached the city the 1st of January, 1822. Dr. Staughton and other members of the acting board had gone to Washington City, to attend the opening of the Columbian College. I could therefore do no better than to proceed to that place, which I did, without delay. By agreement with Mr. Sears, of whom mention has been made, he met me in Philadelphia, with the design of applying to the board of missions for an appointment to missionary service. We hired a carriage, and, fastening my horse thereto, we rode together to Washington, and back to Philadelphia.

On the 7th of January the board of missions favoured me with an audience. They cordially approved the plans which I proposed for future operations. These plans contemplated the establishment of three missionary stations: one among the Putawatomes, one among the Ottawas, and one among the Miamies; in support of each of which we hoped to obtain some aid from Government, by virtue of treaty stipulations. The board also vested me with authority to select missionaries for our several contemplated stations, and such other assistants as should be necessary, to employ agents to make collections for the mission, or to perform other services which might be necessary, and to allow them such compensation as I deemed expedient, and in general to obtain such aid from the public and from Government as might be practicable. They voted five hundred dollars, to aid in the erection of a mission house among the Putawatomes. They directed me to leave Fort Wayne whenever I should deem it expedient. In the minutæ of our operations their views also harmonized with my wishes; so that I felt thankful to the Lord, and strongly united to them in affection.

For some months previous to this time, I had corresponded with Mr. Giles Jackson, of Ohio, on the subject of his becoming a missionary. On my way to Philadelphia I called on him, and we came to an understanding on the subject. I carried with me his written application to the board of missions for an

appointment to missionary labours, and at the meeting under consideration the board cheerfully made the appointment solicited. The board also resolved that it was expedient for me to lay our plans before the Secretary of War, so far as would be necessary in soliciting aid from Government, and appointed some of their number to accompany me when I should visit that officer. On the 10th of January, in company of Rev. Dr. Allison, Rev. Luther Rice, and Hon. Richard M. Johnson, member of Congress, a call was made upon Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War. The treaty of Chicago had not at that time been ratified. The Secretary of War heard our requests with kind feelings, and declared his readiness to grant them, so far as should be consistent with the stipulations of the treaty, when it should come before him, and with other laws, by which he must be governed. In our prayer to the Secretary of War, we requested that Mr. Jackson should be appointed *blacksmith* for the Putawatomes, and Mr. Sears *teacher* for the Ottawas; and I also solicited permission to recommend to him others, subsequently, to fill the remaining situations provided by the treaty of Chicago.

By a treaty provision, mills had been erected for the Miamies, and they were entitled to a miller. This subject was also submitted to the consideration of the Secretary of War. Subsequently the appointing power gave me leave to nominate a man to attend to the mills, whose salary would be four or five hundred dollars a year, which would be that much towards the support of a missionary station, which we desired to establish upon that ground, because this man might be a missionary, and his situation would be favourable for doing much good among the Miamies, in things both temporal and spiritual. But, alas! I was never able to find a man suitably qualified, and willing to labour as a missionary for that tribe. Most of the tribe continue on the same ground to this present time, in wretched condition, and constantly diminishing in number. It is now too late to help them in that place, where they are closely hemmed in on every side by white population, and are subject to the wasting influence of the causes which have injured all tribes surrounded by white people. Their recovery can only be hoped for by their removal, and by vigorous humane efforts for their relief. The tribe was once powerful, but it is now feeble; a few are located in the Indian territory west of the Mississippi. Possibly this western settlement may prove to be a germe from which the tribe may again thrive, and outlive its present wretchedness.

On the 17th of January, 1821, Mr. Sears was appointed by the board to unite with us at our mission. The success which attended my visit to Philadelphia and Washington was such as to call forth devout thankfulness to God. My expectations were exceeded. After preaching for the Rev. Mr. McLaughlin, one of the vice presidents of the board, he said, "Go on in your work among the Indians, and we will bear you through, if possible. Should you be in want of more funds than we have voted you, write to us accordingly, and in the fear of the Lord, I pledge you my word, we will help you if possible." Also, Dr. Staughton used similar language for my encouragement. Nor were the Rev. Mr. Ashton and the Rev. Mr. Peckworth less kind.

While I was not a little consoled by the evidence of kind feelings on the part of the board, which were truly honourable to their hearts, I discovered a fact equally plain, which gave me much anxiety; to wit, that my own responsibilities in the management of affairs were not likely to be diminished.

I left Philadelphia on horseback, the 21st of January, and reached our place at Fort Wayne the 16th of February. For four or five days before I reached home I was so unwell as to be scarcely able to travel. Still, I had great reason to be thankful that I had been so well preserved in health, on a ride of more than seventeen hundred miles in the winter.

It is now in order for me to tell of the severest trial that I have ever experienced in my pilgrimage; in doing which, I shall copy from my journal:

"When about five miles from home, I received the distressing intelligence that, two days before, a Putawatomie Indian had almost murdered one of our little daughters, about nine years of age. She and two of our Indian girls, larger than she, went on an errand about two hundred yards from the house, and the greater part of the way in full view from the house, when three Indians appeared at a little distance from them, one of whom made towards the largest Indian girl. The children fled for their lives. Our daughter being the least, and being more affected by the fright than the others, and accidentally falling as she ascended the river bank, was left in the rear, and fell into the hands of the savage. He choked her until she was on the point of expiring. The Indian girls alarmed the family. Her distressed mother, and many others, hastened to her relief. Mr. Edmund Liston, a young man hired to labour, and Mungosa, one of our Miami lads, first reached the place of the horrid scene,

which was just as the child apparently was struggling in the agonies of death, and still in the grasp of the monster. He fled, and they pursued him, while the other two Indians followed close in their rear. Liston soon overtook him, and knocked him down with a club, and beat him severely. Mungosa, on coming up, drew his knife, and would have despatched him, but was prevented by Liston.

“The mother, and many others of our family, reached the child before she could breathe. The blood was issuing from her neck, mouth, and nose, with a considerable quantity of sand and earth in her mouth. The feelings of her mother can be more easily conceived than described. The design of the Indian was of the basest kind, but happily the child was not injured beyond what we mention in this place. Her neck was gashed with the monster’s nails, and her lungs were injured by violent exertion for breath. Her eyes and face soon swelled frightfully. But she recovered.

“The Indian was tied, but as the agent was absent, the interpreter advised that he be set at liberty until the agent should return. The agent was in company with me, and before we arrived the Indian had left the neighbourhood. On this occasion most of the Indian children of our family united with my own in weeping most bitterly. To Mrs. McCoy the circumstance was the more trying on account of my absence.

“This circumstance puts our missionary zeal to the test. O, how hard it is to regard a people affectionately, who, while we are toiling and suffering solely for their benefit, and not our own, thus cruelly requite us. I have quitted the society of relatives, and many desirable Christian privileges, with a degree of cheerfulness; I have spent many days and nights at a time in the wilderness, without seeing the face of a white man, and was content with the company and fare of the natives; I have repeatedly slept on the ground, under falls of rain and of snow, without much depression of spirit; I have seen the native struggling in the agonies of death, occasioned by the murderous hand of his fellow, and have assisted in burying the murdered, and found my desires for the salvation of the surviving enlarged, and my zeal in the work of reformation increased; from hands which laid hold on me in the wilderness, to deprive me of life, I have escaped, with resolution to persevere in my efforts to teach them better things. But, alas! this abuse of my dear little daughter, who could not provoke insult, and her narrow escape from greater injury, has taught me a lesson of human frailty which I had not previously learned by experience. This

tale of wo, connected with an account of the screams of the affrighted child, of the tears running over more than forty faces of our family, of the anguish of a mother, aggravated by many local considerations, together with the subsequent artless exclamations of the child—‘O, he hurt me so much!’ bore down my spirits and deprived me of resolution. I was sinking, when the everlasting arms underneath prevented my fall. Should I endure to the end, let God have all the praise.

“By the failure of my horse I had been prevented from reaching home before this atrocity. I deeply regretted the hinderance at the time, but it was not longer after I reached home than I recovered cool reflection before I viewed it as a great mercy that I had been detained. Had I been at home, it is probable that I should not have observed that discretion which comported with the interests of the mission, and which would have promoted my happiness in future. I am under obligations to Mr. B. B. Kerchevall, United States’ Indian agent, who resides in the fort, who, though not a professor of religion, acted the part of a Christian towards me upon this trying and tempting occasion. He embraced an early opportunity of reminding me of the sacrifices which my wife and I had made, and the interest we had taken in the mission cause; and said the apprehension and punishment of the Indian, by the laws of the United States, or in any other manner, would make such an unfavourable impression upon the minds of these rude barbarians, unaccustomed to this mode of avenging wrongs, that our prospects of usefulness among them would be at an end. We concluded to leave vengeance to Him to whom alone it belongs, and reflected that we should not regard *even life itself*, should we be called to sacrifice it in the work upon which we have entered.”

About two months after this, Mungosa, the Miamie young man mentioned in the preceding narrative, in company with another Miamie youth belonging to our school, entered my room considerably agitated, and delivered me a message, which, through others, came from the murderous Indian of whom we have been speaking, which was as follows: “I am here encamped, [within two miles of the mission house;] if you wish to avenge the injury I have done you, you will find me here.” He stated to his people that he expected I would endeavour to kill him; but he was on his guard, and would endeavour to prevent it by first killing me. These young Miamies were much provoked by this new insult offered by the Indian, and manifested a desire that I should accept his challenge to fight him; and it required

some pains to satisfy them that I was induced to decline by other considerations than those of fear.

The Indian knew that, according to their custom, he had forfeited his life, and that I was the proper person to take vengeance. On this account, the first time that we should by chance have met, it would have been natural for him to endeavour, as he had said, to kill me, with a view of saving his own life. My business required me to be daily passing and repassing through the neighbourhood, generally alone, and always unarmed; and of my danger, under those circumstances, I was not ignorant. But Providence, to whom we had committed the matter, disposed of it in a way unexpected to us. He had remained about his encampment in this menacing attitude a few days, when, in a frolic of drunkenness, one of his own associates murdered him. The murderer himself was instantly shot to death by a third person of their party.

In my late absence, Mrs. McCoy had received a large drove of swine from the State of Indiana, and some cattle from the State of Ohio. These were donations to the mission. For the kindness of the contributors in these cases, and in many cases of contributions of clothing, &c., for the scholars, and occasionally small sums of money, we were taught by many weighty considerations to be thankful to God and to them. These donations of live stock were the more gratifying to us, because they were made in places where some of those misguided ministers and others, whose names need not be remembered except as they claim our pity, were opposing missions with a zeal worthy of a good cause.

I was so unwell on my return home, that it was eight days before I was able to preach. At this time we were made glad by hearing, from different sources, that two men in Kentucky, and one in Indiana, would probably consent to unite with us in missionary labours. We continued for some time our correspondence on these subjects, but all ended in disappointment.

Studies in school, which had for some time been suspended for want of a teacher, were resumed on the 4th of March, but without a permanent instructor. On the 18th, Mr. Johnston Lykins, who had arrived on the 11th, took charge of the school, with the view of continuing until we should find a missionary to fill the place.

During the suspensions of the school, which happened at various times, the Indian children committed to our care were not allowed to be idle. In taming the wild man, we conceived that instruction in manual labour was as necessary as instruction

in letters. Under these views, both the males and the females were invariably employed in their appropriate spheres, in the house and in the field, at all times when circumstances justified it.

Mr. Kerchevall, who was at this time Indian agent; nobly encouraged the Indians to adopt the habits of civilized life, and among some of them were, indeed, favourable indications in this respect. A band of seven families, resident at the forks of Wabash river, who had previously fenced in a large field, resolved on the erection of six more log dwellings, and the application of \$600, out of an annuity of \$800, for this purpose, and for the purchase of live stock. Others of the Miamies seemed determined on keeping cattle, hogs, &c., and were improving their lands promisingly.

To provide early for the settlement in business of Indian youths improved in schools, so that they should not, as has too often been the case, return to wild or wicked habits, has long been a desideratum in the work of Indian reform, and one that has contributed not a little to promote the design of colonizing the Indians in what we now term the Indian Territory. It has often happened that promising Indian youths, whom the missionaries had rescued from wretchedness, and had instructed with solicitude, as soon as they became capable of being useful to others, and when they had arrived at the age in which they most needed a guardian to fix their habits for life to come, have been enticed, by the promise of pleasure or reward, to leave the institutions which had been established for their benefit. A strong temptation of this kind was thrown out to one of our Putawatomie young men, the fore part of March. He informed me that an Indian trader (a white man) had, for some time, been incessantly persuading him to leave our institution, and to engage as a clerk with him. The young man came to me for advice, but apparently much inclined to leave. He listened respectfully to my advice and reasoning, and resumed his studies with cheerfulness.

March the 8th, we put our loom into operation, and began to make cloth, which, from first to last, was manufactured at the establishment, the yarn having been spun by our Indian girls. None among the tribes by whom we were surrounded had adopted the practice of spinning and weaving.

Excessive application to business prolonged my poor health many weeks after my return from Philadelphia. Notwithstanding we had more business at the establishment than we could both manage to advantage, either my wife or I had to be much

of the time absent. On the 30th of March she set out upon a journey through the wilderness to Ohio, on horseback; from which she returned on the 7th of April, having been compelled to encamp in the wilderness the preceding night, with her infant at the breast, which had been sick during her absence.

April the 4th, we were visited by a Miami chief of the Massassinawa band, named Charley, who at that time seemed to be determined to adopt habits of civilization, notwithstanding the opposition of many worthless fellows belonging to his party. He had left his former village, and had settled a few miles off, where he intended to make a farm, and had now come to see the agent; in order to procure farming utensils, and to hire men to labour for him. On learning that I intended to locate myself among the Putawatomes, the Miamies were not altogether satisfied. I found it necessary now to inform Charley, that notwithstanding my family would go to reside among the Putawatomes, the Miamies should not be neglected; that, if practicable, a mission should be located in that tribe, at a place which they might deem suitable, in which their children should continue to receive instruction, and from which other benefits might be derived; I was happy to hear that they were improving their lands, and purchasing stock; they were now on the road to happiness, &c. Accompanied by the agent, I took him into the school, and to see our loom; after which he spoke as follows:

“My father, you spoke to me just now as we were seated on the grass. A good man’s words are always true, whether we hear them without or within a house. You have brought me into your house, and I now discover with my own eyes that your words are true; I see that of which I had formerly only heard. I see the children here doing well, and learning that which will make them respectable, and do them much good. I have two children, whom I will bring to the school as soon as I shall have planted corn, and I will encourage my people also to come into these measures.”

About this time, the board was disposed to appoint a Baptist minister in Indiana, to unite with us in missionary labours. I opened a correspondence with him, and with others, respecting the probability of his consenting to endure such privations as attended our labours, and which he could not well anticipate; the result of which was to bring me under the painful necessity to advise him to decline the undertaking.

CHAPTER V.

Lamentable death of an Indian woman. Arrival of a missionary. Modes of burial. Ceremony of adoption. Tour among the Putawatomes. A suffering mother and infant. Dreadful effects of intemperance. Baptism of Mr. Lykins. He is appointed a missionary. Temperance Society. Journey to Detroit. Appointments from Government. Disinterestedness of the missionaries. Arrival of missionaries. Church constituted. Severe sickness of the mission family. Death. Arrival of a missionary.

On the 14th of April, 1822, four of our Putawatomie pupils, who had been absent through the winter, returned, ragged and wretched enough. They informed me that their grandmother, an aged woman, was lying at a camp a little distance from our house, at the point of dying. In the afternoon we were informed that the old woman was dead. Two young men, who were her grandsons, intimated to me, through the medium of some of their relatives belonging to our family, a wish that I would assist in burying her, and appeared to be very thankful when I consented. My wife and I walked to their camp, where we found the corpse lying on the ground, wrapped in an old blanket. In this place and position the old woman had lain several days before her death, as we discovered by the whitish appearance of the grass underneath her. It had been raining, and sometimes snowing, for several days, and the earth was very full of water; to all which she had been exposed, without even a tent or a piece of bark to shelter her from the storm from above, or to save her from the water beneath. The few rags which had served for her clothing were filthy in the extreme, and under and about her were vermin, such as might be seen about a putrid carcass that had lain some days on the earth. The sight was shocking, and was rendered more so on account of the depravity and insensibility of her children and grandchildren who were about the place. The whole company exhibited a scene of poverty, wretchedness, and wickedness, which scarcely could be found among any other people in the world besides these miserable Indians. Near the corpse were a man and two women drunk; several others were in but little better condition. A few were sober, and appeared solemn. All were destitute of any shelter, excepting a piece of a tent-

cloth which partially covered two or three of them. The wind was high and cold, yet they had not more fire than would have laid upon a common fire-shovel. All their clothing, bedding, cooking vessels, and furniture of every description, would not have constituted a back load for one of them. Not a particle of food was to be seen about the camp, except a piece of a dog which they had butchered on that morning, and which was hanging on the limb of a tree. In dressing the animal they had not skinned it, but had singed off the hair in the fire.

For our comfort we gathered a few sticks and kindled a fire. At my request, one showed me the place where they wished the grave to be dug. Their apology for troubling us was, that "they had no implements with which to make a hole in the ground." In order to convey the corpse to the grave, they placed on it a pole extending a little beyond the head and the feet, and with leather strings tied it fast to the pole in several places. A short pole was next placed across the stomach, between the body and the first pole. Four men then took hold, one on each end of the two poles, and carried this wretched female to the grave. When the corpse had been placed in the grave, one of them put a piece of tobacco at the head, and pronounced the following valediction:—"Grandmother, you have lived long enough; you have now died, and left all your children. Grandmother, I give you a piece of tobacco to smoke, that you may rest quietly in your grave, and not disturb us who are alive. This is all that I have to give you; we will all smoke for you. Our father (alluding to myself) will take care of your grandchildren. Grandmother, I now bid you farewell."

We then placed boards over the corpse, and filled the grave, after which they built a fire at the head and another at the foot. This done, all retired to their camp to conclude the funeral ceremonies, by smoking and by drinking whiskey. O, sin, what hast thou done!

April the 17th, Mrs. McCoy received an interesting visit from two Miami women, who manifested much interest in the operations of the loom. One of them got into it, and made a trial at throwing the shuttle. One of them, who was a widow, stated that it was her husband's request, when on his deathbed, that his children should be placed in our institution. His dying request, however, was not long regarded.

Apekauneah, a Putawatomie lad about fifteen years of age, a relation of the poor old woman whose funeral we had not long before attended, lingered about our house a week, frequently intimating a wish to come and live with us. At length he came

out plainly, and made his request to become a member of our family. He pleaded that the Indians were exceedingly poor; he would be a good boy, would obey me in all things, and his father would by and by bring me venison, &c. I listened to his affecting tale, and granted his request without asking a question. For his improvement, in appearance at least, he went to the river, and in a few minutes returned, dressed in a suit with which we had presented him, much elated with his good fortune, and the better pleased because our other Indian boys conferred on him the name of Isaac McCoy.

Some of the few white people about Fort Wayne were French Catholics. These were visited by three priests, who came to administer the sacrament, &c. On Sunday, the 21st of April, after worship at our house, I took our family, including our Indian pupils, to their meeting, and heard one of them preach. His subject was *Baptism*, and his discourse was mainly directed against Baptist sentiments. I soon became convinced that his design was to provoke altercation with me, which he might, through the Catholics mingling with the Indians, turn to the disadvantage of our mission. I had been admonished by their prejudices, soon after I became a missionary, to be ever on the alert in regard to them. I felt a little restless within hearing of his sophistry, the absurdity of which was glaring; but I was sensible that it could affect no one present, either for the better or the worse, except myself. I had long expected that the Catholics would one day attempt to blow up a storm against us, and I had accordingly endeavoured to fortify my habitation. I now deemed that I saw the cloud arising, and I determined to keep the door of my mouth shut, and to attend to my own business. It happened that our white neighbours about Fort Wayne were exceedingly affectionate and friendly towards us; and in the attentions bestowed on the priests, the few days that they remained at our place, we were frequently invited to participate. This afforded them an opportunity of discovering that I would not be otherwise than friendly; and if my conjecture respecting their design was correct, it was entirely frustrated. At our request, they visited our school and drank tea with us.

Among other things which were for our encouragement about this time, was the following. In 1818, I met at the Silver Creek Baptist Association, in Indiana, a certain minister of that State, who violently opposed all our missionary operations, and, as I thought, needlessly provoked altercation, not to say strife. He was marshal of the State, and, in discharge of official duties,

visited Fort Wayne in 1822. While there, our house was his home. I took pains to make him fairly acquainted with the institution, but neither of us disturbed the old question which we had once too warmly debated, respecting the propriety of missions. On his return home, he wrote to Col. Richard M. Johnson, a member of Congress, highly commendatory of the mission, its prospects, &c. This letter was published in various newspapers, and no doubt made an impression on the minds of many, which resulted in good to the mission. On the 27th of April we received a newspaper, in which the good effects of this letter were visible, not only in the remarks of the editor, but in a statement that sixty dollars had been forwarded to the board, for the aid of the mission. Thus Providence ordered that one who had been a formidable opposer, after spending a few days at the institution, should become an active helper.

On our journal I find the following note for April 4, 1822, soon after the departure of Mr. Clyde: "Our spirits have been much depressed for a few days. The reflection is pretty hard to bear, that after toiling and hoping for help about four years and a half, we find ourselves alone in this wilderness, without another kindred spirit to sympathize with us. We mutually pour our plaint into each other's bosom, and look upwards for relief." Three days later we received intelligence from Mr. Sears, that two or three others in New-York, besides himself, felt inclined to become missionaries to the Indians. This intelligence was like a cordial to our wounded spirits. But experience had by this time taught us to rejoice with trembling, when we heard of missionaries coming to our assistance. That our fears, that many who should enlist in this service would soon after desert it without having contributed to its promotion, were well founded, will be manifest by this history throughout.

In April, Mr. Jackson, who had recently been appointed by the board of missions to unite with us, set out for our place, from Ohio. Our two elder sons, who were lads at school in Ohio, accompanied him. On the 27th, the younger came into our house, alone, for assistance to bring in Mr. Jackson and family, whom he had left twelve miles behind, in the wilderness, with his team so worn down, on account of the badness of the road, that he was scarcely able to proceed. On the following morning I took assistance, and met him wading on through mud and water, and the same evening we had the happiness to see him and his family seated in our house.

Mr. Jackson was not a minister, but was a pious, good man. He was expected to labour as a blacksmith, under an appoint-

ment from Government, as has before been intimated. While about his shop, it was believed he would have favourable opportunities of making profitable communications to the natives; and if at any time he desired to labour in spheres more exclusively evangelical, another would be hired to perform the manual labour required, under his superintendence. It was hoped, also, that we should be able to impart a knowledge of this necessary trade to some Indian youths, and by this means contribute to improve the condition of these people.

About this time we were aided by generous donations of clothing, &c., and sometimes cash, from Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, and other States. Also, frequent visits from various tribes by which we were surrounded, gave us evidence of an increasing interest being felt by them in the operations of the institution.

Near dark, on the evening of the 2d of May, an Indian called on me, and desired me to visit a sick friend of his, at his camp. I found the unhappy man lying on the ground, in the open air, surrounded by his party, the greater part of whom were intoxicated. A cup of whiskey, which was near the head of the sick, was removed at my request. He begged of me to send him a little food, which I did. After spending the night on the earth, without a shelter, he was brought into our house on the following morning, through a rain. Two days after this he died. When he discovered that his end was approaching, he requested to be taken out of the house, into the open air. Those people were much averse to being within a house when they expired. We had him buried as decently as time would admit. It is their custom to bury their dead as soon as possible. We were not allowed time to procure a coffin, but we placed boards about the corpse. They will not permit their graves to be dug so deep as civilized people usually inter their dead. Agreeably to their custom, a piece of tobacco was by them put into the grave at the head. The countenance of his wife indicated melancholy, and her sister shed tears. Before the burial, a nephew of the deceased, who was somewhat intoxicated, came running and hallooing like a madman. He set up a hideous lamentation, which resembled the howling of a wolf more than the expressions of grief of a bereaved relation. After some foolish incantations, such as blowing his breath into the nostrils of the corpse, &c., he declared that the deceased had been poisoned, and hurried off, threatening to be avenged upon the Indian whom he suspected of the crime. To us it was evident that his death had been occasioned by intemperance and privation.

On the 8th of May, about midnight, we were awakened by the singing of a brother of the deceased, who had come into an apartment of our house to procure fire, to kindle at the grave. They also poured whiskey on the grave.

The following is copied from the journal of the mission for this time: "Besides the mode of burying the dead in an excavated log, which we have heretofore described, the Indians observe various modes of interment. In some instances the corpse is placed on the surface of the earth, and enclosed with small poles, notched closely together. Sometimes the walls are perpendicular, but oftener they incline inward, until the longer sides come in contact with each other. In one end is made a small aperture, sufficient to admit a twist of tobacco. The enclosure is sometimes filled with earth. Frequently, in the graves of men, a small wooden post extends a few feet above the tomb, on which notches are cut, or marks are made, each of which indicates a scalp which the deceased in his lifetime had taken from an enemy, or some other noble deed achieved. Over the graves of chiefs a tall pole is often erected, upon the top of which is suspended a yard or two of cotton cloth, as a flag, which is permitted to remain in that situation until destroyed by wind and weather.

"In 1821, a woman on Wabash river was buried by being seated with the head erect, and was braced up in this attitude, with her face towards a small window in the east end of the enclosure, through which it was designed that she should behold the rising sun.

"A few years since, a Putawatomie, who had acquired the name of *Tobacco*, from his fondness for that article, desired to be buried in a public place, which travellers would frequently pass, in the hope that by this means he should frequently receive a piece of tobacco, the use of which he said he could not think of discontinuing. He was interred in a log, and, agreeably to his request, was deposited in the forks of a road between Detroit and Chicago.

"I am credibly informed, that not long since a man on Wabash river was buried standing with the whole body erect, and the feet placed upon the surface of the earth. Before his death, he requested to be interred in this attitude, with his face towards a coal mine, near which he was placed for the purpose of guarding it. He supposed the mine contained something valuable, and he stated to his people, that, as the settlements of white people were rapidly approaching them, he deemed it proper for him to take care of this important treasure."

In the lake country to the north I have seen the corpse placed in a wooden trough, and a covering of bark tied over it, and then elevated upon a scaffold. On Arkansas I discovered where the corpse of an adult had been enclosed in a bundle of reeds—the common cane so abundant in that country—and placed upon a scaffold. They had selected a tree, from which, about ten feet from the earth, several boughs extended almost horizontally, the outer ends of which were sustained by erect braces of poles. I accidentally happened on it as I passed through a remote part of the wilderness. It had then fallen down, and the flesh had been destroyed. The bones, blanket, shrouding, &c., lay at the place.

The bereaved frequently adopt a person in the room of a deceased relation. About the 9th of May, 1822, a man near us was invited to the Massassinawa towns, to be adopted in the room of a respectable Miami, whose English name was George, and who had left a considerable family of children. In the ceremony of adoption a feast is prepared, at which also there must be an ample supply of ardent spirits to drink. When the person to be adopted arrives, he is stripped of his own clothes, and is dressed in the best clothes remaining of the person whose place he is designed to supply. If no clothes of the deceased suitable to the occasion can be produced, new clothes and ornaments are accordingly prepared. The candidate, being dressed and painted, is led out of the dressing apartment, and presented to the nearest relatives of the deceased, who, taking him by the hand, call him by the name of their departed friend, and receive him in his room. He becomes seated by the father, mother, or other near relations of the deceased. Next they commence beating on their drums, and the newly adopted person must lead in the dance, which accords to the music, in which the males of the company unite, and follow him around a fire. Afterwards they eat, drink, and drum and dance many hours.

The husband and the wife usually hold property separately. All the property, therefore, which had belonged to the deceased, though he may have been a husband and a father, is now given to the person who has been adopted; and if he be an unmarried man, the widow, or some other near relation of the deceased, is also presented to him, and becomes his wife. I believe the man's fancy is not consulted in this case, and it would be an unpardonable insult to the company, were he not to accept the wife offered him.

In acknowledgment for these attentions, it is expected that

the newly adopted man will, either at the present or at a future time, make presents of clothing, or the like, to the nearer relations of the deceased, and a liberal portion of ardent spirits to the company, by which they may give zest to another festival. Females, also, are sometimes adopted in the room of deceased females.

May the 13th, we were visited by a *Miamie* who resided near *Tippecanoe*,* who spoke sensibly about education and improvement in general. He desired us to locate ourselves in his neighbourhood, and argued the point with a view to gain our consent. He urged that it was a good place—corn there throve well—he doubted not that there many children would attend school, &c. Formerly, these people had spurned the offers of institutions for the improvement of either their heads, their hands, or their hearts; and it was no less gratifying than surprising, now, to hear them endeavouring to persuade us to settle among them for these purposes. The fields around us appeared to be whitening for the harvest, but we could not obtain labourers.

On the 14th of May, I took *Abraham*, one of our pupils, and set out upon a tour among the *Putawatomies*: three Frenchmen also were in company. We passed an encampment of *Putawatomies*, who were drinking. A relation of the late wicked Indian who had so illy treated me, and who had previously intimated some antipathy against me, was one of the company: he was, however, too much intoxicated to recognise me. He had a pistol in his belt. The whole company proposed following us, for the purpose of encamping with us, and *Abraham*, fearing that the fellow would ascertain that I was in company, and on overtaking us might injure me with the pistol, peaceably disarmed him, by requesting the loan of it for the purpose of procuring fire. The company, however, did not overtake us as they had proposed. In the course of the day we met several companies of Indians going to *Fort Wayne* to procure whiskey. I slept on a piece of bark, as, in those days, I usually did in the wilderness, when bark could be procured. On the day following, we had so much difficulty in crossing *Elksheart river*, that we found it necessary to halt and dry our baggage.

On the 16th, we reached a French trading house, at *Park-aux-Vaches*, by travelling through the rain. I was sorry to hear that many of the chiefs, whom I desired to see in reference to our settlement in that country, had gone to *Lake Michigan*

*The Indian pronunciation is *Ke-táp'-e-kōn*. An idea prevails extensively, that *Tippecanoe* embraces the word canoe; but the word for canoe, with slight variations in the different dialects spoken in that region, is *chee-mān*.

to engage in a drunken frolic; a trader having arrived at that place with a quantity of whiskey.

On the 17th, I sent Abraham to the lake, to urge the return of the chiefs, and to bring thence three children for our school. In the mean time, I took a Frenchman and rode five or six miles to examine the ground on which the Putawatomes, as I had learned, desired us to settle. In our excursion we called at two lonely little huts, one made of bark, and the other of flags. Here I met with a chief from a neighbouring village, who, with the rest of the company, appeared delighted with the prospect of our settling near them, and, by many rude expressions of friendship, welcomed me to their country.

The wigwam composed of flags was circular, about ten feet in diameter, and about seven feet high in the centre. The smoke from the fire in the middle of the hut escaped through an opening above. The door was closed by a deer skin attached to the upper part. Within lay a woman on the ground, whose groans indicated extreme agony, and whose appearance presaged a speedy dissolution. Her body and arms were uncovered, excepting as she occasionally drew over them an old blanket, which, in her restlessness, she was perpetually shifting. Six days before this time she had become the mother of twin sons, one of whom had died, and the other was scarcely alive. I already supposed that I had witnessed among Indians the extreme of wretchedness; but a sight of this infant, which was brought to me that I might see it, together with the indescribable condition of its mother, surpassed any thing which I had ever beheld, and excited in me feelings both of sympathy and horror. The babe was placed on a board, as was common with those people, with pieces of an old blanket around it, to which, and to the infant, now six days old, I suppose a drop of water had never been intentionally applied. It gasped for breath; "but why," thought I, "should it desire to live, seeing that its life must be that of a miserable Indian! Or shall our benevolent institution, to be erected here, become a house of mercy to such, in which shall be concentrated, for their benefit, the sympathies and charities of Christians!"

The Frenchman who was with me was a very profane man, but a professed Roman Catholic, and on this account esteemed himself a Christian. He said, "he believed that baptism would be very good for the child, and that he would return on the following day and baptize it."

On the 18th I rode to Menominee's and Pcheekos's villages, and was received with much kindness. The day following the

people of both villages assembled at one house. I issued tobacco, and all smoked. Next a bowl of hommony passed around the company, of which all partook, one after another, by means of the same ladle, without spoon or dish. After which I spoke to them an hour, on the propriety of their adopting habits of civilization, &c.

I then informed them that I desired to address them solely on the subject of religion, and wished the women also to hear. They were called, but appeared ashamed to come into the house, it not being customary for women to mingle with the men when in a council, from which they could not distinguish this assemblage. The females generally seated themselves outside of the house, but near enough to hear. All listened attentively to the discourse, and then retired about half an hour, which time the principal men employed in private consultation; when we re-assembled, and they made the following reply:

“Our father, we are glad to see you and hear you among us. We are convinced that you come among us from motives of charity towards us. We believe that you know what to tell us, and that you tell us the truth. We are glad to hear that you are coming to live near us, and when you shall have arrived we will visit your house often, and hear you speak of these good things.” The bowl of hommony then passed around the company again, all smoked, shook hands, and parted in friendship. On leaving, some of them gave me their blessing. The benediction of one was as follows: “May the Great Spirit preserve your health, and conduct you safely to your family, give success to your labours, and bring you back to us again.”

Among those tribes we rarely saw the men labouring in the field. The cultivation of the field was almost universally esteemed the business of the women. On this occasion we passed a small field in which a company of men were also labouring. Men, women, and children, came running to meet us at the fence, and all gave me the parting hand.

I did not see among them a particle of either bread or meat, excepting a few pigeons which they had killed with sticks; some deer might have been taken, but they were destitute of powder and lead, and had not any thing with which to purchase those articles. Excepting roots and weeds, their only food at this time consisted of corn and dried beans, of which their stock was exceedingly small.

Abraham would have brought two or three children from the lake, for our school, had he been able to procure horses for them to ride. On our return to Park-aux-Vaches, a woman was

there who had fled from a cruel husband, who had designed to murder her and her children, of whom he was only the step-father. The eldest, a son, had been a while at our institution, and the mother now gave us a little girl to take home.

We set out for Fort Wayne on the 21st of May, having with us two Indian boys and this little girl. The mother was considerably affected at parting with her children. We halted and conversed a while with the people in Rum's village, and at night pitched our tents amidst a fall of rain, through which we had travelled an hour, and where we were annoyed by swarms of musketoes.

On the 23d we passed three drunken Indians lying asleep in the weeds, and also passed many others who were intoxicated. On the same day we reached Fort Wayne, and were happy to find our business moving on well, notwithstanding the family had been much annoyed by intoxicated Indians.

In my absence, an Indian murdered his brother near our house. Soon after this atrocious act, Mrs. McCoy and some others went to the place, and found the dead man horribly mangled. He had been stabbed seven times, and ripped up on one side. The hardened wretch who had done the deed, without any appearance of remorse, showed them how and where the wounds had been inflicted. Our family buried the deceased. About the same time this wretch raised a quarrel with one of our larger Indian boys, and chased him some distance with a drawn knife, with the design to kill him. The lad ran into our house for protection, while the pursuer was close at his heels. It was with some difficulty that our eldest son, only a boy, and Mr. Lykins, the school teacher, got the fellow to leave the house without accomplishing his bloody design. He did not attempt to injure them; but such was his obstinacy, and his determination to take the life of our Indian boy, that while they reasoned with him in a friendly manner, and required him to leave the house, they deemed it prudent for each of them to be provided with a good cane.

In my absence, a man from Miami county, Ohio, agreeably to his previous proposals to us, arrived, with a view of becoming a missionary. He proposed to take the management of our agricultural matters. We had deemed it most expedient that he should first come without his family, and make some trial of his qualifications. The result of a few weeks' probation with us was a conviction that he would not be useful as a missionary.

On the 24th of May, Mr. Jackson put our smithery into

operation, and one of our Indian boys was taken into the shop, with a view of teaching him the art of blacksmithing. About this time we received many interesting visits from the Indians. One chief said he would give us two square miles of land for mission premises, if we would settle near his town. At this time, myself and several of our family suffered by sickness.

On Lord's day, June 2d, 1822, immediately after the morning services, Mr. Johnston Lykins, our school teacher, related to us his exercises of mind on the subject of religion, which left us no doubt of his being a disciple of the Lord Jesus. He had obtained a hope in Christ while he taught our school on the Wabash river. At three o'clock in the afternoon, I preached on the subject of baptism, and baptized him in the Maumee river, in presence of a considerable number of spectators, some of whom were Indians.

While some whom we had employed to assist us had given us much trouble, others had afforded us great satisfaction. Mr. Lykins was the second *school teacher* who, at our place, had obtained hope in Christ, and he was the third of those whom we had employed, who had been baptized. The first school teacher alluded to was Mr. Corbly Martin, who at this time was an acceptable minister of the Gospel in the State of Ohio. My health was so poor that I was compelled to deliver both discourses of this day as I sat in my chair, and it was with difficulty that I descended and ascended the river bank, in attending to the ordinance of baptism.

On the 3d of June we buried another poor Indian, who had died near our house. Two days previously an Indian stabbed his wife near us, and would have instantly taken her life, had she not been rescued by a white man who happened to be present.

With the view of obtaining Anthony Shane, a half-Indian, to reside with us when we should become settled among the Putawatomes, to serve the institution as interpreter, and desirous also that his wife, who was a member of our church, should be within reach of religious instruction, I set out on horseback on the 4th, for their place, a distance of forty-five miles. I was so unwell that I was scarcely able to ride. I reached Shane's on the 5th, having travelled fifteen miles through a rain, and found myself more indisposed. On the 6th I preached, sitting in my chair. The object of my visit was not attained, and with much pain I returned to my own house on the 7th.

The people of White Raccoon's village, having commenced improving their lands, erecting houses, &c., and getting into

such difficulties in their incipient improvements as threatened to deprive them of a crop, they applied to us for some assistance. For their encouragement in well doing, we sent a young man, with a wagon, plough, and team, to labour for them one week, without charge. For this favour they expressed many thanks.

Mr. Lykins, whom I baptized on the 2d of June, offered to unite with us as a fellow labourer; with much pleasure we gave him the hand of fellowship as such, and it is with increased satisfaction that we can now reflect that the high expectations which we then indulged of his future usefulness have not been disappointed. He was at that time a little over twenty-two years of age. He was furnished with the following certificate of his appointment:

“Fort Wayne, June 15, 1822.

“Agreeably to regulations of the Baptist Board of Missions for the United States, in relation to the appointment of missionaries to the Fort Wayne mission, the bearer, Mr. Johnston Lykins, at his request, and upon a full acquaintance with his character, is hereby duly appointed a missionary, in conjunction with those already labouring at this station.

“As Mr. Lykins has dedicated his life to this service solely for the good of the Indians, without the promise or hope of any pecuniary reward whatever, expecting nothing more than a subsistence, it is hoped that all good people will treat him with that respectful attention which his talents, piety, and self-denial merit.

ISAAC MCCOY.”

With one exception, which we shall explain hereafter, the use of ardent spirits presented the most formidable obstacle to Indian reform. Laws of Congress had been enacted to prevent the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian country, but it could not be perceived that the Indians drank less liquor on account of the enactment of these laws; they were seldom executed. By law, traders were required, as they still are, to take licenses from an Indian agent or superintendent. In these they pledged security, in a given amount, to observe the laws of the United States regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes; and one of these laws positively forbids the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian country; nevertheless, traders as regularly laid in ardent spirits, as a part of their annual stock to carry to their store-houses, as they did blankets, calicoes, or any other article. In ten years that we spent in that country, we knew not a solitary exception to this statement.

We could perceive no way by which this evil could be

checked, but by kindly remonstrating with those who were in the practice of furnishing the Indians liquor. All such persons in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, excepting one, at length consented to discontinue the practice, each upon the proviso that others also would discontinue it. On the 12th of June we had a general meeting of the white inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and formed a society; the object of which was the suppression of this practice. The following is the preamble to the constitution:

“Whereas the sale of ardent spirits to the aborigines of our country is productive of the most baleful effects; it has been proven to be the fruitful source of poverty and wretchedness among them; it destroys conjugal, paternal, and filial affection; it paralyzes a sense of honour, decency, fidelity, and virtue; it leads to ignorance, superstition, indolence, and crime; occasions the most horrid and barbarous murders, fosters the wretchedness of savage habits, and checks the progress of civilization among them: And whereas the continuation of the practice of furnishing them with liquor, with such infallible proofs of its pernicious consequences before us, would be not only a violation of the good laws of the United States, but also of humanity and of every feeling of the benevolent heart, without even increasing the profits of trade among them: Therefore, we, whose names are subscribed below, do agree to unite in a society,” &c.

The society resolved to solicit the co-operation of all traders in the Indian country, and of others on the frontiers of white settlements; but the success of the society was not equal to the kindness of its resolutions. The individual who refused to come into those measures was soon after detected in selling liquor to the Indians, with proof positive, which made him liable to fines for three offences. The cases were such that it was necessary for them to be decided by the court, meeting in the village of Winchester, about eighty miles from Fort Wayne. The matter was, by the society, placed in the hands of the proper civil officers, and there it ended. Finding it impracticable to induce the *execution* of laws forbidding the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians, the society was not a little discouraged; and some of us soon after removing to the Carey mission, a hundred miles off, matters returned to run in their former channels.

Throughout the month of June I was sick, and much of the time unable to preach, even from my seat. On the 28th, Mrs. McCoy was attacked with fever. On the 9th of July her health was improving, and mine was so far restored, that it was deemed proper for me to set out upon a journey to Detroit, (two

hundred miles,) which had been delayed on account of my ill health. The first night we tied our horses to trees at an encampment, to prevent their escape. On the following morning, as we were allowing them to graze a little, they were so much annoyed by flies and musketoos that they attempted to leave us, and occasioned a severe race to recover them.

This journey to Detroit was made for the purpose of securing the facilities which had been provided by the treaty of Chicago, and which had been promised to us. By an arrangement of the Department of War, this matter had been placed under the control of his Excellency Lewis Cass, Governour of Michigan Territory. Our wishes in this matter were fully met. Mr. John Sears was appointed teacher for the Ottawas; the blacksmiths for both the Ottawas and Putawatomes I was authorized to select. This was a very favourable circumstance, because it allowed us time to look around for suitable persons for those places; whereas, had we been required to present the names of the smiths at that moment, we should have lost those places, and have been liable to have an ungodly man placed in our connection in the capacity of smith, for we had no man in readiness for the Ottawa smithery, and of Mr. Jackson's perseverance in missionary labours we already began to feel doubts.

The importance which at that time was attached to the provisions of the treaty of Chicago may be inferred from the commission and instructions given me by the Governour of Michigan Territory, as follows:

“Detroit, July 16, 1822.

“SIR: By the — article of the treaty of Chicago, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars is appropriated for the support of a blacksmith, teacher, and a person to instruct the Ottawas in agriculture, and for the purchase of cattle, farming utensils, &c.; and the sum of one thousand dollars is appropriated for the support of a teacher and blacksmith for the Putawatomes. The establishment for the latter is to be formed on a section of land, to be located in the Indian country, south of the St. Joseph's, and, for the former, north of the Grand river.

“Having been instructed by the Secretary of War to avail myself of your services upon this subject, if they can be advantageously used, and believing the interests of the United States, as well as those of the Indians, will be promoted by your employment, I have no hesitation in conferring on you the appointment of teacher for the Putawatomes, and also upon your associate, Mr. Sears, that of teacher for the Ottawas.

“Your duties as superintendent of the establishment, by the Baptist church, for the civilization and improvement of the Indians, will be separate from and independent of those which will be required of you under the treaty; and for the execution of the latter, agreeably to the instructions you may receive, you will be responsible to the proper officers of the United States.

“As teacher, you will give such instructions to the Indians, old and young, as you may deem best suited to their capacity, habits, and condition. What portion of these instructions shall be moral and religious, must be referred to your own discretion. Schools for the education of youth will come within the sphere of your duties; so far as circumstances may require, and as the bounty of individuals or of societies may provide for the support of the scholars. But no other expenditure than your own compensation must be expected from the United States for this object.

“Accompanying this I transmit you an extract of my letter to the Northern Missionary Society, which will exhibit to you my sentiments on this subject, and which render it unnecessary for me to repeat them in this letter.

“But, independent of these objects, your duties, as teacher, will extend to the whole circle of Indian wants, and to all the means of Indian improvement, whether moral or physical.

“1st. It will be a paramount duty to inculcate proper sentiments towards the Government and citizens of the United States, to persuade the Indians, as far as possible, to withdraw their views and affections from a foreign Power, and to restrain them from any acts which would render them obnoxious to our laws, or expose them to the lawless attacks or depredations of individuals.

“2d. All attempts to meliorate the condition of the Indians must prove abortive, so long as ardent spirits are freely introduced into their country. Their continued intoxication is the bane of all our efforts. Every hope, feeling, and consideration, are sacrificed to this overwhelming passion. It is an absolute mania, which they appear to be wholly unable to resist, and which sweeps before it every barrier of self-regard, of moral duty, and of natural affection. One fact will place this lamentable evil in a clearer point of view than the most laboured discussion. At the treaty concluded September last, at Chicago, Topenebe, principal chief of the Putawatomes, a man nearly eighty years of age, irritated at the continual refusal, on the part of the commissioners, to gratify his importunities for whiskey,

exclaimed in the presence of his tribe, 'We care not for the land, the money, or the goods; it is the whiskey we want—give us the whiskey.'

"Under such circumstances, your efforts must be unceasingly directed to prevent the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian country. Congress have done their duty on this subject, and if the laws are administered with vigilance and fidelity, the most salutary consequences may be anticipated. You must explain to the chiefs, and the more reasonable men, the misery and destruction which the indulgence of this habit will entail upon their race, and endeavour to promote the establishment of associations with the avowed object of preventing the introduction and use of ardent spirits. In fact, no terms must be made with this devastating enemy, and the final accomplishment of your object will depend, in a great degree, upon your success in this first and most important effort.

"3d. It will be necessary for you to observe the conduct of the traders, and report any infractions of the laws to the nearest agent, that proper measures may be taken to investigate the facts, and to punish the offenders, and more particularly the offence mentioned in the preceding article, of introducing into the Indian country ardent spirits, either by traders or others. The nature of the evidence and the names of the witnesses will, in all cases, accompany your report.

"4th. In all this section of country, the fur-bearing animals, as well as those used for food by the Indians, are disappearing. It is impossible for the different tribes to support themselves by the product of the chase, and it is highly important that their attention should be directed to agriculture, and to the rearing of domestic animals, before their condition has become such as to render further exertions hopeless.

"There is no stipulation in the Chicago treaty for the employment of any person to teach the Putawatomes agriculture, or to provide domestic animals for them. They will, of course, be deprived of the aid of any labourers, and also of any assistance in the purchase of cattle and horses. But still, the duty of recommending these subjects to their attention must be faithfully performed. The considerations proper to be urged are too obvious to require enumeration. They embrace their means of present subsistence and all their hopes for the future. Without this radical change in their habits and views, their declension must be rapid, and their final extinction near and certain. Besides, all prospect of moral improvement must depend upon a previous improvement in their physical condition. By render-

ing them stationary, by assigning to each a separate tract of land, and thereby teaching them the value of exclusive property, and by enabling them to furnish their food with less fatigue and more certainty by the labours of agriculture than by the chase, we shall gradually teach them the advantages of our arts and institutions, we shall prepare them for such instruction as they may be able to comprehend, and as may suit their altered condition. But to reverse this natural order of things, and to undertake to explain to them the obligations of religion and the moral duties of life, while they are naked, starving, hopeless, and helpless, is to ensure the failure of the plans which charity has devised, and zeal is now prosecuting for their melioration.

“ Endeavour, therefore, by precept and example, to reclaim them from the life of a hunter. Your time and services cannot be better employed, and I trust you will, ere long, realize your most ardent expectations.

“ 5th. The cash annuities which the different tribes receive from the United States might be made very serviceable to them, if judiciously expended. It will be proper, therefore, that you should advise them what articles they ought to purchase, and endeavour, as far as possible, to restrain them from procuring whiskey, or trifling and expensive ornaments, which contribute nothing to their comfort or support.

“ 6th. It is important that their implements of agriculture, their clothing, and domestic animals, should not be sold; and as the law expressly prohibits the traffic, under a specific penalty, you will report, as in the former case, any violations of it to the nearest Indian agent, and you will also explain to the Indians the immense sacrifice which this custom occasions to them, and the little proportion there is between the value of the articles which they give and receive.

“ 7th. The Indians gain nothing by resorting to our settlements. They exchange every necessary article in their possession for whiskey. They violate the laws, and are exposed to punishment. They commit depredations upon the property of our citizens, and the amount is deducted from their annuities, and, above all, they resort to a foreign country, where they barter immediate promises and future services for substantial presents, where an influence is acquired over them, injurious to us and destructive to them; you will endeavour to persuade them, therefore, to remain at home. Their annuities will be principally paid to them in their own country. There are traders enough to furnish them with goods, and to receive their peltries in exchange.

“ 8th. It will be proper for you to visit, occasionally, their villages, to become acquainted with the different individuals, to examine their wants, and their modes of living, and to acquire their confidence in such a manner as to give the greatest effect to your advice and representations.

“ An annual compensation will be allowed you of four hundred dollars; and you can select a blacksmith, whose annual compensation will be three hundred and sixty-five dollars. These allowances will commence with the commencement of your duties upon the reservation. The balance of the appropriation, being two hundred and thirty-five dollars, will be expended in the purchase of steel, iron, &c., and in other contingent expenses.

“ The blacksmith will be under your direction, and will be employed in repairing guns, in making traps, spears, hoes, tomahawks, axes, and the necessary farming utensils. He will be kept faithfully employed.

“ You can transmit a statement of the articles and materials required, as well for the establishment upon the St. Joseph's, as for that upon Grand river, embracing tools, iron, &c., and such as will be deemed proper will be sent to Chicago.

“ The tools for the blacksmiths may be either furnished by them at a fair price, or sent from here upon your requisition.

“ Mr. Sears's compensation will be the same as yours, and he or you can select the blacksmith for Grand river. The blacksmith will be allowed three hundred and sixty-five dollars per annum.

“ Mr. Sears's duty will be regulated by the principles here laid down, and he will be governed by these instructions, of which you will please to furnish him a copy, as far as they apply.

“ But the stipulation for the Ottawas is more extensive, in its objects and amount, than that of the Putawatomies. A teacher of agriculture is to be provided, and in the execution of this stipulation I think it will be better to employ two or three native young men as labourers. They should be sent to the different villages, to split rails, to make fences, to build cabins, to plough, and to plant, and to raise corn. As the Indians will at first be averse to labour, it is expedient to consult their prejudices, and to give them as great advantages from our limited means as possible; and I think it will be much better to employ young men at low wages, as actual labourers, rather than one person at a higher rate, as a mere teacher of agriculture.

“ It is desirable, as these persons must live among the Indians,

that they should understand their manners, and, if possible, speak their language. I think, therefore, it will be better to send Canadians from this place, and I shall accordingly pursue this course, and direct them to report to Mr. Sears for instructions. He will station them as he may think best, and direct and superintend their labours.

“ I shall send a few ploughs, chains, yokes, &c., to the agent at Chicago, with instructions to forward them to Grand river, to Mr. Sears, for distribution.

“ I expect the principal Ottawa chief here in a few days, and until his arrival I shall delay making any provisions respecting cattle and horses.

“ Some allowance will be made this year towards the erection of buildings for the teachers and blacksmiths; but the amount will be limited, and will be made upon the receipt of your estimate and report, after reaching the seats of the establishments.

“ You will exercise a general superintending power over the persons at Grand river, as well as those at St. Joseph's, and will make regular semi-annual reports to the agent at Chicago and to me; and, to enable you to do this, Mr. Sears will make regular reports to you.

“ These reports must exhibit the situation of the establishments, the number and occupations of the several persons employed, the quantity of labour performed, the number of persons taught, the condition of the schools, if there are any, the progress made in mechanic arts and agriculture, and prospects, by which the exertions of the several persons may be determined, and the efficacy and final result of the experiment ascertained.

“ Your reports will also be accompanied by an estimate of the probable expenses for the next half year, detailing, under distinct heads, the several branches of expenditure, with as much accuracy as possible.

“ Payments will be made to yourself and to the several persons employed, as near the beginning of January and July in each year as practicable. Forms of the proper vouchers and accounts will be hereafter transmitted to you; and on the receipt of these vouchers, signed by the several persons, money will be remitted to you for their payment.

“ The sites for the respective establishments upon the St. Joseph's and Grand rivers are to be located by the President of the United States. I shall despatch a competent person, in a few days, through that country, to ascertain the most eligible situation for these establishments, that I may report the facts to

the Secretary of War, to be laid before the President. I will communicate to you the instructions which the Secretary of War may give upon this subject.

“The same person will be authorized to apply to the proper chiefs, to ascertain their feelings and wishes, and to receive any representations they may wish to make.

“The Indian agency at Chicago is nearer the St. Joseph’s than this place. I am not yet satisfied whether it would be better that instructions should from time to time be given you from that place or from here. The decision, however, shall shortly be made; and in the mean time you will please to attend to any instructions which the agent at Chicago may give.

“You will observe that this whole arrangement is temporary, and subject to any alterations which the Secretary of War may make. I shall report my proceedings to him, and he will approve or disapprove them, as he may think proper. Whatever instructions he may give will be carried into full effect.

“I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“*Rev. Isaac McCoy.*”

“LEWIS CASS.”

It will be seen that the foregoing instructions required me to report, semi-annually, both to the Governour of Michigan Territory and to the Indian agent at Chicago. Subsequently a special commissioner was appointed by the Governour, to visit this and other missionary stations within his superintendency, and report to him their condition, management, prospects, &c.; and this report was also forwarded to the Secretary of War, for his examination. A small portion of an annual appropriation of Congress of ten thousand dollars, for purposes of Indian reform, was allowed, in aid of our station among the Putawatomies. By this means the institution was brought under the immediate patronage of the Secretary of War, irrespective of the arrangements in which the Governour of Michigan was concerned, and we were therefore required to report directly to the Secretary of War. In addition to all these reports, we were required to report annually, or oftener, to the board of missions. While the preparation of these reports necessarily employed time, which seemed called for by other business, the arrangement was favourable to us, because the concerns of the mission were so thoroughly developed as to inspire confidence abroad, and thus elicit assistance from Government, and prayers and benefactions from the pious.

We were, as above seen, required to make six reports in the course of the year; viz: two to the Indian agent at Chicago,

one hundred miles to the west; two to Governour Cass, two hundred miles off to the east; one to the Secretary of War, and one to the board of missions. A seventh report for each year was made by the special commissioner appointed to visit the station in person, which was made to the Governour of Michigan Territory, and by him laid before the Secretary of War.

These arrangements brought the minutæ of the whole routine of our operations fully before the several authorities to which the reports were made; and the missionaries have ever appealed, with great confidence and much satisfaction, to the testimony borne to their fidelity and management by those honourable and disinterested departments. Our reports to the board of missions embraced accounts of our receipts and disbursements. The several items of expenditure, with date and circumstance as far as practicable, and in important, and even in many small disbursements, the missionaries secured vouchers from the persons with whom they dealt, which were carefully preserved on file, to show that the expenditure had been made as had been stated in the account.

It will be seen, a few pages hence, that the missionaries, by articles of agreement between themselves, and between themselves and the board of missions, which usually met in Philadelphia, had surrendered to the board their individual claims to all property which should come into their hands, from any source whatever. Hence the salaries which some of the missionaries received from Government were not claimed as the property of those several persons; but every dollar was accredited to the board, as scrupulously as though it had been received immediately from them. The application of it became a business under the direction of the board, and all expenditures, as before stated, were submitted to the inspection of that body. The receipts of the mission consisted, as above stated, of Government salaries to some of the missionaries, a portion of the ten thousand dollar annual appropriation of Congress for Indian reform, also appropriations from the board from their own charity funds, and donations of money, books, clothing and bedding, chiefly for the Indian children in school, live stock, &c., made directly to the mission by benevolent societies and individuals. The accounts of receipts and disbursements were audited by the board of missions; and either the whole, or so much as was necessary, was published in their printed periodicals; so that the whole matter, embracing money or property received, and money or property expended, became open to the investigation of all persons in all parts of the United States. If

a contributor to the support of the mission desired to know whether his donation had reached the end designed by him, he had only to look on the mission accounts, as reported, examined, &c.

The Government salary of two of the missionaries was to each four hundred dollars per annum, and of another three hundred and sixty-five dollars per annum.* In earning this money from Government, they were not required to lose an hour from their missionary work, for the service required by the Government and that required by the board of missions were virtually the same. Their commissions improved their usefulness as missionaries. They could therefore have claimed their salaries from Government as their private property, with as much propriety as any other Government officers could claim theirs. But this was never done. The missionaries who received Government salaries profited no more by them than they who received none. All was thrown into the common missionary fund, and became the property of the board.

Having obtained my papers from Governour Cass, I hastened back to Fort Wayne, which I reached on the 21st of July, having spent the previous night in a desolated hut, being wet with rain, and having only a small blanket for my bed. About this time we again became sickly. On the 29th of July one of our little daughters and four of our Indian children were sick of bilious fever, and my own health poor.

His Excellency Lewis Cass commissioned Mr. Charles C. Trowbridge to make definite arrangements with the Indians for the sites for our missionary stations. He passed Fort Wayne on the 27th, and, by agreement, I was to meet him in the Putawatomie villages a few days afterwards.

On the 1st of August, 1822, Mr. and Mrs. Sears arrived. They had travelled a hundred miles of the road over which I had passed a few days before, on my way from Detroit. Mr. Sears's father and brother had been in company, and had been left back in a dearborn wagon, while our new comers had come on upon horseback. They had a wilderness of fifty miles, without inhabitant, to pass, in order to reach our place; this they could not perform by daylight. They travelled in the night, until losing the path; they spent two hours in waiting for day,

* It will be seen presently that Mr. Sears, who had been appointed teacher for the Ottawas, did not remain long enough to become entitled to any pay from Government. The commission was held by others at divers times, who surrendered the emolument to the board of missions.

much annoyed the whole time by musketoes. We sent assistance to meet those of the party who were behind, and on the 2d of August Mr. Sears's father and his brother, Benjamin Sears, arrived. The latter came with a view of becoming a missionary. He was cordially received as such, and, agreeably to the authority with which the board had invested me, I gave him credentials, dated August 3d, 1822. He was an unmarried man, about twenty-two years of age.

Several weeks before this we had resolved to form ourselves into a regular church on the 3d day of this month; the arrival of our new missionaries was therefore opportune.

The subject of missions was new to many in the west; and while missionary labours were approved by some, others, whom we respected as Christians, for want of information, conjectured that new principles, in either doctrine or discipline, or both, were necessarily connected with missions. Proper respect for the feelings of our weak brethren, and especially those of our own denomination, required us to embrace all favourable opportunities of correcting these mistakes. The constitution of our church was an occasion favourable to our desires in this respect. We pursued the usual course of applying to the nearer Baptist churches for ministerial helps. Two of the ministers for whose assistance we had written to the State of Ohio were professedly opposed to missions, and on that account, we supposed, did not attend to our request; a third was prevented by proper considerations. We were happy to have the assistance of Rev. C. Martin, of Ohio, who had been our school teacher, as has been stated, and the Rev. Benjamin Sears, sen., of Meredith, New-York. Mr. Martin preached from Isaiah xxxv, and part of first verse: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them." The right hand of fellowship was given by Mr. B. Sears, sen., and the charge by Mr. Martin. The following is the summary of doctrines which were subscribed, viz:

"We, whose names follow, being convinced of the propriety and utility of a church state, and having due knowledge of each other in respect to experimental and practical religion, by consent and with the assistance of Elder Benjamin Sears, of Meredith, New-York; and Elder Corbly Martin, of Staunton, Ohio, do agree to unite in a church compact, upon the firm basis of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as being of divine authority, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice. And whereas there are different opinions among professed Christians in relation to the true meaning of Scripture, therefore, in order to prevent unpleasant disputation, and to cherish har-

mony of sentiment, we deem it indispensable to subjoin the following expression of the leading features of those doctrines of the Gospel most liable to be disputed, which shall always be considered as the sentiments of this church.

“ART. I. We believe in one only true and living God, who is infinite and unchangeable in all his divine perfections or attributes, such as wisdom, power, justice, love, &c., the Creator and Preserver of all things; and that he cannot be brought under the least obligations to any of his creatures.

“ART. II. We believe that in Deity there is a Trinity, of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in all respects equal, and unlike the subordination between father and son among men.

“ART. III. We believe that God is not liable to the least disappointment, but that eternity is at all times fully comprehended by him, so that neither the malice of hell, nor the wickedness of men on earth, can any way frustrate his eternal purposes.

“ART. IV. We believe that God made man upright, but he has voluntarily fallen from his uprightness; that in his fall he lost all traces of virtue, (moral goodness,) and became wholly averse to godliness; yet he is, on that account, under no less obligations to his God.

“ART. V. We believe that as there is nothing *new* with God, it is his eternal purpose to save those who ultimately will be received into heaven, not upon the supposition of any condition to be performed by them, but wholly in consequence of what Jesus Christ has done in their behalf.

“ART. VI. We believe the Son of God united himself to humanity, and in that state fulfilled in his life the law of God, which was binding on man, and suffered in his death the penal requisitions of the same.

“ART. VII. We believe, agreeably to the inevitable consequences of articles first, third, and fifth, that Christ's life, death, resurrection, and intercession, were, and are, in behalf of those, and those only, who shall enjoy the benefits thereof.

“ART. VIII. We believe that regeneration is effected by the operations of the Spirit of God only, and is an essential preparation for the enjoyment of God in heaven, and an assurance of title thereto.

“ART. IX. We believe that, through grace, all who are regenerated will be preserved in a gracious state, and will certainly go to heaven.

“ART. X. We believe it to be perfectly congenial to the Scriptures, and to the spirit of the foregoing articles, for minis-

ters of the Gospel to command all men indiscriminately to repent, and to exhort them to believe the Gospel.

“ART. XI. We believe that God hath appointed a day in which he will judge all men by Jesus Christ.

“ART. XII. We believe that the joys of the righteous will be eternal, and that the sufferings of the wicked will be of endless duration.

“ART. XIII. We believe that the suffering of the wicked is the spontaneous consequence of their own wickedness, and not the effect of any thing in or done by Deity, hostile to their happiness.

“ART. XIV. We believe that none but believers in Christ ought to be baptized, and that immersion is the only scriptural mode of baptism.

“ART. XV. We believe that none but baptized believers in Christ, united in Gospel order, have a right to communion at the Lord's table.

“ART. XVI. We believe that God hath set apart one day in seven, for rest and religious worship, and that the first day of the week ought to be observed as such, in resting from our temporal concerns, excepting works of necessity.

“And being united together upon the foregoing plan, we deem it our duty to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, which, that God may enable us to do, let every member, at all times, fervently pray.

“ISAAC MCCOY,

JOHN SEARS,

“CHRISTIANA MCCOY,

MARY SEARS,

“GILES JACKSON,

JOHNSTON LYKINS,

“MARY JACKSON,

BENJAMIN SEARS, JUN.

“Missionaries.

“WISKEHELAEHQUA, a Delaware woman.

“ANN TURNER, a Miami woman.

“JESSE COX, a black man.”

On the following day we commemorated the death of our blessed Lord Jesus.

The constitution of our church, the association of such a goodly number of missionaries, and the prospect of our getting on to eligible sites for future usefulness, were matters affording great encouragement. Truly we needed strength, as it began now to appear, to bear the severe trials of our faith, which the Lord was permitting to come upon us.

Our history for a few weeks from this time can best be given by copying from the journals of the mission:

“ August 4, 1822. Our little daughter Elizabeth, who has been languishing some time under a fever, grows worse.

“ August 6. I am much distressed. The interests of the mission imperiously require my presence on St. Joseph's river, where I have agreed to meet Mr. Trowbridge, the commissioner, and the Putawatomes, on the 10th, in order to fix upon the place for the future location of the mission, &c. Should I not get thither in time, we may be located in an undesirable place, and other inconveniences will likely ensue. Should I not get out to prepare hay from the prairies for our stock through the succeeding winter, we shall scarcely be able to proceed in the erection of buildings before the next spring. We shall obtain no aid from Government until we get on to the ground; and our want of pecuniary assistance is so great, that the mission will scarcely exist without help from Government. On the other hand, it seems to be a trial too great to be borne, to leave my child here, apparently at the point of death, and to leave my distressed wife to bear alone the probable bereaving stroke.

“ August 7. Mr. Sears, four hired white men, and one of our Indian boys, set off with a wagon for St. Joseph's river. I accompanied them a few miles, and returned to watch the symptoms of our dear child. In the afternoon, the Indian boy whom I had left with the company returned, sick of a fever. Two others of our children, and Mrs. Jackson and one of her children, have become sick.

“ August 8, eight o'clock, A. M. Elizabeth revived a little, and became able to speak, and we cherished fairer hopes of her recovery. My wife and I concurred in opinion, that it was safe to trust in God; and, notwithstanding the path of duty should lead us through trials severe in the extreme, yet the mercies of God would, in the end, surpass them, as we had often experienced; and since the state of our affairs imperiously required my presence at St. Joseph's, we agreed that it would be proper for me to go. Accordingly I was ready to mount my horse in a few minutes. On taking what proved to be my final leave of our Elizabeth, she said she was willing I should go, if I would not remain absent too long. When ready to start, it was discovered that the Indian whom I had engaged to accompany me had been intoxicated, and was now unwilling to appear in my company. He at length consented.

“ With feelings which I could not describe, I took leave of our afflicted family and brethren and sisters. The Indian hurried on before me, and, as I believed, with a view of deserting

me. In less than a mile I discovered him asleep in the weeds near our path. I prevailed on him to renew his journey. On overtaking the wagon, I found one of the hands quite sick, and riding Mr. Sears's horse, and the latter travelling on foot. We had to open the road for the wagon as we proceeded. The 10th of August was the day that I had agreed to meet the commissioner in the Indian country. Being yet fifty miles from the place of meeting, Mr. Sears and our Indian proceeded ahead, while I remained with the wagon. On the afternoon of the 12th we encountered a storm, which wetted us much, and rendered lodging on the ground unsafe at this sickly season. I laid a bag of corn under me, to raise me from the wet earth.

“August 13. We arrived at the trading house at which we had agreed to meet the commissioner and the part of our company which had gone in advance of us. One of the work hands was very sick. On the 14th the hands were set to work, making boards to cover a camp, and preparing to make hay on the prairies. A runner was sent to assemble the Putawatomie chiefs, who were requested to meet on the next day. In the evening a man hallooed across the river, and said he desired to see me. I instantly judged that he had come with evil tidings from my family. A letter from Mr. Lykins informed me that Elizabeth was yet alive, but barely so. Mrs. McCoy and another of our children, and several others of the family, had sickened with fevers after my departure, and I was entreated to return as soon as possible.

“I could do no better than leave with the proper persons my views and wishes in regard to our business, and directions for the work hands, and return to our place. I had a hundred miles of wilderness to go through, but made it in a little over a day and a half. Five miles from home I heard that Elizabeth was dead and buried.” She was nearly nine years old, and was the same that had barely escaped the loss of her life, a few months before, by the hands of a murderous Indian. She was the second child we had buried after we had become missionaries. A younger daughter long lingered in a nervous fever, exceedingly low; her nerves ever after remained so much affected as to render her incapable of taking care of herself; and this continued affliction of a dear child, once among the most sprightly of our children, has been a source of anxiety exceeding all others which belong to the ordinary matters of our life.

Mrs. McCoy was at this time labouring under a fever, which was the second attack during summer. Five of my own chil-

dren, Mrs. Jackson and her three children, and seven of the Indian part of our family, were sick. Studies in school were suspended, and indeed all other business was omitted excepting attendance upon the sick. The prompt attention and useful services of our good brother Lykins, in this time of affliction, ought never to be forgotten.

A dark cloud at this time seemed to be gathering over the affairs of the mission. In addition to the common afflictions of the family, fears were felt that the board of missions were becoming cold in the cause of this mission. These suspicions were, perhaps, not well founded. They arose from the silence of the board for some months, in their public prints, relative to this mission. It was also remembered that the board had not been hearty in the establishment of a mission in this quarter, but that they had been drawn into the measure by circumstances which they could not easily control. There was therefore a tendency to put an unfavourable construction upon any seeming neglect of theirs. The effect of these suspicions at the mission were, however, the same as though they had been well founded.

Believing that the board would probably propose some changes which would frustrate our plans in relation to missions in *this* country, the resolution had been formed: 1st, to put the mission into extensive operation, if possible, and with as little delay as circumstances would allow, so that the board could not draw back, even if they felt inclined so to do, without incurring responsibilities in public opinion, beyond what they could desire; and, 2dly, to obtain all the assistance possible from Government and a benevolent Christian public, so that our dependence upon the board for support might become small, or be dispensed with altogether, excepting the examination of our receipts and disbursements, and the reporting of the same to the public.

Our personal afflictions were about this time so severe that there was reason to fear that some of our new missionaries would become disheartened and inclined to desert the field. For fear of adding to their discouragements, I concealed from all, except Mr. Lykins, the fears which were felt in regard to ample patronage from the board. It appeared, however, that the Christian public did not feel that indifference to our interests which we feared had been felt in a degree by some members of the board. With the public generally, there appeared an increasing attention to our wants. The amount of donations for this mission, specially, appeared from the public prints, much

greater than had been received by the board for any one of its other missions in one year.

The following is from our journal :

“ August 20. One of our work hands at St. Joseph’s has returned on account of sickness.

“ August 28. New cases of sickness occur in the family almost daily. Mrs. McCoy has recently been very sick, is now a little better. Mr. Benjamin Sears has been indisposed a week and is now very sick of fever. This is the *thirtieth case of sickness in our family.*”

On the 22d, a Baptist minister, from the State of New-York, (Rev. Phineas Nichols,) arrived at our place. He came for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the condition and prospects of the mission, and, if things appeared favourable, he designed to offer himself as a missionary. He remained with us until the 28th. He said that, previous to his visiting us, he had no thought that our difficulties were so great as he now discovered they must necessarily be. He left us, after having abandoned all idea of becoming a missionary to the Indians. On the same day, Mr. Jackson, who, for some time, had given evident signs of a failing resolution, told me plainly that “ he could not reconcile himself to the privations which we, who were missionaries to *these* Indians, were destined to endure.” We lived harmoniously and happily with Mr. and Mrs. Jackson, and we esteemed them both valuable acquisitions to the mission. Loth to part with them, we had been some time endeavouring to bolster them up by such *talks* as were calculated to fan missionary fire. But we were unsuccessful. On this day it became properly understood between us that he was no longer a missionary. The reasons which he assigned for his resignation, and which were entered upon the journals of the mission, were : That he had a mother who was somewhat dependant on him for support ; he could not endure the idea of bringing up his children among the Indians ; he could not reconcile himself to live in so large a family as our missionary family ; he did not enjoy religious comfort as he formerly had—and, in a word, he could not endure the difficulties attendant on a missionary life.

As we were in want of a smith for the Putawatomie station, and it had been expected that Mr. Jackson would fill that place, and as Mrs. Jackson’s services were greatly needed in the family, I *hired* them to continue their services in the family, as usual, for one year, for which the mission paid them two hundred dollars, besides board, &c. On the same day they set out upon a visit of several weeks to their friends in Ohio.

The following is copied from our journal :

“Friday, August 30. Our youngest child was attacked with fever. This is the thirty-second case of fever in the family. Our wagon and hands came in from St. Joseph’s, having prepared hay, &c. An Indian boy whom we sent to meet them returned very sick.

“Sunday, September 1. Mrs. Sears was attacked with fever; also, Mr. Bruce, foreman of the hands, lately at St. Joseph’s. Others of the family have become worse. Our condition is truly alarming. Could not attend to preaching, nor even to family prayers, on account of the attentions which the sick required.

“September 2. Two Indian boys taken ill of fever. Mr. John Sears returned, sick of intermittent fever. This is the *thirty-ninth case*. He was several days sick in the wilderness, where he enjoyed the company of Mr. Trowbridge, the commissioner, whose kindness to Mr. Sears deserves to be remembered. He accompanied that gentleman to Detroit, whence he came on alone to Fort Wayne. The two nights previous to his arrival he slept alone in the wilderness.

“September 3. Mr. John Sears has become more indisposed. Mrs. Sears grows worse; Mr. Benjamin Sears no better.

“Sunday, September 8. So much sickness and distress in the family that we could not have preaching. Two more are added to the sick list.”

The fever in our neighbourhood was at this time so general that the sick could not receive the attentions which their condition required. Hired nurses, or other persons to perform the labour of the house, could not be obtained. Mr. Lykins’s health and mine were still preserved. In addition to our other duties to the sick, we were compelled to go into the kitchen and prepare food as regularly as the day returned.

In this time of severe trials, Mr. John Sears and Mrs. Sears gave evident signs of a disposition to quit the mission. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson had already gone. Mr. Benjamin Sears and Mrs. McCoy were both sick. Mr. Lykins alone remained to me a friend, whose circumstances enabled him to be a counsellor and a comforter; and such he certainly was. Neither the performance of the most disagreeable services for the sick, whether they were missionaries, their children, or Indian children; nor their peevishness and unreasonable demands, nor the deathlike discouragements which, in various forms, hovered around our abode, moved him from his noble determination to

do right. He never became impatient, nor formed hasty conclusions, for the sake of getting out of a scene of distress. Seldom do circumstances occur so fully to attest what a *man is*, as those under which Mr. Lykins was at this time placed. It was not his amiable disposition alone by which we profited. His soundness of judgment in administering to the sick, and in relation to missionary affairs generally, was constantly developing.

It having been concluded that it was necessary for me to visit Ohio, to employ domestics, and to transact other important business, I set out on the 9th of September, leaving two of my children and many others extremely sick. The late distressing circumstance of the death of our daughter in my absence, and when my wife was too much indisposed to see her buried, and many other distressing associations of thought which our afflictions and other circumstances were calculated to inspire, made it painful to myself and others for me to leave them at this time.

I travelled alone, and noticed that persons whom I met gazed at me with some appearance of astonishment, from which I inferred that the deep anxiety of my mind was visible in my countenance. The second day, at noon, I sickened, but proceeded until I was compelled by high fever to stop at a little cabin of white people. I was sixty miles from home, and could not possibly return thither through the wilderness; and if I had, should have found most of them sick. I then said to myself, as I afterwards wrote in my journal, "How dark are the late dealings of Providence! The very existence of the mission seems to be menaced. The sick at the establishment suffering for want of attention; the school suspended; some of the missionaries have forsaken the field, and others will probably soon follow; important business requiring my presence in the white settlements, and still more important business will demand my presence a few days hence at Fort Wayne, while I am forbidden to go to either place; my family sick yonder, and I sick here, in a place in which the thought of being confined is intolerable; some important engagements with the Miamies and Ottawas in danger of being thwarted; to which may be added many other discouragements, so that the cloud becomes gloomy and the day dark! Yet, through the stormy cloud, I'll look once more to Thee, my God."

On the following day, September 11th, being unable to travel on horseback, I prevailed upon a man with an ox wagon to convey me twenty miles further towards the white settlements. On the following day, Captain B. Leavell, to whom I had

sent intelligence of my condition, came to me with a carriage, and conveyed me to Piqua, Ohio. I was now favoured with the attention of kind friends and skilful physicians. This day I was extremely sick.

On the 14th of September, my health being a little improved, I employed a man to attend to my business. Two of my sons were at school about thirty miles from me, and, hearing of my illness, the elder came to see me, and rendered me much service in the transaction of business.

On the 16th I wrote this note in my journal: "Was visited by the worthy Rev. John Mason, who left the Mad River Baptist Association, and came, shall I say, as an angel to comfort me. His encouraging and instructive conversation, and his fervent prayer, cannot soon be forgotten." I had addressed a letter to that association, to which Mr. Mason brought me a kind and sympathizing answer; this was the more gratifying, as some of the ministers of that body were opposed to the general missionary operations of the day. They said, "We often cast an eye to Fort Wayne, and sympathize with you and our sister, who, we believe, are suffering many privations; and we think, also, that there is not one minister in our association but what would use all the influence he has for the benefit of your establishment, if he could do it without having any sort of connection with . . ." [others.]

The matters of the board of missions were, at this time, in their incipient stages, and persons a thousand miles from them could not easily foresee that their treasury would continue to be amply replenished. Mr. Mason, whose opinion was worth something, believed that if the want of funds should prevent the board from continuing to us their patronage, the people of the west would nevertheless amply sustain us. This was seasonable consolation, in view of the fears we had felt on the subject of support.

While I was at Piqua, Mr. Daniel Dusenbury reached that place on his way from Zanesville, Ohio, to Fort Wayne, with the view of becoming a missionary. I had held a correspondence with him on the subject for some time previous, and had remitted to him money to meet his expenses in travelling to us.

On the 18th I put a bed in a wagon, on which I was placed, and set out to return to our family, having in company Mr. Dusenbury, two females hired to labour in the family, and a Mrs. Hars, a lady resident at Fort Wayne. The first day of our journey the lady was attacked with fever, and becoming un-

able to proceed, I mounted a horse and left with her the wagon, to enable her to return. By travelling carefully, and sometimes resting by the side of the road, I was enabled to arrive at Fort Wayne on the 21st.

While I was deeply affected with the sight of so many pale faces in our family, I was thankful that all whom I had left were still living. Mr. Benjamin Sears and some of my children were still exceedingly low; the health of Mrs. McCoy and many others had improved, but Mr. Lykins had been confined with fever almost all the time that I had been absent.

CHAPTER VI.

Indian murders. Failure of a missionary. Mission family rules. Erection of mission buildings. Death of Mr. B. Sears. Removal to the St. Joseph's river. The school resumed. Want of supplies of bread stuff. Sickness. Benevolence of Christians in support of the mission.

On the 25th of September, 1822, an annuity was paid to the Miamies, at which time the readiness of those who had contracted debts, by the erection of fences, buildings, &c., to pay for the same as soon as they received their money, indicated a pleasing disposition on their part to improve their condition by adopting agricultural pursuits. I addressed them on subjects relating to missions, but, on account of the indifference of the United States' agent in regard to the improvement of the condition of the Miamies, I was unable to accomplish much at this interview with them: this I felt to be a sore disappointment.

On Sunday, the 29th of September, though too feeble to stand, I was enabled to preach from my chair.

It was the 5th of October before the Indians, who had been called in to Fort Wayne to receive their annuity, had generally returned to their respective homes. During their stay near us, they murdered six of their number, some of whom we assisted them to bury. Several horses were also stolen from other Indians, and from the whites. Mr. Dusenbury, who was unknown to the Indians, rode to a neighbouring house, and on coming out to mount his horse, discovered that it had been stolen in daylight by two Indians who had seen him alight. We sent

with him one of our Indian pupils and a white man, who recovered the horse in a secret place, where he had been tied.

In the midst of our severe afflictions, when we had about forty sick persons in our family, Mr. John Sears resolved to leave the mission. That, under our peculiarly trying circumstances, he should become disheartened, and should feel inclined to abandon the field, was not surprising; it was his misfortune, but not his crime. Could he have consented to assign what was probably the true cause of his desire to leave, as other missionaries who had previously left had candidly done, he would like them have retired with credit, and with the sympathies of all acquainted with the circumstances; but he seemed unwilling to admit that the privations of missionaries to these Indians had much weight in inducing his design to leave; and in seeking for what he esteemed more honourable pretexts, he erred to his own injury.

I had made arrangements with his Excellency Governour Cass, for the erection of precisely such buildings for Mr. Sears among the Ottawas, as I expected for myself and others among the Putawatomes. He desired better houses; and when informed that our missionary funds were too low to justify greater expense than that which had been proposed, the greater part of which we hoped to get from Government, he proposed borrowing five hundred dollars to improve *his* buildings—a measure which aside from all other considerations, our poverty forbid.

For reasons not necessary to mention here, I had supposed that it would be greatly to our disadvantage as it respected our connection with Government, our dealings with neighbouring citizens for supplies and labour, and our reputation among the Indians, for it to become generally known that we were greatly embarrassed for want of funds. We always contrived to meet our engagements, and none, except Mr. Lykins, was at that time fully aware of the fears which were felt that the missionaries would have to provide for their own support. The board had resolved that all the expenditures of the mission, so far as their funds were concerned, should be made under my responsibility. When this proposition to borrow funds for the erection of buildings was made by Mr. Sears, in order to satisfy him that I did not act from unkind feelings towards him, I acquainted him with my fears that the board would not find it convenient to amply sustain us, and therefore we were obliged to economize. To my great mortification, Mr. Sears very soon disclosed the state of our poverty, and our anxiety about future support, to an officer of Government. This gentleman, however, without

using the information to our disadvantage, gave me early notice of the fact, and advised me in future not to intrust confidential matter to Mr. Sears.

He next concluded that he must study medicine before he could go further into the wilderness, and consequently further from medical aid, and for this purpose wished to take up his residence immediately in Detroit. But here he was again reminded of our want of funds. I did most earnestly desire him to go to the Ottawa station without delay, as he had been commissioned to do by the Government. Every thing, almost, was in readiness for him to begin, and that without much, if any, cost to the board of missions. Arrangements had been made for the erection of buildings for himself and the blacksmith, for the employment of a smith, the procuring of smith's tools, iron, steel, &c., and carpenter's tools. I had purchased two good yokes of oxen and a first rate wagon, all at the expense of Government; that is, Government was ready to assume the cost of these things so soon as operations were commenced on the ground. Then, there would be his own salary of four hundred dollars a year towards meeting current expenses. A more favourable opening, and more suitable preparations, I supposed had never been presented to a missionary to the Indians; but he could not be prevailed on to go to the station.

We had no missionary to take his place, and remain at the station. In order, therefore, to satisfy him, if possible, and detain him until a more healthful state of the mission, and a little more experience of matters in the wilderness might inspire him with more courage, I proposed to him to remain in our present place for some months longer, and study medicine under a physician who had taken up his residence in the neighbourhood. Here he could study without any additional *cost* on account of house rent or living. To this he almost consented, but in a few days abandoned the scheme, and resolved on leaving the country as soon as possible. I also proposed to him to take his station at Massassinawa, among the Miamies, where we were desirous to establish a mission, and lacked only a man to take the place. This would be much nearer to the white settlements than either the Putawatomie or the Ottawa station. A great many of our scholars were Miamies, and would unite with him there, and I had secured the promise of pecuniary assistance from Government, in the event of establishing a mission in that place; but he would not consent to go.

My relation to the board made it my duty to report to them every item of expenditure on account of the mission, and all

receipts. Hence, when missionaries arrived, their expenses for outfit and travelling were reported by them to me, together with the sums received by them, either from the board or from others. Mr. Sears was more than once reminded of these regulations, but declined submitting any such statement. The horse and carriage, and several boxes of articles needed at the Ottawa station, which he had brought to Fort Wayne, he retained in his own possession, and afterwards removed or disposed of as his own private property. It was, however, much to our satisfaction to hear Mr. Sears say, at our parting, in presence of Mr. Dusenbury, that my wife and I had always treated them with kindness and respect, and that with our deportment towards them they were well satisfied. Similar sentiments, in a fuller expression, he subsequently communicated in a letter to our friend B. B. Kerchevall, Esq., of Fort Wayne. Though Mr. Sears and I differed widely in opinion respecting the propriety of measures, we were far from indulging a quarrelsome spirit towards each other.

Mr. and Mrs. Sears left Fort Wayne on the 26th of November, 1822. He proceeded to Philadelphia, the seat of the board of missions, which place he reached before any communication from me, announcing his departure. The subsequent history of this affair can best be given in the following extracts of a letter to me, from the Rev. Dr. Staughton, corresponding secretary of the board:

“Philadelphia, April 2, 1823.

“MY DEAR BROTHER MCCOY: I think I know the heart of a missionary, and I am sure I am no stranger to his trials. I am happy the Lord has supported you under so many, and trust he will sustain you to the end. I never thought your selection of the Rev. John Sears, to be your associate in missionary service, a happy one. I have no reason to believe he is otherwise than a real Christian, but all Christians are not qualified for missionaries.

“In January last, Mr. Sears came with his wife to Philadelphia. I was at that time in deep affliction, having lost, by death, my inestimable companion, with whom I had lived thirty years.

“Perceiving that Mr. Sears was privately prejudicing the members of the board against the Fort Wayne mission, I had called a meeting of the board on the 17th of January, when he was requested to be present. He was full of complaining. He told the board that he entertained as high an idea as ever of the piety,

zeal, and devotedness of brother McCoy, and yet it came out at last that he complained that * * * * [Here follow twenty-seven counts, or complaints.]

“ The full confidence I have ever entertained in you led me to make such a reply to these charges as was by no means acceptable to Mr. Sears ; but the evidence itself is, in several instances, so contradictory, that I felt it my duty to cover the fault-finder with the shame it appeared to me that he deserved. He even condescended to particulars that it was no less unmanly than ungodly to have uttered. I took, on the occasion, the charges hastily from his lips, and it is *only at the direction of the board* that I copy them, and transmit them to you.

“ The board at this meeting passed merely the following minute :

“ ‘ Brother John Sears made a verbal statement of his difficulties and dissatisfaction in relation to the Fort Wayne mission. The board suspend their judgment until they hear from brother McCoy. A draft of thirty dollars was ordered in his favour, to help him on to New-York.’

“ At a meeting of the board, February 2d, 1823, your letter having reached me, the following minute and resolutions were passed : ‘ A letter was received from brother McCoy, on the subject of the Rev. John Sears’s retiring from Fort Wayne, on which,—

“ ‘ 1st. *Resolved*, That this board sympathize with brother Sears, under the afflictions he has sustained in the loss of his father and brother.*

“ ‘ 2d. *Resolved*, That the measures adopted in the whole of this case, by brother McCoy, appear to have been wise and salutary, but that the board will communicate to brother McCoy the objections raised by Mr. Sears against the economy of the mission.

“ ‘ 3d. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Mr. Sears is at liberty to retire from missionary service under the board, his mind appearing disinclined to the privations which evangelical labours among the aborigines of our country essentially require.

“ ‘ 4th. *Resolved*, That Mr. Sears be requested to furnish the board, as early as may be, with a full account of his receipts and expenditures while in their service.

“ ‘ 5th. *Resolved*, That the corresponding secretary is in-

* This was after the death of Mr. Benjamin Sears, an account of which will be given presently. The elder Mr. Sears, who had accompanied his sons to the field of their labours, died at Delaware, in Ohio, on his return to New-York.

structed to communicate the preceding resolutions to brother McCoy and brother Sears.'

"A special meeting of the board was held on Friday, the 14th of March, from which I have the pleasure of making the following extracts :

"A letter dated St. Joseph's, January 25, 1823, was received from brother McCoy, containing his journal from February 9, 1822, to January 24, 1823. *Resolved*, That the board very sincerely and affectionately sympathize with their brother in all his trials and deep afflictions, and trust that the God of all consolation will continue to be his support in every work of faith and labour of love. The board, under the influence of these feelings, rejoice that their brother is pleased with the situation in which he now lives, and hope that the blessings of heaven from above, as well as those from the earth beneath, may ever rest on him and all the mission family.'

"Let none of the foregoing communications prevent you from drawing on the board for such sums as your necessities shall require. I believe the board are *wholly satisfied* with what you have done and are doing. I pray the Lord may support you. Let none of these things move. If God approve, all will be well—forever so. My children unite in love. Let me hear soon from you. Your affectionate brother,

"WM. STAUGHTON."

We now return to affairs immediately at the missionary establishment.

October 5th, 1822. As the Miamies, at the recent payment of money to them, had been furnished with whiskey largely, our society for the suppression of this practice held a meeting to inquire into this matter. On my return home from the meeting, I was met by Legro, a principal chief of the Miamies, who, with some sarcastic ceremony, addressed me as follows :

"My father, some time ago you had a meeting, and stopped the whiskey ; no Indian could get a dram. This was a very good thing ; it is bad to get drunk. But, my father, the Indians at that time had *no money*, and so you was good enough to stop the whiskey. A few days ago, when the Indians received their money, they got drunk, fought, and killed each other. You could see my people's blood running in the street, but you could not then withhold the whiskey, because we had *money*. Now my people have left this place, there is no *money* here, and so I understand you have had a meeting to-day, to prevent Indians

from getting whiskey. Now, my father, we discover the advantages of education!"

In February of the present year, "Family Rules," so called, were framed, in imitation of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. In consequence of Mr. Clyde's retiring from missionary service, the subject slept until after the departure of Mr. Jackson, when those rules were adopted and subscribed; but Mr. and Mrs. Sears, being at that time inclined also to leave the mission, declined subscribing.

"General Rules for the Fort Wayne Mission Family.

"We, whose names follow, being appointed missionaries to the Indians by the General Convention of the Baptist denomination for missions, deem it expedient for our comfort and usefulness to adopt, in the fear of the Lord, the following general rules for the regulation of the mission family, viz:

"1st. We agree that our object in becoming missionaries is to meliorate the condition of the Indians, and not to serve ourselves. Therefore,

"2d. We agree that our whole time, talents, and labours, shall be dedicated to the obtaining of this object, and shall all be bestowed gratis, so that the mission cannot become indebted to any missionary for his or her services.

"3d. We agree that all remittances from the board of missions, and all money and property accruing to any of us, by salaries from Government, by smith shops, by schools, by donations, or from whatever quarter it may arise, shall be thrown into the common missionary fund, and be sacredly applied to the cause of *this* mission; and that no part of the property held by us at our stations is ours, or belongs to any of us, but it belongs to the General Convention which we serve, and is held in trust by us, so long as said society shall continue us in their employment: Provided that nothing herein contained shall affect the right of any to private inheritance, &c.

"4th. We agree to obey the instructions of our patrons, and that the superintendent shall render to them, from time to time, accounts of our plans, proceedings, prospects, receipts, and expenditures; and that the accounts of the mission, together with the mission records, shall at all times be open for the inspection of any of the missionaries.

"5th. We agree that all members of the mission family have equal claims upon the mission for equal support in similar circumstances; the claims of widows and orphans not to be in the least affected by the death of the head of the family.

“6th. We agree that when any missionary shall not find employment in his particular branch of business, it shall be his duty to engage in some other branch of business, as circumstances shall dictate.

“7th. We agree that, agreeably to their strength and ability, all the female missionaries should bear an equal part of the burden of domestic labours and cares, lest some should sink under the weight of severe and unremitted exertions; making the necessary allowances for the school mistress.

“8th. We agree to be industrious, frugal, and economical, at all times, to the utmost extent of our abilities.

“9th. We agree that missionaries labouring at the different stations belonging to this mission are under the same obligations to each other, as though resident in the same establishment.

“10th. We agree that it is the duty of missionaries to meet steadily at their respective stations, for the purposes of preserving peace and harmony among themselves, of cherishing kindness and love for each other, love to God, and zeal in the cause of missions.

“11th. We agree to feel one general concern for the success of every department of the mission, for the happiness of every member of the mission family, and to feed at one common table, except in cases of bad health, &c., in which cases the persons thus indisposed shall receive special attention, and shall be made as comfortable as our situation will admit.

“12th. We agree to cherish a spirit of kindness and forbearance for each other, and, as the success of our labours depends on the good providence of God, it is our duty to live near to him in public and private devotion, and to walk before him with fear, and in the integrity of our hearts, conscious that he ever sees us, and that by him actions are weighed; realizing that we are, at best, only instruments in his hand, and hoping that when we shall have finished the work given us to do, we shall dwell together in heaven, in company with fellow-labourers from other parts of the vineyard, and with those for whom we are now strangers and sufferers in this wilderness, and, to crown our happiness, shall gaze eternally on Him whose religion we are now endeavouring to propagate, to whom shall be ascribed *all* the glory of the accomplishment of our present undertaking.

“ISAAC MCCOY,

“CHRISTIANA MCCOY,

“JOHNSTON LYKINS,

“DANIEL DUSENBURY.

“February 15, 1822.”

Signed at different times, as missionaries connected themselves with the mission.

The foregoing rules were submitted to the inspection of the board of missions, which body, on the 14th of March, 1822, passed the following minute and resolution in relation to them:

“The *Family Rules* (forwarded by Mr. McCoy) of the mission having been twice carefully read, *Resolved*, That the said rules meet the full and decided approbation of the board.”

It will be seen that the *Family Rules*, so called, became not only an article of agreement between the missionaries themselves, but also a written contract between the missionaries of the one part, and the board of missions of the other part. These engagements placed the missionary beyond the influence of temptation to worldly mindedness; for whatever he might receive for services rendered the Government, or from individuals or societies, or directly from the board, no part of it was his own; he was charged with it, and was liable for it to the board, until he expended it according to their directions. He was entitled to nothing more than his current support. If he should become deficient in economy or usefulness, it was the business of the board to dismiss him, at which time he went out empty. This policy effectually stopped the mouths of the malicious and the ignorant, who, not having ever felt the influence of disinterested benevolence, might be disposed to attribute the toils of missionaries to a desire to accumulate property. By this agreement, every body perceived that they could *not* increase their property, for they held none of their own at the station, and all their receipts and expenditures were examined by their patrons, the board of missions.

It may be well to remark in this place, that while the formula by which it may be done may differ in relation to other Baptist missionaries, and to missionaries of other denominations, the relation between them and their patrons, respectively, is formed upon the same principle as the above; that is, that the missionary is to receive nothing more than his current support, and is liable to be dismissed at the pleasure of his patrons, at which time he can claim no more than his necessary clothing.

On the 8th of October, 1822, Mr. Lykins, having so far recovered his health as to be able to ride on horseback, set out on a journey to Vincennes, a distance of two hundred and eighty miles, on business of the mission, and for the purpose of settling some business of his own. On the following day a company of us left Fort Wayne for our new station on the St. Joseph's, with the design to erect buildings, after the erection of which,

the remainder of the family would be conveyed thither. Our company consisted of Mr. Jackson and family, four hired men, my eldest son, Rice, who was but a lad, and several of the Indian part of our family; in all, twenty-two persons. We had two ox wagons, and one drawn by four horses; and we also drove four milch cows. The day was rainy and unfavourable. Mr. Jackson was sick, and scarcely able to proceed, and we were travelling in a wilderness, where of course we had to sleep every night without a house.

The following are extracts from our journal:

“October the 10th. One of our best hands was sick. The day rainy. The following was another wet day. We broke one of our wagons, and spent half a day in the wet bushes repairing it. One of the wagoners was taken sick, and I mounted the horses and drove the team myself.

“October the 12th. Capsized one of the wagons, with two of our Indian pupils in it, but without much injury to persons or property. A few hours later in the day we mired an ox; and crippled him so severely that we left him on the road; the Indians soon afterwards butchered and ate him. This was a great misfortune, as we had now one yoke of oxen less than before, when we had scarcely been able to proceed with our loads.

“Sunday, October 13th. Found ourselves in an unsuitable place to detain the teams. Proceeded a few miles, found better grass for our cattle and horses, and encamped and spent the Sabbath in the wilderness. The health of our sick improving.

“October 14th. Mrs. Jackson and an Indian woman were quite indisposed. I had to take hold and assist in cooking myself. On the 16th, we pitched our tents within five miles of the principal Putawatomie settlements, and on the day following I had an audience of the chiefs, at which time the place for the erection of our buildings was finally agreed upon.

“October 19th. While it rained on us incessantly, we moved to the site selected for the establishment. This was an unpleasant though short travel through the wet grass and bushes. All the men were as wet as if they had been drenched in a river, and were trembling with cold. We were, however, not long in pitching our tents and in kindling a large fire, although it was done amidst a falling rain, so that our condition was soon very much improved.”

Our location was about one hundred miles from Fort Wayne,

at which place were the nearest white inhabitants. We were about one hundred and eighty miles from any thing like a settled country, and one hundred and ninety miles from a flouring mill. This place was, by the board, denominated *Carey*, and the station among the Ottawas was called *Thomas*, out of respect for the celebrated Baptist missionaries of these names who first penetrated Hindostan. On the 20th, I preached to our little company in our tents, while the rain was falling rapidly around us. The following day I sent a man and one of the teams back to Fort Wayne, with my son in company. We immediately set about the erection of buildings, and our work went on rapidly. For the encouragement of others, I took hold myself, though I was unable to do much.

November 11th. I took an Indian lad, and set off to return to my family, from whom I had not heard for twenty-nine days. At a distance of five miles I met a letter from my son, which informed me that Mrs. McCoy had again been confined to her bed by a fever. This was the third attack which she had suffered that summer and autumn. On the second day's journey, night overtook us in an unsuitable place for encamping. We had no axe, and could not procure much wood. In the night it commenced raining upon us, and the wind blew up cold. I laboured some time to resuscitate the fire, but could not make enough to warm my feet. We were obliged to submit to our uncomfortable condition on the ground until morning, and then we set out amidst a rain and severe wind, trembling with cold as with an ague. The Indian boy was on foot, and bore the storm with less inconvenience than I did. I wrapped my wet blankets about me on my horse, but still felt like perishing. About eight o'clock we found a deserted Indian camp, where, sheltered by a piece of bark, we kindled a fire, and took some refreshment. We reached home the same evening. All the sick were convalescent, except Mr. Benjamin Sears. Mr. Dusenbury, Mrs. McCoy, and four of our children, had been much afflicted, and their sufferings were increased by the absence of Mr. Lykins.

Circumstances allowed me to remain with my family a few days only. On the 19th of November I set out upon a journey to Ohio, which was indispensable before the rest of our family removed to the St. Joseph's. From this tour I did not return until the first of December, by which time the weather had become cold. On the last day of our journey the snow on the bushes in the wilderness rendered travelling very unpleasant. I cut my saddle blanket in two, to wrap up my

feet. Before we reached Fort Wayne I had great fears that a footman in company would freeze. I furnished him with the means of making fire, and was compelled to leave him behind, and dash forward, to prevent one of our Indian pupils we had in company from perishing. We all got safe to our fire-side that night.

Mr. Benjamin Sears, who had long languished under a typhus fever, had died on the 3d of November, 1822. He was a son of the late Rev. Benjamin and Ann Sears, was born in Meredith, New-York, June 16, 1800. Was baptized in the summer of 1815. Subsequently he was led to desire, most earnestly, to dedicate his whole life to the service of God. But he discovered no opening to a sphere of usefulness until after the appointment of his brother to missionary service, when he learned the want of missionaries at this station.

He had been bred a farmer, and was robust, and hoped to be useful to the natives by instructing them in agricultural pursuits, as well as in the doctrines of Christianity. He made no pretensions to the ministry. He reached our place on the first of August, 1822. His application to become united with us was cheerfully accepted, and the approbation of the board of missions applied for. But their answer was not received previous to his decease.

He was permitted to labour with us only twenty-three days, before he was prostrated with the prevailing fever, which terminated his life. He was favoured with the attendance of physicians, and was made as comfortable as our distressed situation would admit. More than two months he was unable to turn himself in bed, and he became reduced to a skeleton. It was a great consolation to know that under his deep afflictions he exercised a patience and resignation to the will of God, that indicated much spiritual mindedness. His desire to be useful to the Indians seemed not to be impaired by disease. And when his prospect of being spared to labour for them was blighted, he directed that his clothing, and whatever else of small articles of which he had control, should be applied to the benefit of the mission, either among the Ottawas or the Putawatoniens. In prospect of death, his hopes of a blessed eternity remained firm and unshaken: with humble confidence he rested his hopes for salvation on Christ alone. He retained his senses until the last, and appeared to be unmoved when it was intimated to him that his end was near.

He was decently interred by the side of our Elizabeth, who

had died the preceding August. There rests his dust, while his soul, no doubt, rests in heaven.

We were now preparing to take the last of our family to our new station. On the 8th, I preached a kind of farewell discourse. Most of our white neighbours about Fort Wayne were irreligious; nevertheless, their kind attentions to us during our whole stay at that place, and the affection indicated at our parting, made a deep impression upon our hearts, which we yet feel; and, while speaking of them, we can scarcely repress a desire to record here a list of their names, as evidence of our lasting remembrance of their kindness. May the Lord reward them!

At this time, Tohtauneneng, a Miami chief, of Turtle's town, brought a little boy whom he wished us to educate, but he was unwilling that he should go into the country of the Putawatomies. He inquired how much land the Putawatomies had given for a site for the mission; and, on being informed, said he would give an equal quantity if we would settle with him. I could do no better than endeavour to reconcile him by informing him that, although my family would remain at the station among the Putawatomies, we should endeavour to establish a mission among the Ottawas on the north, and another among the Miamies, his people, on the south, and that it would be my business to spend my time at the several stations alternately.

The Miamies were averse to sending their children into the Putawatomie country. Hence they were obliged to return to their rude kindred, with the exception of one, who was old enough to choose for himself, and whose mind appeared to be much agitated. He said he knew that if he should return to the Miamies at that time he would be undone. The artless manner in which he spoke on this subject, in broken English, was deeply affecting. He said, "I know if I go back to Indian, I soon be done. You not want me stay wid you? You tell me go wid you, I go. I want to live wid you. I love you just like my fader. I love mama (Mrs. McCoy) just like my moder. I want you always tell me dese good tings."

We greatly regretted the loss of our Miami pupils. In hope that missionaries would be found qualified and willing to labour there, we did not abandon the idea of giving them a mission until we were fully convinced that among the hundreds of thousands of our denomination in the United States, none were ready to enter upon the arduous though delightful duties of reclaiming the Miamies. This was the more astonishing, and the more to

be regretted, in view of the facilities from Government which we had secured for a station there. Could we have gone forward in the work, a great portion of the expense of supporting that station would have been met by Government. My heart now sickens at the recollection of the failure. In future, may our denomination have more zeal in a cause so well deserving it.

December 9, 1822. We moved off from Fort Wayne. Our company consisted of thirty-two persons, viz: seven of my own family, Mr. Dusenbury, six work hands, and eighteen of the Indian part of our family. The health of many was by no means firm. One of our children was still unwell with its late sickness. We had three wagons drawn by oxen, and one by horses, fifty hogs, and five cows. On account of the ice, we found much difficulty in crossing the St. Mary's river, and were able to make only about three miles of our journey the first day. The snow was about three inches deep, which we raked away with hoes until we found earth to make our beds upon, and where we could kindle fire. On the 10th, travelling was extremely difficult, on account of snow and ice, and many deep quagmires, in a flat wet country. I lent my horse, to enable some hands to go back after cattle that had escaped on the preceding night, and being compelled now to go on foot, became greatly fatigued and not a little indisposed. I took a hand and went ahead, and had a fire burning by the time the company came up at dark.

December 11th. Several Indians came to us early, and brought us a present of venison. We returned the compliment by another present. Again we went ahead and prepared a fire, but the teams were unable to reach us, and we had to return to them, and make a second fire. This we regretted the more, on account of the unpleasantness of raking away the snow.

December 12th. We passed an encampment of Miamies, who resided in the Putawatomie country, and with whom I had previously had little acquaintance. A young man came out and invited me in, to see the chief, who was sick. He said the Indians generally expected travellers who were going through their country, and especially such as were conveying property, to give the natives something for permission to pass. For *his own* part he would not demand any thing of me, but his young men wished me to give them a hog. I replied, that I had men at work on the St. Joseph's, who being hungry, and not hunters, I was taking my hogs to that place for their benefit and the benefit of our company after our arrival. That all our labours were for the benefit of the Indians, and I had been very glad to find

some kind enough to present us with venison on the preceding day. I would give him some biscuit and tobacco, not for permission to pass through the country, but because he was sick. When we moved off from their camp, I deemed it prudent to remain behind with the drove, lest they should take a hog from our young men by force.

By exposure I had contracted cold, and on the 13th I became too unwell to ride on horseback, and was compelled to get into a wagon. After passing a rainy uncomfortable night, we commenced and prosecuted the journey on the 14th, through falling snow and cold, and encamped on the bank of Elksheart river, and butchered a hog for our use. The following day we experienced not a little difficulty in cutting away the ice, to enable us to cross the river.

December 16th. I left our camp early, and went on before the company to the St. Joseph's river, ten miles, to examine a crossing. On returning, I found that the company had not left camp, on account of fifteen oxen having gone astray. Two men were in quest of them, and I immediately followed, with two others. By night we had recovered the oxen; some of them had wandered as far as ten miles from our camp in search of food. Our reliance was upon grazing; and this in winter, and snow on the ground, was poor.

December 17th was cold, and I remained very much indisposed. I took two men, and went ahead of the company, and made a large fire on each side of the St. Joseph's river; the stream was rapid, and so deep that it almost ran into the wagon beds; the ice was also running very thick. Nevertheless, we got all safely across, with the exception of drowning one hog, as the drove swam the river.

December 18th our oxen were almost worn down and the company all exceedingly anxious to terminate the journey. We therefore made a vigorous effort to reach Bertrand's trading house, which we accomplished at dark. Here we found a shelter from the cold and freezing rain which had been falling on us half the day. On the following day, which was the eleventh of our journey, we reached the mission station, and found the part of the family which had been left there well, but scarce of provisions. We then looked back upon our journey with gratitude to God, who had brought us safely hither. We had generally risen at four o'clock, and had prepared and eaten breakfast by candlelight. Most of the country had been covered with snow; and when that was removed from our sleeping places, our beds were spread on the

frozen earth. In view of these exposures so soon after our general ill health, we felt that we had been astonishingly favoured in being preserved in so much comfort. Our cabins were unfinished, but they afforded us a shelter so much superior to what we had lately experienced on the road, that we were not inclined to complain. Mrs. McCoy was at this time much indisposed, on account of cold contracted on the journey.

On our arrival we found two labourers who had been employed for the Ottawas, by virtue of the Chicago treaty. It being now winter, so that, were they among the Ottawas, they could do but little before spring, Governour Cass had kindly authorized me to employ them at Carey station until they could be set to work to good advantage at the other. This was a great favour, especially as Mr. Sears had declined going to that station, and as we had no person to send in his place. My health had improved a little, but our circumstances did not allow us sufficient rest. On the 21st I assisted the work hands all day in the open air, where I was very much exposed to cold. The following night I was required to be up late. At one o'clock I awoke with a violent ague, which was followed by fever, delirium, and symptoms of pleurisy, and it was three days before I was able to sit up. We sent three wagons back to the settlements for supplies, which, including going and returning, had a journey of four hundred miles to make through the wilderness, and over a bad road, at that inclement season, before we could obtain a fresh supply of bread stuff. We had taken the precaution to deposite corn and hay at Fort Wayne, for recruiting our teams as they passed and repassed that place. By the 29th of December I was again able to preach. Indians visited us almost daily, and on the 1st of January we deemed it expedient to invite Topenebe and Chebass, principal chiefs, and some others, to partake of a frugal meal with us; some attention having generally been paid to the 25th of December and the 1st of January by white men among them, most of whom have been French Catholics, from whom the natives derived a knowledge of these holidays. From them also they have learned on those days to shake hands and *kiss* their acquaintances. With the latter civility *we* chose to dispense. They retired from our house much gratified with the attentions which they had received, and said privately to our interpreter, "they could not think there were any more such good people among the whites."

The winter continued cold. The earth was covered with snow from the time we reached the station until the 20th of

March, generally from ten to fifteen inches deep. Our houses, being unfinished, were cold and uncomfortable. We had only four fires, one of which was our kitchen fire, for the benefit of about fifty persons. The Indian female pupils, besides alternately attending to common domestic labours, resumed their spinning, knitting, sewing, &c. Out of doors, our business went on slowly, on account of the severity of the weather. Our religious services appeared to be attended with cold hearts as well as cold feet.

On the 13th of January we received intelligence that, in consequence of oxen having gone astray, our wagons would not return with supplies as soon as we had hoped. This was unwelcome tidings, inasmuch as our stock of flour had already become so low that we had put ourselves on short allowance of bread, by substituting hommony, (boiled maize.) Even corn had become so scarce, that it was with difficulty we could obtain any of the Indians. January 14th we started another ox wagon to Fort Wayne (one hundred miles) for supplies. Travelling in the wilderness had by this time become very difficult, on account of the cold and snow.

Infidelity may receive some countenance in times of health and prosperity, and under apparent prospects of long life; but, in view of eternity, even the savage contemplates it with horror. Keeshwa was an old Putawatomie woman, who had occasionally resided with us ever since our settlement at Fort Wayne. At one time she made a visit to a respectable white man and his lady, both of whom professed to be Deists; and, while there, suffered from sickness. At our new residence she again became much indisposed, and in religious conversation remarked that the gentleman and lady had been very kind to her in her former illness; nevertheless, she was exceedingly anxious to get away from them, because they were not religious. "Oh!" said she, "I did not want to die there. I wanted to come to your house to die." For the same reason she desired not to leave her child and grandchild there, both of whom were with her, but wished them to be placed with religious people.

Soon after our arrival at the station, we commenced the erection of a school house; and on the 27th of January, 1823, we opened our school with thirty Indian scholars, all of whom were fed, clothed, and lodged, at our expense. Our school house was without floor, shutter to the door, or chimney. We built a large fire within, around which we sat, greatly annoyed with smoke and cold. Mr. Lykins had not returned, and I

was compelled to go into the school myself. The management of all our missionary matters devolving upon Mrs. McCoy and myself, I found, by a few days' experience, that the additional charge of the school was more than I could sustain; and we should have been compelled to suspend studies, had not a stranger been detained with us a few weeks, chiefly on account of the severity of the weather. I copy from the mission journals the following notes:

“February 1st. Having eaten up our corn, and having only flour enough for one meal, we sent five of our stoutest Indian boys five miles, to an Indian trader, and borrowed a barrel of flour and a bushel of corn. Our teams were absent, and the boys carried it home upon their backs. The flour was damaged; nevertheless, it was very acceptable to us.

“February 7th. Ate our last meal of bread for breakfast, which was so scarce that we had to divide it carefully that every one might take a little. We had saved a few pounds of flour for the small children, whose necessities were increased by the want of the valuable article of milk. Sent out an Indian to endeavour to buy corn, who returned with about six quarts, which was all that he could get. We sent an Indian and a white man to Fort Wayne, to see what was detaining our wagons; and, should they not meet the team on this side that place, they were directed to hire horses and fetch flour to us.

“February 8th. Breakfasted upon the corn we had procured the preceding day. Blessed be God, we have not yet suffered for want of food, because corn is an excellent substitute for bread. But having now eaten our *last corn*, we cannot avoid feeling some uneasiness about the next meal.”

The snow was more than a foot deep, and my health poor; but, inconvenient as it might be, I could do no better than to obtain a horse, and, taking a man on foot, go in quest of corn. The Indians had not half enough for a comfortable supply for themselves; and what little they owned was chiefly deposited in the earth, at their villages, from which they were absent; and if they had been there, it was difficult taking it up from under the snow. I hoped, however, that by going in person, I could prevail on some of them to divide with us. I encouraged the family to hope that they would obtain relief on my return, though I could not promise when that would be. I left them in pretty good spirits, but my own anxieties were very great. I could not contemplate the destitute condition of so many persons, among whom were my wife and my children, when the probabilities of extreme suffering, not to say perish-

ing, were thickening around us, without feelings which can better be imagined than described.

I was slowly working my way through the snow, without a track, when I happened to meet Mr. Bertrand, a French trader. On telling him my business, he said that the Indians were generally scattered at their hunting camps, and that, on account of the deep snow, it would be almost impossible for me to find them; and if I should succeed in finding a few, they would probably be destitute of corn. Moreover, to travel through the brush in a trackless wilderness, through a deep snow, was almost impracticable. "But," said he, in broken English, "I got some corn, some flour; I give you half. Suppose you die, I die too."

I had, however, scarcely travelled out of sight of our house, when an old Putawatomie widow, our nearest neighbour, who had herself not a particle of any thing to eat except her small stock of corn and beans, sent the family sweet corn enough for a plentiful meal for our whole family. Thus we had scarcely eaten our last meal, when God sent us *another*.

Our kind widow had a few days before given information of our scarcity to some of the neighbouring Indians, and on this same day four other women and a boy brought us, on their backs, about three bushels of potatoes. We did not fail amply to reward these generous acts.

With my little Indian horse loaded with corn and flour I returned at night, and unexpectedly found our family regaling themselves upon the kind widow's mess of sweet corn. Then, with grateful hearts, we wrote in our journal Newton's excellent stanza:

"The birds without barn or storehouse are fed—
From them let us learn to trust for our bread;
The saints what is fitting shall ne'er be denied,
So long as 'tis written 'The Lord will provide.' "

On the 10th of February, two Indians brought us about two bushels of corn; and two traders by the name of Rosseau, hearing of our scarcity, brought us half of a pittance of flour they had, a distance of fifteen miles.

Our school house was so exceedingly uncomfortable, that we set about improving it, by making a floor, chimney, &c. I worked with the labourers, though I had for some time been afflicted with a severe cold. Fatigue and exposure again prostrated me. I was violently attacked with chills, followed by fever, distraction, and pains in my limbs, breast, and bowels, with difficulty of breathing.

I knew that my situation was dangerous, and exclaimed, as I find I afterwards wrote in my journal, "Should I die at this time, what will become of the mission?—of my family? Must all, for which we have toiled for five years, be lost in a day? All our adopted children be scattered and perhaps forever lost? Mr. Lykins has not yet returned, and there is no missionary here to help when I fail. My wife cannot do every thing. Notwithstanding my eyes shall not see these things, nor my ears hear the hapless orphans cry, yet how dreadful hard it is to die under these apprehensions! The reflection sometimes seems somewhat painful to bear, that our missionary brethren should desert the camp because the fare is hard, and leave me to labour, to suffer, and to die alone."

I continued several days extremely sick, and our house was so open that I was afraid to take medicine. In the room where I lay was no upper floor, and the snow drove through upon me so much that I could not be screened and kept warm by curtains above and about me. By the 20th my health began to improve.

On the 13th of February our wagons arrived, two valuable oxen having perished on the journey. Besides bread stuff, our wagons brought us five boxes of clothing, in all worth more than three hundred and forty dollars, sent us from the vicinity of Boston and Salem, Massachusetts. Many circumstances concurred to render these donations unusually acceptable at this time. They brought seasonable relief when our wants were pressing, and it was not a little affecting to see the gladness which sparkled in the countenances of our adopted children when they were called up to receive shoes to cover their naked feet from the snow, and other garments which they needed no less. They seemed to feel assured, by what we said and their own eyes beheld, that, should my wife and I both die and leave them, they had friends a thousand miles off who would not forget them. We said that "we knew not how to make suitable acknowledgments to the kind ladies who had filled these boxes. But God had seen the charitable put their gifts therein, and the needy take them out, and he would return to the blessed giver a better reward than our expressions of gratitude."

On the 21st of February, to our great joy, Mr. Lykins returned. In his absence he had suffered much with sickness; but he was at this time in good health. My health continued very imperfect; I was reduced to a skeleton, and was barely able to walk about the house. Every moment of time that I was able

to write was in that way employed. I desired, should God call me hence, to leave our missionary accounts and other matters in a state that would occasion no difficulty to those who might succeed. My poor health increased the burden of labours of Mrs. McCoy, who had no female missionary associate with whom to divide her cares and toils.

On the 1st of March a woman came to our house, inquiring where the neighbouring Indians could at that time be found. With her husband and three small children, she had just returned from Detroit to a neighbouring village, which they found without inhabitant. Both they and their horses were worn down by travelling through the deep snow, and were destitute of food, and in danger of perishing. They had not heard of our location at that place; but while her husband was looking around the village, to see if he could find any thing like food, and she and her three children were sitting hungry by the fire, she fancied she heard human voices and the lowing of cattle in the direction of our house. She immediately left her little ones by the fire, crossed the St. Joseph's river on the ice, and waded through the snow to our place. She wept while she related the tale of their sufferings, and was greatly transported when we gave her a little food to take to her hungry children and husband.

On Sunday, the 2d of March, I made the following note in my journal: "Unable to preach, and scarcely able to walk, I feel something like a prisoner shut up from society and Gospel privileges. The long train of successive and trying difficulties through which we have come, and in which we are still involved, has occasioned much 'searching of heart.' 'If it be so' that we have been called of God to the work in which we have been engaged for some time, 'why are we thus?' Could we at all times feel assured that we have not 'run before we were sent,' and that it might not be said, 'who hath required this at your hand?' we could toil and suffer with more fortitude. But how are we to determine the path of duty? We ought not to conclude that we have lost the way, merely because the path is rough. Nothing with which we have met has produced greater discouragements than our disappointments in relation to missionaries. We, who commenced our labours five years ago, little expected that at this time there would be only two or three missionaries at the station.

"Again, when we reflect, that, notwithstanding the smallness of our number, our work still goes on, we are constrained to acknowledge the interposing hand of Providence therein. We

are encouraged to hope that the Lord who 'can save by many or by few,' is 'on our side,' therefore, of whom shall we be afraid? "It was but a short time previous to the discomfiture of the host of the Philistines in Michmash, that Jonathan and his armour-bearer were alone, climbing up the hill among the rocks, on their hands and feet. Had their enterprise proved unsuccessful, their countrymen universally would have charged them with rashness and folly. But they succeeded in their undertaking, and Israel shouted."

We had at this time thirty-six Indian scholars actually at the establishment, and our school went on well under the management of Mr. Lykins. On the 7th of March we received encouraging intelligence that the Rev. Corbly Martin, whom we had employed as agent to collect for the mission, had been very successful. A flock of one hundred and thirteen sheep collected by him, chiefly in Kentucky; had reached Fort Wayne. He also obtained more than one hundred dollars worth of clothing, and nearly two hundred dollars in cash. The Rev. Walter Warder, and Mr. Morris, of Mason county, Kentucky, took an active part in our favour.

In Xenia, Ohio, were some kind hearted Christians, of the order of Seceders, among whom Mr. James Galoway and his lady were conspicuous. Some mischievous persons circulated slanders, in that place, with a view of injuring the mission. These malicious efforts induced the benevolent people of Xenia to make inquiries, which resulted in the increase of their liberality towards the mission. Thus, that which was intended to injure us resulted in our good. And thus it invariably happened, when men distant from us sought our injury, unknown to us, while we were labouring for the Indians in the desert, the Lord turned their "counsel into foolishness," and overruled it for good.

March 8th. Two young men from Ohio arrived, with a view of labouring for us, who, in order to cross St. Joseph's river, cut loose a large cake of ice, and, putting their knapsacks thereon, undertook to push themselves across with poles. The current was strong, and carried them down stream rapidly, so that for a while they seemed destined to make the remainder of their journey by water, if it should be made at all. They at length came so near the bank with their ice boat, as to be able to throw their baggage on shore, after which they swam out themselves. By this means they wetted their apparatus for making fire, so that they were compelled to sleep in wet clothes, without fire.

CHAPTER VII.

Resignation of a Missionary. Journey to Ohio. Loss of property in Elksheart river. A second loss. Tour among the Ottawas. Superstition. Scheme conceived for procuring in the West, a permanent residence for the Indians. Major Long's exploring party visits the mission. Scarcity of bread. Efforts to promote colonization. The routine of business. Want of support.

My health for a long time remained poor. Though able to walk about a little, and to direct in our affairs, it was the 16th of March before I was able to preach, and then I had to sit in my chair. Our business, both at Carey and at our contemplated station among the Ottawas, made it necessary for me to make a journey to the State of Ohio. I had barely recovered my strength so as to be able to ride on horseback, when, on the 19th of March, I set out, accompanied by one of our Indian pupils and two white men, one of whom was Mr. Dusenbury, who had concluded to leave the field of missionary labours. He was an inoffensive, modest young man, but we had been so fully satisfied that he would not succeed as a missionary, that although we accepted him as an associate in labour, we omitted to recommend him to the board, confident that his race would be short.

About this time the snows were melting by rains, and consequently the streams were full, and the low grounds covered with water. We swam our horses across Paupaugh creek, crossing ourselves on a fallen tree. Elksheart river was impassable; we therefore left the path, in order to feel our way without a road around near the sources of the streams, without crossing the river. At night, we had to rake away the snow to make a sleeping place. On the following day, we were obstructed by a large creek, which would have occasioned us not a little difficulty, had we not found an Indian canoe tied near a deserted encampment.

On the 22d, we found the low grounds of Eel river covered from hill to hill. We forded until we reached the main channel, across which we found a fallen tree extending, but the water was running over it eight or ten inches deep. I alighted on the stump of the tree, undressed my feet and waded on the log: the water was exceedingly cold. Similar difficulties on account of high water frequently occurred, on the whole journey to Ohio

and back to Fort Wayne. These exposures were the more serious on account of my poor state of health.

I was back at Fort Wayne, and ready to proceed to Carey, the 16th of April. The waters were so high, and the road, on account of wet, so bad, that one wagoner, whom I had employed to transport property to our station, refused to proceed with his team, and I was under the necessity of storing up the load. With three wagons, one of which was our own, we set off, having in company Mr. and Miss Wright, who were severally hired to assist in the school, six hired men, and our Indian boy. We drove twelve head of cattle, and one hundred and ten sheep. St. Mary's river was deep at this time, and we had no other craft than a large canoe, with which to cross our wagons, baggage, and persons. Some of our oxen were unwilling to swim, and were dragged across by the horns. We had not proceeded more than three miles, when we discovered that the earth was so soft, that we could not get forward with our loads without more force of team. We encamped and sent two men back to Fort Wayne, and procured two additional oxen and one horse: a sentinel guarded the sheep all night, to prevent mischief by the wolves. We had not proceeded two miles, on the second day, when we were again compelled, by bad road, to lighten our loads. We sent a man back to Fort Wayne, to get this property secured. Having a drove of cattle and sheep to manage, besides the wagons, I was subjected to much fatigue. It rained on us, and we encamped at night, wet, hungry, and tired.

On the 18th, one yoke of oxen failed, so that their owner turned them loose. Some deep creeks were exceedingly troublesome, and the sheep had to be dragged through the water. The following day it rained on us incessantly, which induced us, before night, to take shelter in a deserted Indian camp, being all well drenched with rain. At Elksheart river we halted and made a periogue, or large canoe, out of a single tree, intending to transport some of our loading down that river and the St. Joseph's to our place. The road along which we had thus far come was at this time considered, even by the Government express from the military post at Chicago, to be impassable. But the want, at our station, of such property as we carried with us, had impelled us to make extraordinary efforts to get thus far. We now hoped that our chief difficulties had been left behind us. The two hired teams were to return from this place to Fort Wayne.

On the 24th, we had our canoe in the river, in which we ferried our wagon, sheep, &c.; horses and cattle swam. After

crossing the stock, I took a few hands to collect them, and to select a camping place a short distance below, leaving three men to load the canoe with property that was to be freighted down the river, and to bring it to our encampment. We had but just settled ourselves at our camp, when we discovered the periogue coming down, and went to the river bank to assist in landing it: before it reached us it became entangled in a tree, from which it was not disengaged without taking water. The current was as swift as a mill race, and the periogue was no sooner disengaged from the first tree than it ran foul of another and capsized. The loading was all turned into the river, and every one plunged in to save what he could. By great exertion, we saved eight and a half barrels of flour, two barrels of corn meal, a little seed corn, a box of dried fruit, and a few articles of clothing. Some things were rescued from the water nearly two miles down the river. Our peas, potatoes, one barrel of flour, one of salt, and other property to some considerable amount, were lost, and some of that which we saved was much damaged.

Our potatoes and some of our corn were for seed for the ensuing season; the articles designed for food we were confident we should greatly need at the station. Weary and wet, we surrounded our little fire in the woods, talked over our misfortunes, and felt that it was to us all a sorrowful evening.

On the next day, we reloaded our canoe, and with three men it again descended the river. There were left with me only one hired hand, Mr. Wright, and the Indian boy, to take on the wagon, sheep, and cattle. We pitched our tent on the bank of the river, and waited till our canoe arrived. I went to an Indian camp to obtain meat, of which we had become very scarce, but was unsuccessful, though I bought about a pound and a half of sugar.

April 26th, we dragged our sheep through Rock creek, and on reaching St. Joseph's again met our canoe, which we needed for the purpose of crossing our sheep. It rained on us so severely that we had to lie in our tent the latter part of the day. I obtained some venison from an encampment of Indians, but we had to eat it without salt, in consequence of our late misfortune of losing our salt in the river. Much exhausted, I lay down in our tent and fell asleep; and awaking at night, I learned that seventy of our sheep had rambled from camp during the rain, and had not been found. I mounted a horse as soon as practicable, and proceeded in quest of them, leaving directions with two of the hands to follow me as soon as they could get

horses, and to meet me at a given point. Having searched to the distance of three miles, without success, it became very dark, and we were in danger of losing ourselves. We had great reason to fear that our flock would suffer by the wolves. I was after them again early on the following morning, and about three miles from camp recovered all except one. It required the whole of this day to get our stock, &c., across the river, and it rained on us nearly all the time. The men being wet and much chilled with cold, we had a large fire burning for them at camp by the time they had completed their day's work. From the Indians we obtained a little sugar.

April the 28th, the canoe which we had been using for a ferry boat was again loaded and pushed off, with two men only. It rained on us till one o'clock. Our sheep, in consequence of so much exposure to wet, began to fail, and as they failed we laid them in our wagon until we had room for no more; we then halted the sheep, and left two men to take care of them, while the rest of us hurried onward. Our Indian mounted the horses and drove the wagon; Mr. Wright conveyed two horses, while I brought on three other horses and the twelve head of cattle. At Bertrand's trading house we found fire, by which to warm ourselves, and a palatable meal, both of which we greatly needed. Here we left our wagon and cattle, and each mounting a horse, soon found ourselves in the company of our family.

None except one who has been in similar circumstances can duly appreciate the gratification which it afforded, after a tedious journey of six weeks, now to be surrounded by between fifty and sixty persons of our family, who came to take me by the hand. One hired hand was sick with ague, and my poor wife had been in imperfect health during the whole of my absence. Her multiform cares and labours had been too great a burden, while the poorness of our living had not allowed her the comforts which indisposition required. Mr. Lykins's attention to business had, as usual, been faithful and judicious. We had at this time thirty-nine Indian scholars in our family; these were pursuing their studies and labours promisingly. Preparations for a crop, and our other business, were all as far advanced as could have been expected. We arrived in time barely to save the family from suffering for want of bread; two days they had been on short allowance, and had not ventured to make *bread* of their flour, but merely used a little in thickening soup. Then we wrote in our journal: "Many are thy mercies, O

Lord! By thee we have run through a troop of difficulties, and by our God we have leaped over walls of obstacles.”

Mr. C. Bruce, a trusty young man, became not a little sick, on account, no doubt, of his exposures on our late journey from Fort Wayne. There was not a day on which he and others were not wetted either by rains or by wading waters. My hands and wrists remained swollen for some days, by having been so much in the water. On the 4th of May I enjoyed once more the privilege of preaching at home.

In hiring hands, we had not been successful in getting a workman who could make a plough, harrow, &c., and I was required to superintend this business. Our smithery was in operation for the benefit of the Indians, and our house was visited by them daily. On the 14th of May, about forty called, and desired our assistance in transacting business with Governour Cass.

On suffering the loss of our property by the capsizing of the canoe, we employed a man to bring us on two wagon loads of seed potatoes and seed corn, and corn, flour, and peas, for immediate use for food, together with some other articles of which we were in great want. The badness of the road and high water induced him, as those circumstances had done us at first, to make a canoe and embark the load at the same place that we had freighted ours. On the 22d of May we had the grief to hear that his canoe had met with a fate similar to that of ours, and within four rods of the same place. A less proportion of this load was saved than of the former. All our potatoes and peas were lost, and we were in danger of losing almost an entire crop of those articles, for want of seed. They saved a little corn, but only one and a half bushels was undamaged. The nominal loss was about two-thirds of the whole of the two wagon loads, but the loss to us really was much greater, and was one which we had reason to fear would be felt the next year. The man was to blame, because he ought to have taken warning from our misfortune, and not have encountered a similar risk; but it was done, and we were left to a scanty allowance of bread-stuff. Our next supplies we expected to receive by way of the lakes, which we hoped would reach us about the 15th of June. On the 23d of May we sent again to Fort Wayne for supplies. I went abroad myself, and obtained a few seed potatoes in our own neighbourhood. We sent to the distance of thirty miles to buy corn and potatoes from the natives, but it was impossible to obtain a competent supply.

Our business requiring me to make a journey to Grand river,

for the purpose of putting matters into operation at that contemplated station among the Ottawas, I left Carey on the 26th of May, taking with me a Frenchman, named Paget, for a pilot, one of our Indian pupils, and one of the men who had been employed to labour there under Government. We were at this time so scarce of flour that we could not take a competent supply for our journey. I felt very unhappy on leaving the family so scarce of bread that they were under the necessity at every meal, when they used it at all, to count the pieces, and make the number correspond to that of the family. We had runners almost continually in search of corn to buy from the Indians, and we feared that every bushel would be the last that we should be able to get.

We swam our horses across St. Joseph's river beside a canoe, and in a neighbouring village I was happy to engage an Indian to carry back to the family a bushel of corn. On the second day we perceived that we had taken a wrong path, and I discovered that Paget had become bewildered in his head in regard to our true course, and I resolved on steering according to my own inclination. We were happy to find an Indian in camp in the evening, of whom we obtained venison, which was the more acceptable because we could use it well without much bread. Kekenmazoo* river was almost swimming to our horses.

Among the Ottawa villages which we passed, there was one in which the natives were drinking. All appeared friendly to us except one, who was somewhat otherwise. The women were drinking in a house by themselves. While I allowed my horse to graze a few minutes, five or six yards from me, three pigeons which we had shot on the way were stolen from my saddle, where I had tied them, with the design of cooking them for our next meal. Unwilling to bear the loss when we were in want, I demanded my fowls, and they were restored.

On the 30th of May, by the help of an Indian and his canoe, we crossed Grand river at the village of Kewishkum, who was absent. I called on another chief, who sent to inform the former, as well as other chiefs, that I had arrived, and desired to see them. We bought a little sweet corn, and boiled it for our breakfast.

Mr. Sears had described to me the place at which the commissioner had located the site for our Ottawa station, in such terms that I had fancied that I should recognise it at sight; but,

* I prefer retaining the original and true pronunciation of this river, which, by corruption, is now called Kallamazoo.

following the directions as I had understood them, I found no place in any degree answering to the description given me, nor could I hear of such a place on the river. I searched down the river nine miles, and on the following day returned to Kewishkum's village, the inhabitants of which had been drinking during the preceding night. The principal chief had not arrived, and they desired me to remain a few days. I told them that I should address them in council on the following day. I reconnoitred the country in order to select a building place, and lodged at a trading house. At this place an old woman brought her son to me, that I might heal him of the disease of convulsive fits, with which he had been afflicted from infancy, and by which he had become an idiot. She said that a relation of hers had informed her that one of her children had been afflicted in the same manner, and that a Catholic priest had cured the diseased by his prayers. She had taken this young man to an Indian who was reputed to be skilful in such cases, but the conjurer had not succeeded in this. He alleged, as the cause of his failure, that this disease was under the influence of the moon, and he could not control the moon. She had applied with no better success to a second conjurer, who also attributed the affliction to the influence of the moon. Both physicians, however, had united in opinion that I could control the moon, and heal the diseased; and, accordingly, they had advised her to bring her son to me, which she had done. She believed that I had power to heal her son, as the Indian doctors had reported, in which opinion she was confirmed by discovering a favourable change in the symptoms of the disease since my arrival. I patiently listened to the old woman's tale before I said any thing in reply, and the purport of my answer may easily be conjectured.

On my return to the village, at which I hoped to obtain an audience of the chiefs and others, I was informed that Kewishkum had not yet arrived, but that he had sent a message requesting me to remain until he would come. Pretty soon they were discovered to have whiskey among them. I desired them to forbear drinking until I had addressed them, but to this they did not consent, but renewed their request that I would remain until the arrival of their principal chief, as they could not transact any business without him. "When they were among the whites on business," they said, "they had to await their will; and as I was now among them, I must do the same, and wait until they were ready to hear me." This I chose not to do; business,

and the situation of the family at home in relation to bread, made it necessary for me to return without further delay.

While among the Ottawas, I ascertained that their backwardness to meet me in council, on the subject of a mission among them, grew out of their dissatisfaction with the proceedings at the treaty of Chicago. The main body of the tribe denied having authorized the sale of their country to the whites. They threw the blame on Kewikishkum; and the latter, perhaps from a sense of having erred, and certainly for fear of their doing him personal injury, chose not to appear in council on any matter that had grown out of that treaty. The tribe, as a people, considered the sale of their country illegal, because, as they said, it had not been authorized by them. They intended to insist upon its illegality, and hoped to retain possession; they esteemed the circumstance of my offering to furnish them with a school, blacksmith, &c., as a stratagem to get them to *act* in the matter upon some of the provisions of the treaty, and thereby make the whole binding upon them. A report had been circulated among them that, ultimately, we designed to compel the Putawatomes to pay ten dollars for each scholar instructed in our school; and they expected that the expense of supporting a teacher, blacksmith, and farmers for them, according to the provisions of the treaty, would be taken out of their annuities. To persons unaccustomed to the prejudices which prevailed among those northern tribes generally, the state of things at that time among the Ottawas would have appeared more discouraging than it did to us; we had been accustomed to meet similar prejudices wherever we introduced ourselves, and we had learned that nothing but a personal acquaintance could remove them. By this we had succeeded to a great extent among the Miamies and Putawatomes, and we hoped for similar success by similar means among the Ottawas. We knew that it would only be necessary to satisfy them that *our motives were pure*—that our sole object was *their benefit*—and access to them would become easy, whatever might be their prejudices against our Government, or against the white people generally. We had employed two men who were to begin improvements among the Ottawas, but these we set to work for us among the Putawatomes.

Just as I was leaving the village, I saw a company of women carrying kettles of food to the grave of a child who had been buried a few weeks previously. The nature of this funeral rite, as it was described to me at the time, is as follows: A few days after the burial of a child, the father, or mother, or if

neither of these be living and present, another of the near relations to the deceased, makes a feast. The food is prepared and carried to the grave, to which the company of sympathizing friends repair. If the feast be prepared by a man, none but men attend; and the same principle applies to the females. When assembled at the grave, the ruler of the feast distributes to each of the attendants a portion of the food which has been prepared, and each, before eating any, puts a small quantity on the head of the grave. A small aperture is usually made in the poles or boards which cover the dead, through which the food is passed. If it be a company of females, and one of their number be esteemed profligate, she is not permitted to make the offering to the dead from her own hands, but another receives it at her hand, and offers it in her behalf. After the offerings are made to the deceased, the remainder of the food is eaten by the company. Similar feasts are prepared for adults as well as for children, and when the party consists of males, addresses are made to the deceased. These festivals are usually repeated once a year. On returning from their wintering grounds to their villages in the spring of the year, the grass and weeds are carefully removed from about the graves of deceased relatives, and none is permitted to grow there during the summer.

I found none who possessed distinct ideas on the subject of their religious ceremonies. There has been a time, no doubt, when something more like system was observed in the small amount of religion embraced by their pretensions; but changes in their original ceremonies have been progressing ever since their acquaintance with white people. Keeshwa, the aged Putawatomie female of whom mention has been made, and who was long an inmate of our family, has stated to us, with tears, that since her recollection there had been great deterioration in the observance of religious ceremonies. "Formerly," said she, "on the return of the Indians to their villages in the spring, preparation was early made for a feast. This would require a day, or more. At noon, on the day appointed, men, women, and children would assemble, when an elderly and respectable man would proclaim aloud, that the time for them to take their seats had arrived. All being seated, he would make a speech to them, and they would sing a song to the Great Spirit. The elderly leader would follow, with a prayer in behalf of the company, in which thanks were returned for their preservation through the past winter, and for their safe arrival at their villages, and prayer made for a blessing on their labours through the summer.

On these occasions such language as the following was employed: 'Oh! our Father, we want corn, we want beans, &c.; pity us, and give us these things.' After the prayer, all would eat, and after a little respite they would again sing. Singing was repeated four times during the service. After the due observance of this festival, all felt at liberty to commence preparations for planting their fields. These meetings," said she, "were affecting, and frequently I wept all the time."

Among the Ottawas we often discover at the head of a grave, even of a child, a post, in height somewhat proportioned to the size and age of the deceased, on one side of which is the picture of an animal, the name of which was a prevailing name in the family; for instance, one of the family would be called Panther, another Panther's Foot, another Panther's Track, &c.; hence there would be made on the post the picture of a panther. On another side a clumsy drawing, slightly resembling a man without a head, would represent a person whom the deceased had slain in war; or, if it were a child, the victims of some of its near relations would be thus pictured. A man with a head signified a person wounded; and these hieroglyphics were multiplied as circumstances would justify. Vanity, no doubt, often induced them to swell the number beyond the facts which they were designed to indicate. Near this post is placed a stick, about two feet in length; and when one visits the grave, he takes this stick, and raps on the post, as if to announce his arrival.

Posts, some eight or ten feet high, are frequently erected by the side of a dwelling; and they are invariably placed by the side of a house in which dancing and conjuring occur, for the recovery of the sick. On the upper end of the post is cut a slight resemblance of a human face. Mr. Lykins discovered one on Grand river, among the Ottawas, on which was a pretty well executed bust. In a village we also sometimes discover a very tall pole, neatly peeled, with a few streaks of vermilion encircling it, to the top of which is tied a bunch of small green boughs. This tall pole is reared for religious purposes; but its use, or that of the others, I never could satisfactorily learn.

Having spent the night at the trading house, on the 2d of June we swam our horses across Grand river, and proceeded towards home. Our scanty allowance of provision brought from home had been some time exhausted. On Grand river we had obtained corn, but scarcely any meat, except a meal of a ground hog. We had hired an Indian to beat a little corn in a mortar, and make us a cake. This was poor bread for our

journey; and, what was still worse, we had not half enough of it. About eight or nine o'clock, Paget's horse failed, and we left him in the woods. On the following night, my horse, having no company, endeavoured to escape. I had taken the precaution to hobble him with my own hands, as I thought, securely; but he broke his hobbles, and it was ten o'clock the next day before the men recovered him, and brought him back to camp. They had well nigh lost themselves, so as to be unable to find camp. The time of their absence I employed in boiling sweet corn, a little of which we had purchased of the Ottawas; but I had no vessel to boil it in larger than a pint tin cup, and as it softened a little, I emptied it on a piece of bark, and filled the cup afresh. By this means I was able to prepare enough for our breakfast previous to leaving camp. On this day we called at an Indian town, to get something to eat, but could get nothing more than a few Irish potatoes. These I relished so well, that I fancied they were a more excellent kind of potato than I had ever seen. I obtained two or three, to carry home for seed, on account of their superior quality. They were afterwards cultivated with great care, but proved to be uncommonly poor; it became obvious that the high character which I had given them was attributable alone to the keenness of appetite with which I had first eaten of them, and not to the flavour of the root.

At the house of Gosa, on Kekenmazoo river, we were treated with great hospitality. Here we had meat, but no bread. I handed out a little tea, which his wife prepared. They had no table, but a cloth was spread upon the floor, and we all seated ourselves around it, with the landlady among us, for the purpose of pouring the tea, which was handed to us in bowls, and cooled in wooden ladles. The feet of one of the men had become so sore that it was deemed expedient to leave him and the Indian at this place, to recruit.

The morning of the 4th of June, 1823, was made memorable to me by reflections on the discouragements attending all missionary efforts for the Indians, in countries from which they soon must be driven by approaching white population. While Paget went on before, on foot, with his pack upon his back, and I followed on horseback, tormented by flies and musketoes, I felt the additional pain of the reflection, that "after all our labours to put our missions into operation, we shall in a few years be driven away, to encounter new hardships in another part of the wilderness, or if we remain here, it will be only to witness the decline and ultimate ruin of the people of our

charge, for no band of Indians has ever thriven when crowded by white population. Hardly can we hope to surmount present obstacles, and do the Indians a little good, before our business here must fail, by causes which we cannot control." At this time I formed the resolution that I would, Providence permitting, thenceforward keep steadily in view, and endeavour to promote a plan for colonizing the natives in a country to be made for ever theirs, west of the State of Missouri, &c., and from that time until the present I have considered the promotion of this design as the most important business of my life.

We arrived at Carey on the 5th of June, and I wrote as follows in my journal: "Never did I feel myself more blest than on finding harmony, patience, cheerfulness, and hope, abounding in our large family, under peculiarly trying and threatening circumstances. The allowance of bread had become very short, and the stock of corn was almost exhausted; yet none complained, and all hoped for better times. Mr. Lykins was in quest of corn, and obtained about a bushel and a half, and gave it as his opinion, that if we could get all that the natives had for their own use within many miles around us, it would not suffice our family two weeks. In my absence they had obtained some seed potatoes, to supply the place of those lost by the capsizing of our canoe. On the 2d of June the school had been divided, and the females placed in charge of Miss Wright, who had lately been hired in Ohio.

At that time, also, the establishment was visited by Major S. H. Long and his party, consisting of Messrs. J. E. Colhoon, Thomas Say, Samuel Seymore, and William H. Keating, on their way to the sources of the Mississippi. Amidst our doubts and anxieties, we derived some encouragement from the approval of our operations by disinterested and discriminating strangers, who occasionally favoured us with a call, as they journeyed through the wilderness. The following is extracted from Mr. Keating's account of the mission, as recorded in the first volume of Major Long's Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's. Passing from Fort Wayne to Chicago, he remarks: "There is in this neighbourhood an establishment, which, by the philanthropic views which have led to its establishment, and by the boundless charity with which it is administered, compensates in a manner for the insult offered to the laws of God and man by the traders. The reports which we had received of the flattering success which had attended the efforts of the Baptist missionaries on the St. Joseph's, induced us to deviate a little from our route, to visit this interesting establish-

ment. The Carey mission house, so designated in honour of the late Mr. Carey, the indefatigable apostle of India, is situated within about a mile of the river St. Joseph's. The establishment was created by the Baptist Missionary Society in Washington, and is under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. McCoy, a man whom, from all the reports we heard of him, we should consider as eminently qualified for the important trust committed to him. We regretted that, at the time we passed at the Carey mission house, this gentleman was absent on business connected with the establishment of another missionary settlement on the Grand river of Michigan; but we saw his wife, who received us in a very hospitable manner, and gave us every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the circumstances of the school. The spot was covered with a very dense forest seven months before the time we visited it; but, by the great activity of the superintendent, he has succeeded in the course of this short time in building six good log houses, four of which afford a comfortable residence to the inmates of the establishment, a fifth is used as a school room, and the sixth forms a commodious blacksmith's shop. In addition to this, they have cleared about fifty acres of land, which are nearly all enclosed by a substantial fence. Forty acres have already been ploughed, and planted with maize, and every step has been taken to place the establishment upon an independent footing. The school consists of from forty to sixty children. It is contemplated that the school will soon be increased to one hundred. The plan adopted appears to be a very judicious one. The plan adopted in the school purposes to unite a practical with an intellectual education. The boys are instructed in the English language, in reading, writing, and arithmetic; they are made to attend to the usual occupations of a farm, and to perform every operation connected with it, such as ploughing, planting, harrowing, &c.; in these pursuits they appear to take great delight. The system being well regulated, they find time for every thing; not only for study and labour, but also for innocent recreation, in which they are encouraged to indulge; and the hours allotted to recreation may perhaps be viewed as productive of results fully as important as those accruing from more serious pursuits. The females receive in the school the same instruction which is given to the boys; and are, in addition to this, taught spinning, weaving, and sewing, both plain and ornamental. They were just beginning to embroider; an occupation which may, by some, be considered as unsuitable to the situation which they are destined to hold in

life, but which appears to us very judiciously used as a reward and stimulus. They are likewise made to attend to the pursuits of the dairy, such as milking of cows, &c. All appear to be very happy, and to make as rapid progress as white children of the same age would make. Their principal excellence rests in works of imitation; they write astonishingly well, and many display great natural talent for drawing. The institution receives the countenance of the most respectable among the Indians. There are in the school two of the grand children of Topenebe, the great hereditary chief of the Putawatomes. The Indians visit the establishment occasionally, and appear pleased with it.

“The [mission] family have a flock of one hundred sheep, collected in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, and are daily expecting two hundred head of cattle from the same States. These contributions, together with the produce of their farm, will, it is thought, prevent them from being exposed to suffer as much from scarcity of provisions as they have already done. When we visited them, they were on short allowance.”

The following are extracts from our journal:

“On my return from my late tour among the Ottawas, I was severely attacked with cholera morbus, and many others of the family became similarly indisposed.

“June 9th. I am able to walk about and write a little. Several of the family ill of dysentery; one man dangerously sick. We suppose that our indisposition has been occasioned by the absence of wholesome food, and particularly by the want of bread, of which, for some time past, the family have eaten scarcely any. We cannot afford even the sick half as much as they need, and that little which they get is made of flour greatly damaged.

“We expected the arrival of a wagon, with flour, &c., before this time, but, hearing nothing of it, we sent another team to Fort Wayne after supplies.

“June 13th. We sent out two men to purchase corn, if any can be found, not having enough to last through the day. Obtained a small quantity of corn from an Indian, and a little damaged flour from a trader. The Indian had not the corn to spare without risking his own comfort, and refused to *sell* it, but said, “It is too hard to be hungry; I will give my father that sack full; I believe I will lose nothing by it; I think he will give me an equal quantity when he shall get corn.”

“June 15th. One hundred and twenty-one head of cattle arrived, which had been collected for the mission by the Rev.

Mr. Martin, chiefly in Kentucky, and which were brought to us by the Rev. John Ficklin, who had been employed by Mr. Martin. The drove at first consisted of over two hundred head. Some failed and were lost on the way, and fifty-five head were left at Fort Wayne to recruit. This was a valuable acquisition to the property of the mission. We were in great want of cattle, but had not hoped for so large a drove."

The great difficulty attending the transportation of bread stuff by land, two hundred miles through a wilderness, had admonished us to make an engagement with the captain of a vessel on the lakes, to bring us a load by water to the mouth of the St. Joseph's river, which was scarcely thirty miles distant from us. We expected the flour as early in the season as vessels could sail on the upper lakes, and anticipated the relief it would afford with not a little satisfaction. It was to be delivered by the 15th of June, and at a price agreed upon; but unfortunately for us, the man with whom we had contracted found, nearer home, what he deemed a better market for his flour, and left us destitute. This was a grievous disappointment, and one which subjected us to great inconvenience and cost. We sensibly felt this ungenerous deed, and knew that the man who had been so depraved as to commit it deserved to suffer damages, to which he had become liable. But we had no time to institute or attend lawsuits. We wrote to a friend immediately, requesting him to make another contract for flour, &c., for us, to come to us as soon as possible by way of the lakes. The disappointment extended also to many other articles greatly needed at the establishment, and which we expected by the vessel that would bring our flour. Our chief reliance for bread, until we could make it at the establishment, was to transport it in wagons two hundred miles. This was very expensive; but our necessities induced us to hurry off teams without delay.

On the 23d of June, 1822, agreeably to the resolution taken on the 4th, I wrote letters on the subject of colonizing the Indians in the west to His Excellency Lewis Cass, Governour of Michigan Territory, Col. R. M. Johnson, and his brother, Hon. John T. Johnson, both members of Congress, John Johnson, Esq., of Ohio, and William Polke, Esq., of Indiana.

The plan submitted to the consideration of these gentlemen was to form an association of such kind hearted men in various places as would secure a weighty memorial to Congress in favour of colonizing the Indians in the west. It was suggested; that if the scheme should be countenanced by Government, it would be necessary to authorize the selection of the

country. To make the matter the more easy, it was proposed to begin settlements with Indian youths who had been instructed in our schools, and their relations and friends. It was thought that each denomination of Christians which had missions on the east of the Mississippi would be so warmly in favour of the plan, that they would severally encourage the people of their charge to emigrate. Besides the land which might be given to each tribe as common property, each individual might be allowed to own a portion separately as his own, under such restrictions only as would be required by a due regard to their peculiar condition. There, it was hoped, the Indians might become organized into a civil community, and ultimately become citizens of the United States.

In the attention given to this communication by these gentlemen, I had no reason to complain of a want of courtesy, but I had little reason to hope for their zealous co-operation in accomplishing the design. I felt a degree of mortification in not finding others as zealous in this matter as I thought it deserved; nevertheless, I determined to promote it to the *utmost extent of my opportunities*. I also communicated to the board the same plan for colonizing the Indians, and earnestly entreated their consideration and efficient action in its favour. Their first answer was, that "A committee had been appointed to consider it." The part which the board subsequently took in this matter will be noticed in appropriate places.

Our first report to Governour Cass, at Detroit, and to Dr. Wolcott, the United States' agent at Chicago, was dated July 1st, 1823. At that time we had sixty acres of land enclosed with good fence. The boys of our school spent about half their time in manual labour on the farm, and half at their studies in school. The girls laboured more than half their time. This was not a matter of choice, but of necessity, growing out of the circumstance of the number of males exceeding that of females, by which domestic labours became the more onerous to those who sustained them. All could use the needle in sewing, twelve of them could knit, six could spin, two could weave, and twelve of them could embroider with the needle, and in the performance of domestic labour, in common they were not surpassed by any white girls of their ages. Twenty-eight of our pupils could neither speak nor understand English when received into our school, and most of the others had scarcely any knowledge of the English language.

At the opening of day, during the shorter nights of summer, and earlier during the longer nights, the sounding of a trumpet

was the signal for all to rise. At sunrising in the longer days, and earlier during the shorter, the ringing of a bell summoned the family to morning prayers, after which the children were directed to their morning labours. At half past six the trumpet called to breakfast, and the ringing of a small bell directed the family to become seated at table. We all sat down together at the same table, and the native children received the same attention, there and elsewhere, that white children would have received, had we kept a boarding school for them. As our dining room would not contain all at the same time, the larger scholars ate first, and one of the teachers attended to the table until all had left. At eight o'clock in summer, and half an hour later in winter, the scholars were called together, and they were dismissed at twelve. Half past twelve dinner was called. At two the scholars were again called in, and were dismissed at five in the longer days, and at half past six supper was called. Between sunset and dark in summer, and never later than eight o'clock in winter, the whole family were again called together to evening prayers. Besides singing, reading, and prayer, a portion of Scripture was usually expounded. All were required to retire to rest at an early hour, and if circumstances made it necessary for any to remain up later than the hour for retiring, they were required to be silent after nine o'clock. It was made a point to attend promptly *to time*. The moment that the hour arrived for rising, the trumpet sounded, and at the moment when the trumpet or the bells directed to any other thing in the routine of business, it was not deferred on any account.

On Saturdays the schools were suspended, and the boys were allowed part of the day for recreation. Twice in the week they were permitted to bathe in the river in summer, and to amuse themselves on the ice in winter, accompanied by the teacher, or some one else, to prevent accidents. On Sabbaths, only two meals were eaten. At half past ten the trumpet announced the approach of the hour for public worship, which commenced at the ringing of a bell half an hour later, and at half past four in the afternoon we again assembled for public worship. At this time, Mr. Lykins, Mrs. McCoy, and myself, were the only missionaries at the station. Generally our business was divided between us, but we were not particular to limit ourselves to these rules, but one would take hold of the work, which belonged to the department of another, whenever it was necessary.

The Indians are generally so improvident, and often so much in want of food, that while one of themselves, or another near

them, has any thing, the poorer depend much upon it, and consequently, by their begging, become exceedingly troublesome to whites among them. They gave us great trouble whenever they knew we had on hand a few barrels of flour. Without reflecting that it was necessary to our comfort to be at all times supplied with a stock of provisions, they seemed to hope for the same liberal distribution to all who chose to eat with us, or to ask for a portion of our supplies to be given them; that prevailed among themselves. A steady course towards them, never marked with unkindness, tended gradually to correct this servile habit of begging for food.

Visits were made to us almost daily, by chiefs and others. On these occasions we had to furnish tobacco to smoke, and for this purpose we kept a supply constantly on hand. On the 19th of August, a widow, carrying an infant in her arms, visited us for the purpose of leaving with us a little girl of eleven years of age, who had come with her forty miles on foot. This child we named Rebecca Blaine, out of respect for a lady of that name in Washington, Pennsylvania, who zealously promoted in that place a female society, which liberally contributed to the support of the mission.

At this time the Rev. Luther Rice was agent for the board of missions, and having had the principal agency in bringing into existence the missionary convention, he was one of the most efficient and influential members in managing the concerns of the board. On the 27th of August we received from him a communication, which showed that our suspicions that the funds of the board would fail, and leave us without ample support, had been well founded. His words were the following: "The funds of the board are now exhausted, and it has become necessary to request you to omit drawing any more drafts on Dr. Staughton, but that, when some particularly urgent demand for funds occurs, you will have the goodness to state specifically the case, and the amount requisite, and the board, if practicable, will in such cases appropriate the funds that are needed," &c. This intelligence was to us unpleasant, but less alarming on account of our having in some measure anticipated it. We had never considered that "our bread and our water had been made sure" by our connection with the board, and we had from the first felt it to be our duty to use much exertion for support, and, above all, we had been taught to look to Him who feeds the fowls of heaven and clothes the grass of the field. By the same express that brought Mr. Rice's unwelcome letter we received, for our encouragement, through the United States' agent

at Fort Wayne, the first allowance that reached us, of the annual appropriation of Congress for Indian improvement, consisting of one hundred and eighty-three dollars.

During the whole time of our labours in that country, there were some causes of expense which we could not control, and respecting which we deemed it expedient to remain silent. It often happened that kind and zealous agents, and other individuals, and missionary societies, were not discreet in their methods of sending their donations to us, by which means losses occurred, and cost accrued nearly equal to the value of the articles; so that the amount of actual cash which we had to pay in costs would nearly have enabled us to purchase articles of equal value. Second hand clothing, too, and articles not immediately needed, came to hand frequently, which we could not apply to actual benefit equal to their nominal value. The sum total of our expenditures, therefore, as exhibited in our accounts, was *much greater* than it would have been, had we, by possessing funds, been enabled to purchase necessary supplies only, and those upon the best terms. This circumstance was an advantage to us in regard to obtaining help from the Government, which apportioned some items of assistance to the amount expended on the institution by the benevolent. But in a few instances, with the benevolent, it operated differently, and not to our advantage. We believed, however, that such an explanation, at that time, of the augmentation of expense, as we may without fear give in this place as matter of history, would have had a dampening influence upon many who kindly contributed to the support of the mission. Could we have employed an agent to collect and bring to us supplies, who would have laboured upon the same principle and with the same feeling that missionaries at the station did, the difficulties of which we speak would have been chiefly avoided, and ample means of support would have been obtained, without further trouble to the board than merely auditing and publishing accounts of our receipts and expenditures. But such an one we never were able to enlist in the service.

Another vexatious cause of considerable expense in actual cash was occasioned by the failure of missionaries, and the necessity of hiring assistant school teachers. Many of these, both missionaries and hired persons from whom we hoped to obtain some assistance, occasioned not a little cost; for while we were hard pressed for funds to procure food and raiment, and were compelled to labour with our own hands, they rendered not a particle of benefit to the mission. For want of mission-

aries, we were compelled to hire assistance in the school, &c., and it was not to be expected that persons who laboured merely for the sake of their wages should feel the interest in the success of our affairs that was desirable. Matters intrusted to them were not at all times managed with that economy which the nature of our business, and especially our poverty, required. Moreover, the expense of bringing a teacher from the settlements and sending him back, together with his wages, consumed much which could have been applied advantageously, had we been properly strengthened by missionaries. It often happened that persons with whom during their connection with us, we had hoped to divide our cares and toils, were a continual burden, from which we were happy to be relieved by their departure.

For some time we had sustained a correspondence with Mr. William Polke, of Indiana, on the subject of his becoming a missionary. Having expressed his readiness to unite with us, I forwarded to him an appointment, dated September 6, 1823, and a remittance to meet the expenses of his outfit and travelling.

August and the fore part of September was the season to procure hay on the prairies for our stock through the succeeding winter. One of us was obliged to attend to this, and to labour hard with the hired men. About this time, the male and female whom we had hired in Ohio, to assist in the schools, terminated their services with us, and we were under the necessity of employing a stranger who happened to be at our place.

Times being pretty hard in relation to pecuniary matters, it behooved us to leave no stone unturned that might possibly afford relief. We therefore determined that, notwithstanding the onerous duties which devolved on us at Carey, we would make a vigorous effort to get matters into operation among the Ottawas. We could receive no Government allowance for the Ottawas until we actually commenced upon the ground, when an appropriation would be made, and we should also be repaid for all the property, such as wagons, oxen, &c., purchased for the station, with the expectation of its being speedily applied by Mr. Sears, and which was still on hand. Notwithstanding we needed at Carey one or two others like Mr. Lykins, yet necessity seemed to demand his attention to the Ottawas; which he gave, in the hope that Government would confer on him the appointment of *teacher*, and thus secure to him a salary of four hundred dollars, which sum would be applied to the support of the mission. In this design, as will appear in the sequel, we were successful, and hence was opened a permanent source of considerable pecuniary relief.

CHAPTER VIII.

Tour among the Ottawas. Medicine dance. Death of Indian pupils. Loss of property on Lake Michigan. The Government agent examines the affairs of the mission. Arrival of missionaries. Want of the means of support. Journey to Washington City. Scheme for colonizing the Indians. Tour to take collections. Success. Phenomenon on Lake Erie. Mr. Simerwell joins the Mission. Condition of affairs in the vicinity of the establishment. Encouraging appearances.

On the 19th of September Mr. Lykins went to the lake, to hire a suitable interpreter to accompany me to the Ottawas, but was unsuccessful. On the 30th I set out, with an Indian and a white man to go as far among the Ottawas as Kekenmazoo river, where prejudices existed which might prevent the immediate commencement of operations among them on Grand river. In order, therefore, to secure a footing among them without delay, we proposed to commence with only the smithery, on the line between them and the Putawatomes. The advantages which they would derive from the smithery, and the opportunity which, by this course, would be afforded of extending our acquaintance among them, we believed, would result in subduing all their jealousies in relation to us.

Early on the morning of the third day we reached the Ottawa settlements on Kekenmazoo, and were informed that they were about to spend the day in the observance of a religious ceremony, which would be accompanied by dancing and feasting. We went immediately to the house of the chief, White Sparrow, who, with one male companion, and three women, one of whom was his wife and another his daughter, had already engaged in the exercises of the day, in the house fitted for the occasion. Without doors a man and his wife were preparing a considerable quantity of bear's meat, venison, turkey, and porcupine, for the feast. The chief's wife had the kindness to suspend her exercises long enough to set before us a little food, which we needed. The chief asked for tobacco to smoke with his people, and seemed much pleased that I added a little salt. The apartment in which the services were performed had been specially constructed for such occasions. Stakes were driven into the ground at proper distances, on which poles were tied horizontally, with bark; on the outside of these grass mats

were fastened, which raised a temporary wall, about as high as a man's breast. The hall was about twenty feet wide and sixty feet long. On three sides were spread mats and skins for the company to sit upon. Through the centre three posts were erected, ranging with each other the longer way of the apartment, and extending so much higher than the sides that a temporary roof, in case of rain, might be made to rest upon poles that lay along upon their tops.

On our arrival the chief was delivering to the few who were with him short speeches, to which the others occasionally responded with *O-oh*, in a more plaintive tone than is commonly heard among Indians. Between speeches, the chief drummed, and all sung. Two of them held in their hand a gourd, to which had been fastened a wooden handle. Gravel or corn within the hollow of the gourd made a rattle resembling a child's toy. The drum consisted of a skin stretched over the end of a small keg, after the heading had been displaced, and was beaten with one stick only; the strokes, without changing their force, occurred regularly, at the rate of about one hundred and thirty in a minute. The gourds were shaken so as to make their rattling in unison with the strokes of the drum.

About eleven o'clock, thirty or forty persons, including men, women, and children, assembled about thirty yards from the dancing house, at which place they left most of their children and some of the women. The others formed in single file, and marched until the leader reached the door of the dancing hall, and halted, the whole maintaining their order. The leader stamped a few times with his foot, crying, *Ho! ho! ho!* Those within responded with their *Ho*; several who were on the front end of the line sung for a few minutes, and then all marched into the hall, and around the room three times, halting and singing twice each time. Invariably through the whole day, when they marched around the room, the circle was described by turning to the left, so that if a person seated near the door to the right desired to walk out, he never retraced his steps, but walked around the room, with his left hand towards the centre, until he reached the door. All took their seats with their backs against the wall.

A principal man then arose, and addressed the company in a speech of considerable length; after which one drummed, two rattled their gourds, several sung, and two women and one man danced. The musicians and dancers then passed round the hall, severally pointing a finger to each one seated as they passed, and using words which I did not understand. The

person pointed at responded each time with a mournful groan, *A-a-a*; these took their seats; another man arose and made a speech; two men held a short private consultation in a low voice, and then mixed some powders, which they called medicine. A little tobacco, or rather the common mixture of tobacco and the leaves of other plants; which they use in smoking, made fine as if prepared for the pipe, was sprinkled at the foot of the two posts of the door, and of those planted along the centre of the building, and a small quantity put into the fire. Another man arose and delivered a lengthy speech, which was followed by drumming, singing, and dancing. A little respite ensued, which the men employed in smoking; another speech was made, and followed by the dancing of ten persons to music; another turn of smoking ensued, and the two men who had charge of the medicine allowed each person to take a little between the fingers, and put it into an otter's skin, with which each was furnished. These skins had been taken off the animals entire, including the bones of the head. The sack thus formed by a whole skin has an opening into it on the throat, which is generally the fashion of an Indian's tobacco pouch. These medicine bags are esteemed sacred, and are used for no other purposes than those belonging to this festival occasion, and to hold the sacred medicine. Artificial eyes, usually of metal that will glisten, are inserted; the teeth are disclosed by the drying of the skin, and the sides of the mouth are ornamented by soft feathers, dyed red, extending along the jaws three or four inches. The tails are ornamented with porcupine quills, dyed various colours, to the end of which, and also to the feet, small brass thimbles and bells are suspended, which make a tinkling sound whenever the skin is moved. Each keeps his or her skin hanging on the arm at all times while in the house during the festival, excepting when seated, at which time they are hung on the wall, by the owner's seat.

Another speech being delivered, four men and two women marched out at the door of the hall, with *Ho-hos* and gesticulations which cannot be described. They formed a semicircle in front of the door, and one of the men delivered a speech, which was followed by singing. Their otter skins were held horizontally in the two hands, with a tremulous motion that rattled the trinkets suspended to them, and which made the skin assume the appearance of the living animal when about to leap forward. While thus shaking their skins they ran around, now stooping towards the earth, and then stretching upwards and hallooing; they then marched into the hall again, severally

pointing a hand to each one seated as they passed, and each person pointed at uttered an awful groan, as before. They marched around the hall, until they reached the door again, when each of the four men pretended to swallow a small bullet, which apparently almost choked him, and gave him great uneasiness at the moment; but, as he did not fall to the ground, it was understood that he was wise and good, and expert in the performance.

All these fooleries were but preliminaries to the regular course of exercises on which they were now prepared to enter. Two principal men took the lead; each held in one hand a rattle, and in the other a piece of folded cloth, to defend the hand against injury when the gourd should be struck against it. The leader delivered a speech, and all became seated again, when the drummer and the gourd men on each side of him beat in unison, while the leader sung alone. Three or four persons presented themselves before the drum, and danced; when these dancers had retired to their seats, the musicians rose, and the leader delivered a brief speech. They then marched twice around the hall, with their instrumental music, stopping to sing a few minutes at the completion of each semicircle. The drummer then, facing the door, became seated by the middle post, with one of the rattlers behind, and the other in front; the principal one delivered a speech, at the conclusion of which they both commenced singing, and then rattled, and were joined by the drummer. Now all appeared to become inspired with new life. Some rose and danced in their places, then others, until all were on their feet, and dancing to the sound of the drum and gourds. Suddenly, as if moved by supernatural impulse, one man stepped forward from his place into the space left for them to pass in single file around the room, which, as before observed, is always with the left hand towards the centre; he bends forward, whirls around, (always to the left,) appears frantic, though not mad, shakes his otter skin, crying *Ho-o-o-o*, in a quick, frightful tone. He falls into the rear of the music, now passing around the room, and somewhere in his circuit he becomes more frantic, gives a few louder *Whoh-whos*, and suddenly punches the nose of his otter skin against some one of the company, who are all standing with their backs to the wall. The person punched either drops to the earth, as if dead, like a butcher's beef, or bows and staggers back against the wall, uttering a horrid shriek of *O-ho-ho*, as if pierced to the vitals. He now kisses the nose of his otter skin, with gestures expressive of profound respect and warm

affection. These fond kisses counteract the electric shock just received from the nose of his neighbour's otter skin, and in half a minute he is restored, and falls into the rear of the company as they march around with the music.

When a person fell, apparently lifeless, I noticed that he never hurt himself in falling. Each one invariably fell in the same position. In about half a minute he would recover and rise, and, as in the other case, fall into the company of the music. Each one, on recovering from the electric shock, before he went around the room once, would become frantic, and *Whoh-whoh* oftener and louder than usual, and punch his otter skin at the nose of another person; after which he danced until he came around to his proper place, where he again took his station, with his back to the wall. In this manner they continued to go around the room, usually seven or eight persons at a time, with their music, whooping and dancing, and shaking their otter skins, and punching them towards each other's faces. Sometimes a short pause is made, and again the vocal music strikes a new tune, and at the same instant many set up a hideous whoop of *Ho-ho-ho*, until the ear is stunned with almost every frightful kind of noise that can be imagined. Having proceeded in this way a sufficient length of time, the music ceased, and each took his and her proper place against the wall. The principal actor, followed by the other gourd-man, with the drummer in the rear, went twice around the hall, halting and singing twice in performing each circuit; at length, halting at the man who was designed next to use a gourd as a leader in the farce, they made an uncommon ado in hallooing, and in singular noises and gesticulations, and finally laid down their gourds, cushions, and drum, at his feet. They then continued around the hall once more, each pointing a finger at every one as they passed, groaning each time, and being answered by the person pointed at with a frightful groan.

Another now takes the lead, and the same ceremonies are acted over again; and this round of ceremonies is repeated until every male has once led in the exercises. If, therefore, the company be small, the exercises will end the sooner. Sometimes the company is so large, that the services continue until late in the night, and even all night. The females follow in all the exercises, but never lead. They carry their otter skins or medicine bags, sing, dance, blow, &c., and at this meeting one went so far as to deliver two short public speeches, but this was a rare occurrence. The males having each led in a round of the regular ceremonies, all became seated to rest, and the

men smoked. On coming together, each had brought a kettle or bowl; seven or eight large kettles of boiled meat were now brought into the house, and every one's small kettle or bowl was placed near the food. A man then arose and delivered a speech. Next, the man who had superintended the cookery distributed to each a portion, using a sharpened stick for a flesh-fork; and when a piece was not too hot, he took hold with his hand.

It was now between sundown and dark; they all ate, having nothing before them besides meat. Another speech was delivered, and when it was concluded, every one rose, with his vessel in hand, in which remained a considerable portion of food. They marched once around the room, and the leader halted at the door, where he performed some antic feats, attended by noises of divers kinds, and then marched out of the house, followed by all, in single file; and those who did not reside at the place marched directly off to their homes, not stopping within sight to speak to any one, or even to look back. A portion of food was sent to me.

The Indian who was with me had accepted an invitation to participate in all the ceremonies. When we were alone, at camp, on the following night, I asked him if the presentment of the nose of the otter skin did really give them pain, when they gave the horrid shriek, and staggered back, or when they fell apparently lifeless on the ground. He was embarrassed, being unwilling to tell me a lie under the circumstances attending my inquiry, and on the other hand reluctant to acknowledge the deceptions they had practised. He looked abashed, and said, falteringly, "It hurt a little."

At a separate fire food was prepared for a number of women and children who did not join in the ceremonies. They were not displeased at my looking on, but did not invite me into the hall. None were allowed to enter that place, except such as were prepared to engage in the exercises. Some of their orators spoke deliberately; others spoke as fast as the tongue could clatter. It is supposed that a capacity to deliver very long sentences without taking breath is a fine accomplishment. I was often reminded of our Lord's words respecting "vain repetitions in prayer," a favourite word being repeated once or twice in almost every breath throughout the speech.

This ceremony is called *Me'ta'wûk'*; that is, *Medicine dance*. It is considered a religious ceremony, and moral lectures are given to the audience, and addresses made to spirits, as though they were visibly present; as, for instance, when the leader of

the company reached the door of the house in the morning, with the company in single file in his rear, he halted, and stamping three times with his foot, said, "Ho-ho-ho—I see you now, I see you now, I see you now!" three times, affecting to see a spirit that was present to preside over the meeting. One man within responded in behalf of the spirit, and invited the company in. More privacy usually attends these festivals than was observed at this, and often many rude feats of legerdemain are performed.

October the 3d, 1823. Early, about a dozen Ottawas called on me, to whom I communicated our desires to assist them in improvements, &c., with which they appeared well pleased. As *eatables* were a desideratum in those times of scarcity, we were gratified to be able to set out for Carey with as much meat as we needed for our journey. We reached home on the 4th. Our circumstances were at this time such as to occasion much anxiety. Two months had elapsed since we had been informed that the funds of the board were exhausted. Our buildings had to be improved before winter, to prevent a recurrence of sufferings similar to those experienced the preceding cold season, and preparation was necessary for wintering our live stock. Our immediate intercourse with the Indians required much of our time; we were compelled to labour with our own hands, and all our business had to be done, without knowing that we should receive any pecuniary assistance from the board of missions. At this time the circumstances of Mrs. McCoy made it necessary for me to conceal from her, as far as possible, the darker side of our affairs, and Mr. Lykins and I shared the burden of our troubles as well as we could.

We instituted a Bible class among our scholars on the 12th of October, and distributed among them twenty-one Bibles. With the exercises which followed they were much pleased. About this time the whooping-cough, which prevailed in the neighbourhood, entered our family, and caused the first death among our Indian pupils. We invited our Indian neighbours to the funeral, that they might have ocular evidence in this case of our kindness to the children committed to our care. On the following day a cousin of the deceased refused to eat, saying, with tears, that his "deceased cousin was *somewhere hungry*, and on that account he would fast." Hence we perceive how early in life superstition is imbibed. A few weeks afterwards another of our Indian pupils died of the same disease.

Upon the failure of the vessel the preceding spring to bring us supplies by way of the lake, as we had contracted, we took

measures to have supplies brought to us by another vessel. This latter, carrying four or five hundred dollars' worth of property for us, anchored at the mouth of St. Joseph's river on the 17th of October, and the captain came on shore. About this time the wind became so severe that their cable parted, and the schooner was driven out to sea. About midnight the captain, who was at an Indian house, a mile from the lake, was informed that the vessel had again come in sight. He hastened off, directing the men who were in waiting to receive our property to be on the shore early in the morning. Unfortunately, they were able to land only seven barrels of flour, one barrel of salt, and two or three other small articles; the remainder of our property was carried back to Detroit, greatly to our loss, and to our serious inconvenience in other respects. This failure occasioned Mr. Lykins to make a journey to Ohio a few weeks afterwards, in order to procure articles which we had expected by way of the lakes.

In the latter part of October, Charles Noble, Esq., was commissioned by Governour Cass to visit our institution, and examine and report its condition, agreeably to arrangements which grew out of the treaty of Chicago. He remained with us three days. His inquiries related to the amount and condition of the improvements, number of persons employed at the establishment, their business severally, the number of native scholars, their progress, apparent satisfaction or dissatisfaction, general mode of instruction, &c. In a communication to us the 1st of December, Governour Cass said, "Your report and that of Mr. Noble are entirely satisfactory. The affairs of your agency appear to be in the best condition, and, if the experiment is ever to be successful, I am satisfied you will make it so."

The Rev. Corbly Martin was at this time travelling in Kentucky as our agent. Among other services which he rendered us, was an active part which he took in encouraging Miss Fanny Goodridge, of Lexington, to become a missionary. After the necessary preliminaries of correspondence, Miss Goodridge reached Carey November 5th, 1823, accompanied by the Rev. James McCoy, who had the goodness to accompany her to the mission. She came well recommended by the deacons of the church of Dr. Fishback, of Lexington, Kentucky; we had reason early to esteem her as a valuable acquisition to the mission, nor have our expectations been disappointed. On the 18th of November Mrs. Polke and family arrived, and Mr. Polke followed a few weeks afterwards. These added materially to the number of our missionaries. On the 23d of Novem-

ber Miss Goodridge commenced a Sabbath school specially for the females.

The members of our little church had been so scattered, that we were often ready to conclude that we had become a constituted body prematurely; but the addition of our new missionaries had inspired fresh hopes, which were enlivened on the 28th, by surrounding the Lord's table for the first time after our settlement at Carey. Several poor Indians residing near us in flag or bark huts, and most of whom usually waded through the snow during a great part of the winter, to attend our evening prayers, were present at this communion.

On securing the proceeds of our farm, notwithstanding this was our first year, and our fields had to be prepared in an uncultivated wilderness, we had about nine hundred bushels of Indian corn, besides garden vegetables.

Within this month we erected a blacksmith's shop on Kekenmazoo, among the Ottawas, and made other preparations for putting our smithery into operation. As the hands were on their way to the place, an Indian forbid them to proceed upon that business, and declared his determination to destroy their house, &c. He followed them twenty or thirty miles, to the neighbourhood of their work, and, with a view of opposing our operations, called a council of the Indians, but the result of this council quieted his scruples. The Ottawas of that place became exceedingly pleased with what we had undertaken for their benefit.

We have heretofore intimated that our kind friends were not always fortunate in choosing the most eligible methods of conveying donations to us: this was distressingly exemplified in the case of a fine drove of hogs collected for the mission in Kentucky and Indiana, of which one third, including the most valuable, were lost by the drivers on the road. The consequence was, that, besides paying cash to the drivers for their services, we had to *purchase* the principal part of our supply of pork for the ensuing year. Thus, by an unfortunate management in transporting to the station donations of live stock, and of books and clothing for the Indian children, the actual value to the mission was often so much diminished as to leave but little real advantage to the institution.

Before we received information that "the funds of the board were exhausted," we had sold a draft to H. G. Phillips, Esq., of Ohio, for five hundred and fifty-two dollars. In November this draft came back *protested*. We were greatly mortified at this circumstance, and no less distressed on account of our

scarcity of funds. Mr. Lykins was at the time in Ohio, endeavouring to procure articles needed for the approaching winter, most of which we had hoped to obtain by way of the lakes. Providence, however, had directed that our business should chiefly be with a man of feeling. When the draft came back to Mr. Phillips protested, we owed him nearly one thousand dollars; nevertheless, he advanced to Mr. Lykins whatever our immediate wants required, and offered to increase the sum to any amount we deemed prudent to take, and all without interest. Mr. Joseph R. John, of Troy, Ohio, who was engaged in business with Mr. Phillips, wrote to us on the occasion, saying, "I feel for your present situation, but I hope it will not discourage you; and we even hope that it will all work for the benefit of the mission. We deem it prudent to keep the news of the draft's being *protested* among ourselves, because, if it were known to the public, it might be to the injury of your establishment." Neither of these two gentlemen were then professors of religion. The mission at this time owed about fourteen hundred dollars more than we had money to pay, and our most rigid economy and hard personal labour could not prevent the augmentation of our debts. The question, What shall we do? required an immediate answer. Mr. Lykins proposed that I should go at once to Washington, and endeavour to get help from Government, from the board of missions, and from a benevolent public. In favour of this plan was also a hope that I might be instrumental in promoting the colonization of the Indians in the West—a subject of which we never suffered ourselves to lose sight.

When I first went into the wilderness as a missionary, I set about the study of the Indian language, but circumstances had denied me the opportunity of acquiring such a knowledge as would enable me to address the natives on the subject of religion without an interpreter. On the late acquisitions of missionaries, I had hoped that I would be so far relieved from the general cares of the institution as to be able to spend the winter chiefly in the huts of the Putawatomies, in the study of their language, and in imparting to them religious instruction. The plan proposed for me to leave home a few months thwarted this design, and I was exceedingly loth to adopt it. I felt disappointed, and was deeply distressed. But there was no alternative, as we could contrive no other way to obtain relief. On the 29th of December, I set out upon this journey, on horseback, expecting to be absent five months.

Excepting our embarrassments in pecuniary matters, our affairs had never been more encouraging. Forty-nine Indian youths were members of our family, and receiving instruction in letters and labour, and attending to religious exercises. The hearts of all the missionaries appeared warm and zealous. The females held special religious meetings among themselves, and we appeared to be entering upon a happy season in our missionary labours, when this distressing necessity compelled me to leave the place. I had with me a Frenchman named Mettez to aid me in getting out of the wilderness. The snow was melting, which increased the uncomfortableness of travelling and lodging. I gathered brush to raise me from the water and cold earth the first night, during a great part of which it rained on us. The next day we called at a trading hut, to see one of our hired men, who, a few days before, while driving hogs through the wilderness to us, had had his feet so much frost-bitten that he was left at this hut, where he still remained, unable to travel.

December 30th. It rained on us all day, and night came upon us in an open country, where we were much exposed to chilling wind, and in which it was especially unpleasant to spend the night. We, however, succeeded in making fire amidst a continual fall of rain. Mettez had the kindness to lend me a wolf skin to lie upon. I stretched up a blanket for shelter, but my bed was both too short and too narrow to save me either from the cold, from the water that fell from above, or from that which arose from the earth beneath. The succeeding day was wet, and, to add to the uncomfortableness of our situation, our stock of provisions was exhausted. We therefore travelled hard, in order to reach Fort Wayne, but soon after dark we lost our path, and spent another rainy night in the brush. The next day the waters were so high that we sometimes had to leave the road to get around them. We swam our horses across St. Mary's river, and reached Fort Wayne. From this place I sent Mettez to Detroit on business, while I proceeded to Ohio. I spent the Sabbath and preached at the house of Captain Shane, of whom mention has been made, and whose wife was a member of our church. Shane, who was by birth an Ottawa, had rendered great service to the United States in time of the late war. In treating with the Indians after the war, Government had granted some lands to him. But he and his wife both being in bad health, were, at the time of which we speak, in want of assistance, I consented to his request to lay his case before the

proper officers of Government, and endeavour to obtain for him the appointment of interpreter, or some other situation that would afford them a living in their declining years.

We were exposed to much rain during the two succeeding days, and had to swim our horses once on the first day and twice on the second. My horse became so chilled, by being almost constantly in water for several days, that he could scarcely proceed. I took the road by the way of Chilicothe, for the purpose of calling upon the Surveyor General of the United States' lands. Mr. Polke, who was a practical surveyor, had agreed to take a district of surveying, and contribute his earnings to the relief of the mission. I made an application to the surveyor in his behalf but was unsuccessful.

At this time the board of missions met in Washington City. I remained in the city twenty-four days, during which time they held several meetings, at which my business was considered. Pecuniary relief they could not afford, because they had not the means. But they granted our requests as far as practicable, and generally adopted the measures we suggested. But it was evident that while they indulged kind feelings towards the missionaries, the pressure of the affairs of the Columbian College engrossed most of their thoughts and deliberations, and that the missionaries must provide their own support. It was concluded that I should endeavour to collect something from a benevolent public, to meet the necessities of the mission, and with this view the board gave me the necessary credentials.

The plan for colonizing the Indians, which was submitted in writing, was a prominent subject of consideration. Dr. Staughton and Mr. Rice were appointed to accompany me, to lay the matter before Mr. Monroe, President of the United States, and to request his views on the feasibility of the plan.

We called twice, but, unfortunately, he was each time absent, so that we did not obtain an audience. Accompanied by the Rev. O. B. Brown, we called on Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War. Some members of the board had intimated that if the Secretary of War should not approve the plan, the board of missions ought to abandon it. This doctrine I had opposed. I thought that we ought first to satisfy ourselves, from better evidence than the mere opinions of men, that the plan was good. This done, we should seek its accomplishment; and if others viewed it erroneously, it should be our business to endeavour, by sound argument and zealous pleading, to set them right. That while the President and Secretary of War might be eminently qualified for their respective stations, it was possible that

they might form erroneous opinions in regard to the most eligible measures for improving the condition of the Indians, whom they had never seen at their homes in the wilderness. And, further, it was argued that mistaken opinions upon this subject, to the disadvantage of the Indians, had always prevailed both in Europe and America, and therefore it would not be surprising if objections to the experiment proposed should be made by *great* men as well as by others. Still, I discovered plainly enough that if the Secretary of War should disapprove of the design, our board would feel disinclined to foster it. When, therefore, the subject was submitted to the notice of Mr. Calhoun, and he requested me to state my views, I was so much afraid that his answer would be unfavourable, that after mentioning the outlines of the plan, I proceeded to offer many reasons for adopting it before I paused to allow room for his reply. Somewhat contrary to my expectation, but greatly to my satisfaction, his answer was such as I desired.

He not only approved the plan, but argued its practicability, and said that nothing was wanting to insure success, but a right feeling in Congress. The latter was an excellent idea, and a confirmation of my pleadings with the board, that if satisfied ourselves of the propriety of the measure, we ought to labour to induce right views and feelings on the subject in others. I desired the board immediately to present a memorial to Congress on the subject, and this proposition was at first favourably received, but finally they concluded that the better way would be by bringing the matter before the public through the press, to prepare for a successful application to Congress at another session.

We obtained from Government at this time five hundred and sixty-six dollars, on account of buildings at Carey, which was to reimburse a portion of the cost that had accrued to the mission in their erection. It was paid to us out of the annual appropriation of Congress for Indian reform. The Secretary of War also agreed to increase the annual allowance from the same fund, for the benefit of our school, from two hundred dollars to six hundred dollars. This was securing to the mission considerable relief.

The children of missionaries who reside among a barbarous people ought not to be wholly brought up without better opportunities than the society found in those places affords; while they are small, little anxiety is felt by their parents, but when they are approaching maturity, and forming habits for subsequent life, they ought to spend, at least, a portion of their time in civilized and Christian society. Their parents, by per-

sonal services, can provide no pecuniary assistance for them. A good education and favourable impressions derived from mingling with good society, is the only legacy that missionaries can hope to leave their children, and to this their children are entitled. When it is discovered that the services of parents are not of sufficient value to justify the patrons of missions in incurring the expense of educating the children, the missionaries should be dismissed. This subject was taken into consideration by the board at the time of which we speak, which, with an honorable generosity, directed me to send my two elder sons to the Columbian College, at Washington, to complete their education.

At this time the Rev. Luther Rice, who had been instrumental in bringing into existence the Baptist General Convention, was the most efficient man in connection with its board of managers. To a liberal education and extensive personal observation of men and things in different countries, he united uncommon powers of intellect. His reliance, however, upon his own resources of judgment was too great. He undertook to perform more than any one man could do, and sunk under the weight of cares which a generous heart had induced him to assume. By attempting (in a degree alone) to establish the Columbian College for the benefit of our own, and of other countries, debts accumulated faster than he was able to collect means to pay them. He became embarrassed, and in the midst of his indefatigable career his usefulness became suddenly abridged. By a similar reversion, a man of ordinary fortitude would have been driven to despair, but Mr. Rice, after his usefulness had been reduced more than fifty per cent., struggled on, doing good to the extent of his opportunities.

At the time of my second visit to Washington, Mr. Rice's affairs were approximating a crisis. Nevertheless, with all his toils and cares, he found leisure to show himself the substantial friend of the Indians, and a sympathizing brother to missionaries. He warily advocated the scheme for the colonization of the Indians, and kindly favoured the design of taking my sons into the Columbian College. Speaking to him of the great reluctance with which I had left the missionary station on this tour, he encouraged me to hope that all had been directed by an unerring Providence. God had, perhaps, permitted our necessities to become such as to force me to make this tour, in order that I might be instrumental, somewhat, in promoting the colonization of the tribes—a measure which he believed was fraught with more important consequences than any labours of

mine could effect within the small sphere of immediate missionary operations.

I left Washington City on the 24th of February, 1824, and passed through Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Holmsburg, New-Brunswick, and Newark, to New-York, in each of which places; especially in Philadelphia, I obtained considerable help for our mission. In New-York city I found a Baptist minister of respectability, whose mind had become much prejudiced against our mission, through the misrepresentations of a disaffected missionary who had been dismissed by the board, and for whom this minister had a warm partiality. I laboured in vain to remove his prejudices; he seemed resolved on opposing my efforts to obtain relief for the mission. Knowing that we had nothing to fear from an investigation of our missionary matters, his opposition was turned to our account by making it a cause of inquiry into our affairs among the Baptists generally in the city. The result was, that scarcely a man in the city contributed more to promote liberality towards our mission by his friendship, than this minister did by his *opposition*.

I had great reason to be thankful for the kindness of our friends in New-York, as well as to those of other places. My home was at the hospitable dwelling of William Colgate, Esq. Rev. Spencer H. Cone, pastor of Oliver street church, and his lady, warmly espoused the cause of Indian missions, and that of our stations in particular, and this favourable support never abated.

I embarked for Providence in the steamboat Fulton, where every face was strange to me. Mr. — Raymond, of New-York, had furnished me with a letter to a Mr. Wilder, a Christian gentleman, well known in the circles of benevolence. He, without solicitation, proposed to make an effort to collect something for us. We had worship in the cabin on Sabbath morning, at which time I was allowed to make a brief appeal to the company, which was followed by their placing in my hands twenty dollars for the mission.

Reaching Providence, in Rhode Island, I found that the minister who had opposed me in New-York had sent on communications to his acquaintances, which had reached that place before me, in order to hedge up my way, that I might *not* be able to take collections for the mission. The repulse which I met at my first landing in New-England was not a light trial to me. I remembered our sufferings at the station! the splendid dwellings were contrasted with our huts, and my comfortable lodgings with the nights of misery which, with my wife and

children, I had spent unsheltered amidst snow and rain in the wilderness. I could not approach the luxuries of their tables without being reminded of passing around our table, distributing to each a small piece of bread, because we could afford no more; of living weeks at a time *without bread*, and of having seen the last morsel of our boiled corn eaten. I thought it was *hard* that Christians should so far indulge in prejudice through partiality for a friend, as to endeavour to hinder me from obtaining the means to prevent a recurrence of our sufferings. But God designed it for our good. Here, in New-England, the opposition, as in New-York, elicited inquiry, which resulted in making the benevolent more liberal to the mission than if no such cause of inquiry had existed. In Boston a meeting was called of the more respectable Baptist ministers and others, to make inquiry relative to the condition of the mission. Many of them came to it with strong prejudices against us, occasioned by the misrepresentations of the persons before alluded to. I had, however, taken the precaution, on leaving home, to carry with me such documents as would unequivocally show what had been and what then was the state of our affairs. Our Boston friends became fully satisfied in regard to the management of our affairs, and now, in the warmth of zeal in a cause which they were sure claimed their kindness, they resolved to promote the object of my visit to Boston. This examination settled the question in New-England. Of their number they appointed a committee of three ministers, whose characters were universally known, to aid in giving success to my efforts. This committee wrote in my subscription book the following:

“The bearer of this, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, is an approved missionary of the Carey station, on the river St. Joseph’s, in Michigan Territory, among the Putawatomie Indians. He is now soliciting subscriptions and donations in aid of that mission. We, the subscribers, have seen with pleasure the ample testimonials of Mr. McCoy’s piety and fidelity in this good work, and do most cordially approve of his character, and recommend him to the patronage of all the friends of the Redeemer, who wish for the civilization and salvation of the aborigines of the West.

“THOMAS BALDWIN,
 “DANIEL SHARP,
 “F. WAYLAND, JUN.”

I returned through New-York, Albany, and Rochester, to Buffalo, on Lake Erie, where I shipped on the lake the property which I had procured for the mission. I obtained on

this tour books, clothing for the Indian scholars, and other articles needed for the benefit of the mission, to the amount of eight hundred and twenty dollars. Besides the five hundred and sixty-six dollars obtained from Government, and the addition of two hundred dollars a year to the annual allowance for the support of our mission, I received in donations to the mission one thousand six hundred and twenty-three dollars in cash. This sum was sufficient, besides paying our debts, to procure some additional supplies, and to pay the transportation of our goods to the station. I took home thirty bushels of wheat, for seed, one hundred barrels of flour, and twenty-four barrels of salt.

At Albany, on my return from Massachusetts, I found Mr. Robert Simerwell, with whom I had formed an acquaintance in Philadelphia, and who, agreeably to previous arrangements, met me here, with a view of uniting with us in missionary labours. The subsequent history of the mission will show that we found in Mr. Simerwell a persevering missionary brother. We embarked on Lake Erie, at Buffalo, the 25th of May, in the schooner Neptune, Capt. Johnson. On the night of the 28th we had a thunder storm, and a pretty severe gale, in which our danger was greater than at the moment we apprehended. The vessel was old, and too much decayed to be seaworthy, a circumstance which we did not fully understand until afterwards. I noticed that during the storm there appeared to be more anxiety on the part of the captain and others of the crew than I had expected on such an occasion, which doubtless was attributable to this fact.

The day had been calm; at dark, a black cloud covered us, attended with heavy thunder. A slight rain was falling, when we were not a little surprised at a phenomenon which to us was new. Suddenly the top of each mast and the ends of the yard-arms became illuminated, as if enveloped in a flame like that produced in burning ardent spirits. Each light was globular, extending four or five inches from the substance which it enveloped. Those on the mast tops appeared a little sooner than the others; and they would also sometimes suddenly disappear, and as suddenly reappear. The phenomenon lasted about twenty minutes. Being unaccustomed to the seas, I made inquiry at the time respecting this phenomenon, of some who belonged to the vessel; but I could obtain no other answer than that "it was a sure sign of a *heavy blow*."

At Detroit we put on board iron, steel, &c., for our public smitheries. Mr. Simerwell continued on board the vessel, and

ascended to the mouth of St. Joseph's river, while I hired a horse, and rode home through the wilderness. A ride of five days brought me to Carey, on the 11th of June, 1824, after an absence of about five and a half months, in which time I had travelled three thousand three hundred and thirty-eight miles. It was peculiarly gratifying to reach the place which of all others was the most dear to me.

In my absence the labours of the missionaries had been greater than they were well able to sustain. Laudably ambitious to keep all matters moving forward, and to prevent a retrogression in any department, they had toiled beyond their strength. Mrs. McCoy's health was poor, and her spirits were more depressed than I had ever known them. I found them on short allowance of bread. On the 16th we had exhausted all our bread stuff excepting a few pounds reserved for the small children and the sick. All except myself were in good spirits in regard to food, hourly expecting the arrival of the vessel. I feared that contrary winds or other hindrances might cause us to suffer, but I concealed my anxiety. On the 18th we had only corn enough for *one day*, but our merciful God was still near us. The harbour at which the vessel would stop was without inhabitant. We had sent two of our Indian pupils to build and keep up a fire at the place, in order that the smoke, by being seen from the vessel, might point out the place of landing. The youths were directed to open a barrel of flour immediately on the landing of the vessel, and hasten to us (twenty-five miles) with what they could bring. On the evening of the 18th, to our great joy, and to mine in particular, one of the young men arrived with a mule packed with flour.

We brought our property from the lake to the station upon the St. Joseph's river in periogues. Mr. Polke superintended this labour. From that time forward the mission did not suffer for want of bread, nor did our pecuniary wants ever again become so great as they had been.

It is deserving of notice, that from this time until, by an arrangement with the Government in 1830, the affairs of the mission at that place were wound up, we never had occasion to draw on the board of missions for any funds intrusted to them by the benevolent, excepting some donations which were made *specially* for Carey, and which the board, on that account, could not, apply elsewhere. With this exception, the mission, henceforward, cost the charity funds of the board *nothing*.

The number of scholars was at this time about the same as

when I left home. Indeed, it would not have been prudent for them to have added to the family, had they been influenced by no other reason than the scarcity of bread. Soon, however, the number of scholars was greatly increased.

As I returned home through Detroit, I obtained from Governor Cass the appointment of Mr. Polke as *teacher* for the Ottawas, under the treaty of Chicago, the place that had once been given to Mr. Sears. Mr. Polke had visited those Indians once, but had not made any definite arrangements with them, excepting that the public labourers had afforded them some assistance in improving their lands. Mr. Lykins's personal business made it necessary for him to be absent from the station six or eight weeks. He set off on the 28th of June. His path led him four days' journey through an uninhabited wilderness.

On our returning from a journey it was common for the Indians to agree upon a day among themselves, when they would call "to hear the news." On the 29th, four chiefs and many others made the inquiring visit, in relation to the late tour. After furnishing tobacco to smoke, and exhibiting some curiosities, which I had brought home chiefly for that purpose, I gave them a brief history of the tour, and told of the kind feelings which many had manifested for their Indian brethren. Towards the conclusion of the story, I informed them that the clothing, flour, &c., which I had brought home was for the benefit of the Indian children who had become members of our family, and could not be given to others; nevertheless, as a token of friendship, we would present them with some tobacco and salt, which they might take and divide among themselves. We had never seen a company of Indians appear better pleased than these were.

In the spring season of this year, Chebass, one of the principal Putawatomie chiefs, and two other families near us, commenced improving their lands in a manner that was really promising. Three log cabins were erected, and two considerable fields fenced with rails. In this labour, and in ploughing the fields, the mission had afforded them some assistance.

June 29th, 1824, Mr. Polke set out for the Ottawa station, with tools, &c., for the smithery, taking with him a blacksmith whom we had hired, and one of our Indian pupils, who went with a view of learning the trade. They took a wagon, drawn by two yokes of oxen, driven by another of our Indian boys. He left the two public labourers at work for the Ottawas, and returned to Carey on the 9th of July. In his absence, the St.

Joseph's river had risen, which on their return they did not perceive until they had driven the team into the stream, and oxen and all were afloat. They succeeded in getting all back to the shore they had left. Unable to get the wagon out of the river, they tied it to a tree, that it might not be carried down by the stream; they then, having driven their beasts across the river, and swam across themselves, came home wet and fatigued.

Soon after the commencement of the mission, a boy, whose mother was a Putawatomie, and his father a Frenchman, named Rollo, was engaged as a scholar in our school. The boy spoke both English and Putawatomie. Being capable of interpreting for us, we were the more desirous to take him into our family, but ultimately his father's Catholic prejudices disappointed us. He said "he was afraid, if his boy came to live with us, he would lose his religion." The boy's education was neglected, and he learned little more than the alphabet. In March of this year, his father died near Fort Harrison, on the Wabash. Anthony, the boy, who had nearly reached the age of twenty years, on the death of his father resolved, if possible, to get to our house. He was naturally lame, and scarcely able to walk. With some difficulty he prevailed upon a trader to carry him on horseback to Fort Wayne, one hundred and seventy miles. In the latter part of June, my three sons, who were attending school in the State of Ohio, made us a visit at Carey, and as they passed Fort Wayne they found Anthony waiting an opportunity to get on to us. They had only two horses to aid them in coming through the wilderness; one of these they gave up to Anthony, and two of them proceeding on foot, they brought him with them.

About this time it was discovered that the prejudices of the Putawatomies, with which we had to contend at first, had almost wholly vanished from among those who were near us. We had never before seen a time when our Indian neighbours manifested so much interest in the mission. Applications to us to take their children into our family were frequent, and their attention to religious instruction appeared to increase.

We had long regretted that business which was indispensable to the existence of the mission had denied us the opportunity of acquiring fully the Putawatomie language, and of imparting religious instruction to the neighbouring natives to the extent that was desirable. Our solicitude increased on perceiving the natives around us prepared to listen to us on the subject of religion, as well as to matters relating merely to their temporal comforts. Under all the embarrassments which existed, it was

resolved to make an effort to extend our religious instructions. The morning sermon was delivered at the mission at ten o'clock. After this, on the morning of July 4th, I took Noaquett, alias Luther Rice, one of our Indian boys who had acquired some knowledge of English in our family, and rode five miles to an Indian village; the other missionaries attending to the Sabbath-school and other services at the mission. At the house where we halted we found the Indians at their usual occupations. One woman was pounding corn in a mortar, two were making moccasins, one was preparing bark for the construction of sacks, some of the men were idle, and four of them were playing at cards. We were received with the usual expressions of friendship, though the men with cards were too much interested in their game to take much notice of us. I entered into conversation with others, but could not thereby divert the attention of the gamblers from their cards. At length I told the owner of the house that I had come to talk to them about God and religion. I had lived long among them, and had said too little to them upon this subject. I had not enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring such a knowledge of their language as I had hoped for, nor had I been able to get a suitable interpreter. I had at length concluded that while I was preparing to make preaching to them in their villages more convenient, either they or I might die, when opportunities to give and to hear religious *talks* would be forever closed.

They replied that they would be glad to hear me. Others were called in, the cards were concealed, and a considerable company was soon in an attitude to hear. All were attentive, and some appeared truly solemn, quite beyond what I had anticipated. They were informed that if it would be agreeable to them, such visits and exercises would be frequently repeated. One replied in behalf of all, "We will be glad to hear you tell us about these things, that we may know how to please our Father [God.]" "Yes," said Porcupine-Moccasin, who had just been at his cards, "nobody will be sorry for that. We will be glad when you come, and will listen to you." They inquired at what time I would visit them again, and on taking our leave an old man repeated thanks for our attention to them, and desired it to be continued.

We persevered in the practice of visiting one or two villages every Sabbath, and preaching to such as we could collect. Sometimes we had a tolerable number of hearers, at other times their necessities compelled them to be absent in quest of food, by hunting, &c. Human nature, however, is in itself the same

in every land, whether civilized or savage. Carnal, sinful man hates Gospel truth, and nothing short of divine influence will subdue the rebellious heart.

On the 14th of July, five chiefs and others, great and small, to the number of about one hundred, assembled at our house to *talk*. Many of them were preparing to make a journey to Detroit and to Canada, with a view of receiving presents from the British at the latter place. We were under the necessity of listening to their long speeches, the principal design of which was to induce us to give them an ox for food on their journey. We could not grant their request, but gave them some powder and lead, with which they might procure wild meat. We embraced such opportunities as this of enforcing arguments in favour of their adopting the habits of civilized life. On the following day we had a visit from the Ottawas, and learned that our labourers, smith, &c., among them, would not be able, as we had hoped, to obtain from the Indians a sufficiency of wild meat to supply their wants. They also brought information that the Ottawas were beginning to feel deeply interested in our efforts for their improvement, and had expressed a desire that we should locate the smithery on Grand river, in a central and more eligible place. This was an effect we had hoped to produce when we put the smithery into operation upon their border, and had in this cautious manner introduced ourselves to their acquaintance.

The Indians return to their villages for the purpose of planting their fields in May and June; from that time until their fields yield them vegetables is the most trying season of the year, on account of the scarcity of food. I find in the journals of the mission the following note for July 17th:

“The Indians are so exceedingly pinched with hunger at this season of the year, that swarms of them linger about us, in hopes of getting a few crumbs or bones from our table, or the liquor in which any food may chance to have been boiled. We are continually grieved at witnessing their distresses; we cannot feed them, and yet many cases present themselves, especially of women and children, too affecting to be wholly disregarded. Often, on presenting a petition for the relief of hunger, they place a hand upon the stomach, to show how it is sunken for want of food. A few hours ago a woman appeared in our house with moccasins to exchange for powder and lead; pleading that she and the family with which she lived were in a measure *starving*. She had nephews who would hunt for wild meat, did they possess the means of taking it. She was informed that we

could not conveniently grant her the articles she needed, yet she continued her importunity, entreating for a 'very little.' Begging like this occurs almost hourly through the day; at this time eight or ten unfortunate women are at our house, begging for a morsel to eat. When we gave the old woman, alluded to above, a little salt, she said, 'This will season the weeds on which I feed.' She declared to us that for several days she and the families with which she was connected had not eaten a particle of any kind of food, except weeds boiled without salt or grease. This is, at this time, the condition of hundreds around us.

"To-day an Indian woman brought to our house, and left here, her little girl, about five years of age, a sister to two little boys recently taken into the family, and departed without saying any thing to any of us on the subject of leaving the child. She, no doubt, supposed that our family was so large that we would not increase it by receiving her child, and therefore she resorted to this expedient in order to secure a situation for it, knowing that we could not permit the child to suffer. We found the poor, wretched little creature in company of its brothers, and, upon inquiry, ascertained whence it came. When the bell called to evening prayers, this little girl, instructed no doubt by its brothers, and perhaps by its mother, came running with others, and with them kneeled in prayer, with a view, as we presumed, of enlisting our sympathies in her favour. The poor creature was stripped of its rags, and dressed like our other children, and attended with our prayers that she and her poor kindred might be clothed with the garment of salvation."

We were deeply affected by a complaint of poverty on the 25th. We had concluded the public worship at a neighbouring village, where there had mingled with the company before us twelve children, four of whom were, with a very slight exception, destitute of clothing; many others, some of them adults, were little better furnished. We had a solemn, attentive audience, and after worship they conversed freely and feelingly on the subject of religion; but before the conclusion the poor creatures said that their children wept almost constantly with hunger. The truth of this we had no reason to doubt.

CHAPTER IX.

Sickness. Visit of the Sauks. Effects of ardent spirits. Revival of religion. Journey to Ohio and death of a child. Condition of the institution, as reported by the United States' Commissioner. Baptisms. Tour among the Ottawas. Selection of a site for a missionary station. Indian Colonization. Continuation of religious animation.

Soon after my return from the eastward my health began to fail, and I continued to sink until, on the 26th of July, I became confined to my bed. We had, however, so much business on hand at this time, with the Indians and with our numerous correspondents, that I was compelled to write whenever I was able to sit up, and sometimes as I lay in my bed. On the 11th of August my situation was such that the brethren sent to Fort Wayne, one hundred miles, for a physician. A note in the journals for August the 13th, though written subsequently, reads as follows: "Was very sick indeed; brother Simerwell had the kindness to write for me respecting my views of missionary affairs, and the course which I thought would be proper for my surviving brethren and the board to pursue, in relation to this mission, after my decease.

"This is a time of severe trial; I am so rapidly sinking under my disease, that both myself and my friends around me are confident that I cannot sustain many days of afflictions like the present. Besides what relates to myself, and the condition of my family, many trying considerations press upon my mind in relation to missionary matters. The situation of my wife gives me much concern; she and I have sustained the burden of affairs, the greater part of the time, without assistance; the consequence has been, that both her health and spirits have been some time sinking. Knowing that she has sacrificed her health, to a considerable extent, to keep the mission in existence until we should be re-enforced by other missionaries, it now gives me indescribable pain to leave her in her afflicted situation. None will be able to form an adequate idea of what she has borne, and who will there be on earth to comfort her by appropriate sympathy, or to sustain her by suitable pity and kindness! Yet I find comfort in affliction. I have spoken of these things to my brethren and sisters, and, to their honour be it recorded, the most tender, affectionate, and sincere assurances that I could desire have been given that there shall be nothing wanting to

the partner of my toils which their opportunities shall allow. I have spent so many months from home, that the writings of the mission, the accounts, and considerable business with individuals, are not in that regular train that could be desired.

“Our mission has not been, and is not likely to be, amply supported by the society we serve; it is now supported by the personal exertions of the missionaries. I am confident that the unfortunate Indians have but few substantial friends among the whites—I mean friends who will make sacrifices of property, of ease, and of health, and will persevere in vigorous, disinterested, and judiciously managed efforts for their reformation. I feel confident that the present missionary operations among the natives ought to be considered as merely the rudiments of the system of effort which, humanly speaking, is to succeed; I am well assured that, in general, the mind of the public is but illy informed on the subject of Indian improvement; I therefore feel a strong, *very strong desire* to be allowed a while longer to bear a part with fellow-labourers in divers parts of the forests, in pleading for the Indians, and in instructing them in the way to heaven; yet I know, and have this day acknowledged to God and to my brethren, that Jehovah is not dependant on such a worm as I for the accomplishment of what he will do for the poor natives. With my afflictions and great anxiety is mingled a degree of faith that is consoling, that God will mercifully save the people for whom I have considered it a great privilege to be allowed to labour, by such means as wisdom shall employ. Looking back on many circumstances in which the interposing hand of Providence seems to have been conspicuous in favour of the mission, I hope for its prosperity and success. Other missionaries are, no doubt, encouraged by similar considerations. I hope God will save the Indians, and will take to himself all the glory.

“I have given directions respecting my private concerns. My sufferings this day have been considerable, nevertheless I am surrounded with mercy; I receive all the comfort that kindness can impart; and, above all, I am allowed the consolations of the Bible and the hope of heaven.”

“In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and he heard me,” and restored me to health, though it was the 5th of September before I was able to walk to the house of worship.

The kind feelings which the Indians manifested to us in our afflictions were often deeply affecting. On the 19th of August Cash-kas was the bearer of a message from a considerable number of them, on the subject of impositions which were practised

upon them by unprincipled white men. He then said, "We are much concerned on account of your ill health; we often say to each other, 'if he should die, we shall not find another friend like him to help us. We are ignorant—we need advice and assistance, and we have but few friends; we very much desire his recovery.'" It frequently happened that, on taking me by the hand, they would lift their eyes towards heaven, and invoke on me the blessing of the Great Spirit. On the 1st of August, 1824, Mr. Lykins returned from his journey to the Wabash.

The Sauks* annually visited the British possessions in Canada, to receive presents guaranteed to them by that Government for their services in the last war with the United States. On the 4th of August a company of them called on us, to beg a little provision, and to get their guns repaired at our smithery. They behaved well. They begged us to allow them to eat a hog which they had discovered on the plantation, that had died of disease, and had become putrid. On leaving, they all, even the women and children, took me by the hand. One of the old men, in his valedictory benediction, prayed for the blessing of the Great Spirit to descend upon me, and talked until his eyes were moistened with tears.

On the 11th of August, my eldest son, who had been sent to Detroit with our accounts, report, &c., and to transact other business, returned with a gratifying communication from His Excellency Lewis Cass. On the 19th, Mr. Polke set off upon a journey to the Wabash, not expecting to return before December.

At this time lands which had been ceded by the Indians to the United States approached on one side within a mile of us. Remote as we were from white settlements, some such restless men as are always to be found on the frontiers followed our road, and began to settle on the United States' land not far from us. Some of these were worthless, and, their principal design being to sell whiskey to the Indians, soon became an exceeding pest. At first we reasoned and remonstrated; but this was fruitless with men who had sunk below all sense of honour, and had become callous to every kind feeling of humanity. We then *threatened* with as little effect, because they had little property and less reputation to lose, and should they even be driven to another place by *force* it mattered little to them where they were, if beyond the restraints of law and the good order

* The name of this tribe is generally written Sac. But the true pronunciation is Sauk, (singular,) Saukeek, (plural.)

of civilized society. We finally concluded we would make another effort to bring the laws forbidding this nefarious traffic in ardent spirits to bear upon the offenders. Mr. R. D. Potts, United States' sub-agent of Indian affairs, was boarding in our house at this time. We took measures to obtain such evidence as the law required against the venders of ardent spirits to the Indians, and to our communication to Governour Cass, upon the subject, Mr. Potts added his official report of a case. But the practice of furnishing the Indians with ardent spirits was at this time so general in that country, that the officers of Government supposed the evil could not be corrected. Therefore, notwithstanding the practice prevailed notoriously, the offenders escaped with impunity. In answer to our report of the offence under consideration, the Governour of Michigan Territory forwarded to me a magistrate's commission, that I might be authorized to enforce the laws in such cases. But as the nature of my business did not justify my taking upon me such responsibilities, I declined accepting the commission, and here the matter ended.

Many of the Indians manifested a dislike to this traffic in ardent spirits, fraught with ruin to themselves, though they seldom possessed fortitude to withstand the temptation to drink. On the 20th of August, Pocagin, a chief, and many others, came to inform us of liquor in their country, and expressed a wish to go and seize it. We could not hope that Indians in such cases would be governed by sound discretion, and therefore dissuaded them from their purpose. About this time they frequently applied to us for aid in securing their little property and money, received from Government, from the rapacity of those lawless white people. But we could oftener pity than help them. Our abhorrence of the vile conduct of those outlaws, and our devotion to the interests of the Indians, aroused in the former the most vindictive feelings towards us. But they did not presume to insult us personally, and their tongues could do us no harm, either with Indians or white people. We feared that they would injure some of our property by fire, but they did not.

In August we were cutting hay on the prairies. In this, as in other labours on the farm, we taught our larger Indian boys to bear a part. Mr. Lykins was under the necessity of superintending this business, until he was attacked with sickness, which deprived the mission of his services two or three weeks. Mr. Polke was absent, and I was sick, so that Mr. Simerwell was the only efficient male missionary on the premises.

It happened that the few members of the board of missions

who were active in the management of its concerns, were so charged with the affairs of the Columbian College, that after my departure from Washington, the preceding winter, the plan for colonizing the Indians in the West did not receive that attention which while I was present the board had resolved to bestow upon it. Their resolution to bring the subject before the public, in order that views and feelings might be elicited favourable to a vigorous effort for the promotion of the design at the ensuing session of Congress, had been neglected. This circumstance we regretted exceedingly, but could not allow the subject to sleep. Mr. Rice was written to in relation to it on the 5th of August, and Dr. Staughton on the 27th.

On the 2d of September, Miss Goodridge made an interesting visit to an Indian village, with a view to religious conversation with the females. These visits were repeated as often as circumstances admitted. We were also gratified with an inquiry from a neighbouring village, "When would it be Sunday?" or as they express it, "Prayer day?"

About this time it was necessary that some one of us should go to the Ottawas, for the purpose of adjusting our affairs with them. They had expressed a strong desire that this should be done, and sent us word that they had long looked for us. Mr. Simerwell being the only missionary at the station able to attend to business, we could do no better than to write to each party, and inform them why we failed to visit them, and to express to them some useful thoughts. This communication was carried by three of our Indian pupils, one of whom was a man grown. Our smith was directed to read the letter to the inhabitants of each village, and one of the Indian boys to interpret it. This measure tended to cherish kind feelings among the Ottawas. Assisted by one of the United States' labourers, a stack of prairie hay was made before their return, for the subsistence of our oxen through the succeeding winter. They brought home with them, for our school, an Ottawa girl about seven years old. Business at Fort Wayne and in Ohio required attention; but having no missionary to look after it, my eldest son (not yet grown) set out for this purpose on the 9th of September. Mrs. McCoy; whose health at this time required a respite from her onerous charge, and that she might afford him some counsel in relation to the business, accompanied our son on this journey. Our late afflictions had not a little deranged the order of the school and other matters. By the 20th of September, Mr. Lykins had so far recovered his health as to be able to resume his ordi-

nary labours, and matters became restored to their usual condition.

About the 1st of September, the Miamies were paid an annuity at Fort Wayne, and before these bacchanalians concluded the frolic that always attends the payment of an annuity, they committed *six murders*. About the 20th of September, three murders were committed near us, among the Putawatomes. A friend of one of the murdered, by way of retaliation, killed a young man who was deaf and dumb. On the night of the 22d, one of the murderers encamped and slept in our yard, but without our knowledge, until we were informed of it on the following morning. Two Indians, at that time with us, who were related to the deaf Indian, had concealed themselves during the night, through fear of the wicked man just mentioned. Noaquett, one of our pupils, about fifteen years of age, who was also related to the murdered deaf man, had been marked out by the murderer for another victim. We advised all who deemed themselves in danger to keep close about our house for some time, and if this wicked man was again seen about us, to give us information, and we should bestow upon him such attentions as the case called for. Noaquett felt ambitious, though but a boy, and under the influence of *Indian feelings*, said "he did not regard to die." But we reasoned him out of his spirit of retaliation. Five days afterwards, the man who had threatened some of our family returned to our house. We took him into a room and conversed with him on the subject, stating to him some of the dreadful consequences of murder, and among other things the denunciations of our good book against the murderer. Noaquett and another who felt himself aggrieved were brought in. On their entering the room, the murderer appeared somewhat alarmed, but I assured him that he had nothing to fear from us. The effect of the interview was to induce the parties to profess to be reconciled. The murderer said, "If I had known before I killed the man what I do now, I would not have done it."

About this time we commenced writing and reading religious discourses to the Putawatomes, in their own language. With this they were better pleased than when we spoke to them through an interpreter. After my late attack of sickness, my first visit to an Indian village, to preach, was on the 10th of October. Our service was in the house of Amukos, who received us kindly, and called in his neighbours. It was our custom, at the close of the discourse, to encourage them to

engage in conversation on the subject of religion. On this occasion Amukos replied, "I have heard you. I will think of these things, and not forget them. I will endeavour to understand them." In conversation, however, he betrayed the influence of that principle of self-righteousness which is natural to sinful man in a savage as well as in a civilized state. I inquired if he felt willing to forsake sin and to obey God? He uttered a slight exclamation, indicative of the vanity of his mind, and said, "I believe I have not been very bad. You know me well, and you know that I am not a very bad man."

Here we visited a poor sick woman, who was reduced to a skeleton, lying on the earth, in a condition which seemed to be the extreme of poverty and wretchedness. I inquired what was the state of her mind, &c. She said she still hoped that she would recover, and that, should she die, she would go to God, having thought of religious things, more or less, ever since she had been capable of reflection. I could not discover that she had any just ideas of the evil of sin, nor of the depravity of her heart. She wished me to think that she had not been very wicked, and named prevailing vices among the Indians, to which she had not been addicted. I said such things as I thought were best calculated to teach her the wickedness of her heart, and the necessity of repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus. When I exhorted her to pray, she replied, "I would pray if I knew how." This was very affecting. Such explanations were made to her as were deemed proper. We had enjoyed the morning service at the mission house, and from this visit we returned thither in the evening, with better feelings than usual. The following note in the journal will show how the evening was employed:

"At the close of evening prayers one of our Indian girls requested that some time might be employed by them in singing spiritual songs; and, while I write this note, I hear them singing hymns of praise to Jesus.

"A white man, in our employ as a labourer, with a solemn countenance, seats himself in my room. On my turning to him, and inquiring after the state of his mind, he bursts into tears, exclaiming, 'I feel that I am the worst sinner in the world;' he retires abruptly. Four other white men in our employ come in; one of them says, 'he most earnestly desires to become religious;' leans his head on his hand and weeps. Another expresses similar feelings. A third says 'he can't tell me how he feels;' hangs his head and wipes his eyes. The fourth says, 'It seems to him that he never can become reli-

gious; the more he tries, the worse he is. He cannot think one good thought,' &c. I say within myself, I trust you are not far from the kingdom of heaven. Two of our sisters are with us, and two of our Indian girls have seated themselves near, and have listened to us. I direct my discourse to them; they say but little; one of them weeps freely. This is a very pleasant evening. Few such have been enjoyed in this lonely desert. I relate some of my own Christian experience. We kneel and pray, and the clock announces the hour to retire to rest."

On the 11th of October, Mr. Lykins, Mr. Simerwell, and Miss Goodridge, and several of the Indian part of our family, gratified their curiosity in witnessing the medicine dance and feast at a neighbouring village. Old Topenebe, the principal Putawatomie chief, had a child lying a corpse; but he was so intent upon attending the festival, that he could not attend to its burial, but intrusted the management of the funeral to another.

About this time application was made to us, by two Indian families near the lake, for live stock and assistance in other matters relating to farming. We were pleased to find them disposed to improve their condition, and afforded them all the encouragement that was practicable. Another village solicited assistance in ploughing the ensuing spring. On the same day I rode out with Saukine-neepe and his brother, to aid them in selecting a suitable place for a farm. We first became acquainted with Saukine-neepe about two years before this time. He was then a very worthless fellow, but afterwards became much improved; and through his influence we prevailed on his mother, brother, and sister, from Mackinaw, who had made him a visit, to remain near us, and commence civilized life. On our return from selecting a farming place for Saukene-neepe, Cashkas inquired where we had made the location, repeated his determination to make a farm the ensuing spring, and expressed some fears that the better places near us would be taken up before he should complete his winter's hunt. Shauno-kaute, who had been living at the distance of about fifteen miles, settled near us, and procured cattle and hogs, and learned to work oxen. Our souls were refreshed by these accumulating evidences of a disposition among the Indians to exchange savage for civilized habits.

At evening prayers, such as felt disposed to attend, were invited to one of our private rooms, to spend a while in prayer, praise, and religious conversation. Five hired white men, and two males and three females of our Indian pupils, attended on the first night of these exercises; at which time we spent two

hours, much to our satisfaction. These conference meetings were repeated one evening in each week.

On the 14th of October, my son returned from Ohio, having hired a blacksmith for one of our smitheries, and loaded a wagon with articles needed at the mission. Mrs. McCoy and our infant were detained in Troy, Ohio, both sick of fevers. They received all the comforts which kind attentions could impart, in the hospitable dwelling of Mr. J. R. John, who, with his excellent wife, were well known by generous and noble deeds. On the 18th, my son set off again for Ohio, but before he reached Troy our infant daughter, Maria Staughton, had died. This was the third daughter that we had buried after we had become missionaries. Mrs. McCoy returned to Carey on the 1st of November.

Some of the Putawatomies and Ottawas of that country had some knowledge of the ceremonies of the Catholic missionaries, who were early in their country, and of Catholics, who continue to mingle with them, chiefly for purposes of trade. Supposing it would please us, they frequently told us that they still recollected portions of prayers which they had been taught, and two or three old persons told us that "they had had water put on their faces," as they expressed it. After preaching at the house of Amukos, on the 17th of October, an elderly man came and took me by the hand, by way of acknowledgment for the favour of preaching to them, and as he approached me he crossed himself after the fashion of the Catholics.

October the 21st. Our meeting for special prayer was conducted in English. We were much interested in the circumstance of two Indian women attending with us, though neither of them could understand what was spoken.

Koessun, a war chief, presented us with his war club, for the museum of the Columbian College. We also procured for the same purpose a few other Indian curiosities. The presentation of these was, on their part, merely expressive of friendship, and not of a disposition to change the habits of Indian life. On the following day Amukos, who, a few days before, had appeared averse to the adoption of habits of civilization, came to inform us that, upon reflection, he had determined to make a house and a field the following spring. Another object of his visit, he said, was to take his leave of us before he set out upon this winter's hunt. He had intended to start on the following day, but, understanding that I designed to preach to them at their village, he had put off his departure a day longer. The observance of the Sabbath was again enjoined. He said he had been

talking to his people upon the subject; and on his inquiring how he should recollect when it returned, I advised him to cut a notch on a stick each day, and to make a longer one for the Sabbath.

On the 24th of October, afternoon worship was held at the bark hut of Mussequagee, where our audience was larger and more attentive than usual. The little house being too small for our accommodation, we sat outside in front. Several of the Indian part of our family, who could not well understand English, had followed from our house on foot, a distance of five miles. Just as our worship commenced, two traders came up hallooing, as is customary among the Indians on approaching each other. We had reason to fear a serious interruption to the attention of the audience, but, on reminding them that no other business was of equal importance with that in which we were engaged, all remained orderly. On the evening of that day several of the neighbouring Indians attended our special meeting for prayer and religious conversation, which took place soon after evening prayers in the family. The conclusion of these exercises was pretty late in the evening, when, being not a little fatigued with the duties of the day, I was preparing to retire; but the feelings of some of the young men in our employ, and the zeal of the missionaries, induced them to come into my room to spend another hour or two in religious conversation. At this time, four young men appeared to be seriously inquiring what they should do to be saved, and a fifth seemed also to mourn over his sins. Such a season of serious religious concern had not before been witnessed in the mission.

Scarcely a day passed in which Indians did not visit us, though not often on the subject of religion. On the 26th, two companies of Ottawas were with us, from a distance of one or two hundred miles. On the next day, when a family of the same tribe were about to leave our vicinity, a young woman of their company requested to remain with us, "that she might hear preaching and learn our religion." She was placed among our other Indian girls, to receive instruction in labour, as well as in more important matters.

On the 28th, Cheekah came five miles, to converse on the subject of religion. After sitting some time in a pensive mood, she introduced conversation by asking "when it would be *prayer day*." (Sabbath.) She said she was concerned for the salvation of her soul, desired to forsake sin and to be holy; she had been in the habit of praying ever since we had commenced preaching to them in their village the preceding summer. She believed that her brother and eldest son were both

serious. On the following Sabbath she came on foot to our house to worship, and brought with her three of her children. To us, who had so long mourned over the depravity of the people of our charge, these incidents, which would have appeared of small import in some other places, were deeply interesting.

About this time the institution was visited by the second special commissioner appointed by Government to examine and report the condition of our affairs. This commissioner was John L. Leib, Esq., of Detroit. He was accompanied by Col. Godfroy, (a Catholic,) of the same place, who, having some knowledge of the Indian language, had been appointed as a suitable person to aid the commissioner in his inquiries. They spent three days with us, and departed from our house on the 2d of November, 1824. The following is an extract from Mr. Leib's report to Governour Cass:

“ TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOUR CASS :

“ SIR : I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency, that, agreeably to your appointment and instructions, I left Detroit the 22d ultimo, accompanied by Col. Godfroy, for the establishment made by the Baptist Missionary Society, upon the river St. Joseph's, to which society is confided the expenditures of certain funds appropriated by the treaty of Chicago for agricultural purposes among the Ottawa and Putawatomie Indians, and beg leave to report the following, as the result of my examinations into the situation and prospects of the establishment :

“ I arrived there early on Sunday morning, of the 31st of October ; and my appearance being unexpected, every thing, it is presumed, was found in its current state—no previous preparations having been made to give a better face to the affairs of the establishment than its ordinary aspect. Every member of the institution being on this day engaged in devotional exercises, I could not proceed, until the next, in my intended examination, which was commenced with the school. It is composed of sixty-three scholars, of both sexes, of various ages, from childhood to manhood. The letter marked A, hereto annexed, exhibits their ages, sexes, &c., and the time when they severally entered the institution.

“ The arrangements of this school, its order, and the improvement of its pupils, excited in me delightful sensations. To behold, at the distance of nearly two hundred miles from the last habitation of civilized man, an institution arising out of the wilderness, exhibiting without cultivated fields, and smiling within with cheerful contented countenances—with order and

an admirable economy—opening its portals to the rude children of the forest, and inviting them to enter, and be made acquainted with the benefits resulting from domestic life—with letters, which enlarge the sphere of human happiness and knowledge—with agriculture, which dispels all fears of a precarious subsistence—and, above all, with the Christian religion, which ensures to those who observe its commandments interminable happiness, is a spectacle consoling to humanity, and in the highest degree praiseworthy in the founders of it, and deserving of the fostering care of a benevolent and enlightened Government.

“ I examined separately, with few exceptions, every pupil, both in and out of school, and found them not only satisfied, but contented and happy ; and was as greatly surprised at the distinctness with which they pronounced English words as with their general improvement. The table marked A, before referred to, will indicate the various stages of their advancement in education.

“ The bugle is sounded at four o'clock in the morning, when persons of every description repair to the school house, where the business of the day is commenced with religious exercises ; after which they disperse to their various avocations until breakfast, which is generally prepared a little after sunrise. Besides the Rev. Mr. McCoy, the superintendent, and his wife, an amiable and excellent woman, there are three male and one female teachers, all of whom, from a sense of their missionary obligations, devote themselves, without remuneration, to the diversified labours of the institution ; and one of them, Robert Simerwell, is, moreover, a blacksmith. There are six men engaged in their agricultural operations, improving buildings, procuring fire-wood, &c. There are also five Indian women, who serve as domestics, one of whom takes care of several of the Indian children. The boys and girls are in separate classes. The latter are under the tuition of Miss Goodridge, a lady well qualified for so arduous an undertaking ; and which is manifested by the improvement of the scholars, their great propriety of manners and neatness of dress, but, above all, by their attachment to her. The male teachers are also ardently and unremittingly employed in instructing the boys committed to their charge ; in short, I never remember to have witnessed as much order in a primary school, in which children of all ages were mingled together, as in this. Two of the boys are learning, as apprentices, the trade of a blacksmith ; and the others, who are large enough, are occasionally occupied on the farm. All the girls, except three or four who are very young, can spin, knit, and

sew, and go through all the gradations of domestic service, with as much skill and facility as their fairer sisters of more cultivated life. Two of them weave plain cloth; and two hundred and ninety-four yards of this fabric have been manufactured in the loom of this institution since February last. Noaquett, or Luther Rice, and Anthony Rollo, have made such proficiency in the English language as to enable them to interpret between the missionaries and the Indians; and even religious discourses have been explained to their red brethren, in a manner highly creditable to the boys, and satisfactory to the missionaries. Luther Rice, who is not yet fifteen years of age, when he first entered this institution, was wild from the woods, acquainted with no language but his native Indian. He is a very promising lad, making rapid improvements in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and exhibiting an inquisitive mind, and a strong desire for the acquisition of knowledge.

“There is a field of fifty acres of cleared land, surrounded by a good substantial fence, forty-four of which was appropriated for Indian corn the past season, five for oats, and one for potatoes. The corn yielded sixteen hundred bushels. One hundred and fifty bushels of oats, and four hundred of potatoes, were also the products of this fifty-acre field. There are other smaller fields cleared, and enclosed by like substantial fences, comprising, in the whole, upwards of forty acres. One hundred and fifty bushels of turnips and one thousand heads of cabbages were raised, besides peas, beets, and other vegetable productions for culinary purposes.

“The site on which the principal buildings are erected is judiciously chosen. In a more enlarged survey of the future prospects of this establishment, nurtured by a paternal Government, and aided by the personal sacrifices of benevolent missionaries, I beheld from this spot, consecrated to humanity and the highest offices of our nature, the melioration of the condition of this neglected portion of our species; redeemed from mental blindness, their eyes opened to “the ways of pleasantness,” and their steps directed in “the paths of peace.” I beheld a colony firmly settled, numerous, civilized, and happy, with every attendant blessing flowing from a well-regulated, industrious, and religious community. I beheld also the same paternal Government rejoicing in this successful experiment, exulting in the ample means it has afforded for its accomplishment, animated with a new and increased ardour, pushing institutions of a like nature deeper and deeper into the wilderness.

“By the annexed paper, marked C, your Excellency will be

informed of the number and kind of stock, as also of the various instruments of husbandry, and indeed a general enumeration of every species of property belonging to the establishment, with its estimated value.

“The tribes surrounding the establishment evidence a desire to avail themselves of the opportunity offered of making themselves acquainted with letters, and religious and agricultural instructions. The school might be enlarged beyond the limits of the present means to support it. A taste for agriculture is already shown, and several Indian families, among whom is a chief, are now settled in the neighbourhood, and, with the assistance of the missionary brethren, have commenced the improvement of selected pieces of land, which have been ploughed, and a few acres fenced, in a manner to resist the intrusions of all kinds of cattle. Two log cabins, with like assistance, have been erected; thus forming a nucleus, around which may be anticipated a gradually growing settlement. Indeed, I entertain little doubt, that, with proper care and protection, with conscientious agents to superintend and direct their operations, the Indians may be gathered into colonies. But this cannot be done but in places remote from white population, and unless all intercourse with traders be interdicted, and particularly with those unprincipled men who, disregarding all legal and moral restraints, debase them more and more, by introducing among them ardent spirits, the bane of this now unhappy people. The penalties for this offence cannot be rendered too severe, and the cupidity of these monsters should be repressed by a superadded punishment, which should render them infamous upon conviction.

“The United States and the people are under the most imperious obligations to preserve and protect the Indian, and, if possible, redeem him from his savage state. A strange and unaccountable apathy has hitherto prevailed on this subject; and while we behold the philanthropists of the United States enlisting the best feelings of the heart to aid in improving the condition of the negro, and generously expending their treasure in transporting him to climes and countries more congenial to his nature, the poor suffering child of the forest within our precincts attracts but occasional and partial notice.

“I feel assured that the hard fate of the Indian has rather been overlooked than disregarded. From the kindness of your Excellency's nature, I know that you would give efficacy, as far as you could give it, to any plan that would meliorate the condition of this neglected race. More McCoys and more mis-

sionary societies may be found, if funds were afforded them, to lend their aid with the same pious, unbought zeal, which planted this benevolent, orderly, and promising establishment on the St. Joseph's.

“The Indians' corn fields, as your Excellency well knows, are enclosed with fences consisting of one, or, at most, of two poles, fastened to small stakes with bark ties, about breast high from the ground, not at all calculated to keep out swine, or indeed any other unruly animal. Hence the Indian, hitherto, from the nature of his enclosures, has been prevented from raising hogs, the most prolific and useful, as regards subsistence, of all other domestic animals. I would, with great deference, suggest to your Excellency the certain advantages which would result to him, by making Carey (for this is the name of the establishment under consideration) a depot of hogs and other cattle, and distribute therefrom, among such settled Indians as would erect fences sufficiently strong to ensure the safety of their vegetable productions from the trespasses of predatory creatures. And a discretionary power should be vested in the superintendent at Carey, to distribute them according to the merits of the party claiming them; and the stock first furnished should be preserved until it should accumulate to an extent adequate to the supply of their wants. The necessary farming utensils, with suitable persons to direct agricultural operations, should be furnished from the same depot.

“I feel thoroughly convinced, that, with adequate means placed at their disposal, the exertions and sincere zeal of the missionaries would produce the most gratifying results. A fair experiment should, at all events, be made. Indeed, so fast are distresses accumulating upon the distressed Indian, from known and obvious causes, that the time is fast approaching when he will perish, unless provision of some kind be made to save him.

“I should have proceeded to Grand river, had I not learned that the contemplated establishment there had not as yet been effected. There can be no doubt that great pains have been taken to prejudice the Ottawas against any location at Grand river, under the direction of a *Protestant association*; and they have been made to say that a Catholic establishment would be welcomed. It can be easily conceived how this feeling has been produced; but it cannot exist long, inasmuch as a policy has been pursued by the superintendent at Carey, by which not only the salutary purposes contemplated by Government will be achieved without opposition, but a settlement courted. A temporary smithery, the most important of all concerns in

the view of the Indians, has been erected at the river Kekenmazoo, about midway between St. Joseph's and Grand rivers, at which much work has been done for the Ottawas, and some for the Putawatomies.

"The hands employed by the Indian Department have built for an Ottawa a considerable cabin; and, besides assisting others, have made coal for the smithery and hay for their cattle. The superintendent was about to repair to Grand river soon after I left St. Joseph's, with the purpose of erecting buildings thereat, suitable to the objects of the intended institution. No opposition was apprehended, as the benefits derived from the temporary smithery on Kekenmazoo, and the extensive usefulness of the establishment on the St. Joseph's, made many of the Ottawas desirous of a settlement for like purposes in their own neighbourhood.

"I have the honour to assure your Excellency of the sincere respect and unfeigned regard of your obedient servant,

"JOHN L. LEIB."

At our special evening conference meeting on the 6th of November, 1824, Ezekiel French and E. Clark, white men in our employ, related their religious exercises of mind, and satisfied us that they were believers in the Lord Jesus. On the following day, immediately after preaching, we prepared to go to the St. Joseph's river, a mile and a quarter, to administer the ordinance of baptism. Three large wagons and two saddle horses were loaded with part of our numerous family, the rest went on foot. One of our pupils and a hired man, both indisposed, and an old Indian, were the only persons who remained to keep the house. The vicinity of our place had been occupied by the Putawatomies from time immemorial. Formerly the tribe, then numerous, generally resided here, in one extensive settlement. Many had been buried on the shores of the St. Joseph's, and in the neighbourhood. These remarks are made as a clew to a better understanding of the following lines, which were sung at the water, before the administration of baptism, for which occasion they were prepared on the morning of that day:

Bless'd morn which saw the Lord arise

Victorious from the grave!

Bless'd morn which now salutes our eyes,

And shows his power to save!

Here long hath dwelt the wandering chief,

While thousands roamed around;

None sought the Lord, and no relief

From sin and death was found.

But lo! the Sun of Righteousness
Darts forth a gladd'ning ray
Through the dark clouds, which o'er the place
Spread gloom and wild dismay.

There sleeps the warrior on the shore,*
His war-club at his side.†
Lie still, red man, the war is o'er,
Which late your weapons dy'd.

Yes, our Emanuel, Prince of Peace,
Speaks, and the sinner hears;
There's smiling mercy in his face,
To dissipate our fears.

Let the dense forest all around,
Which heard the savage yell,
This news, that mercy here is found,
In joyful echoes tell.

“Tell the wild man beneath your shade,”
The news of pard'ning love,
Till thousands in this stream be laid,
Who in these deserts rove.

This was the first baptism administered in this river, or on the waters of Lake Michigan. A more suitable place could not have been desired, and there were many associations of thought, arising out of circumstances peculiar to the place, that heightened the interest of the exercises. The ground was lightly covered with snow, and we made a fire on the bank for our comfort. There, with a kind of native simplicity that was delightful, we praised the Lord who had taught our souls to love and to obey; but, most of all, that which made the place like Jacob's “house of God and gate of heaven,” was the deeply impressive and gracious presence of the Lord. Here were some hearts filled with joy, and others filled with grief for sin. Mr. Clark was not baptized until a subsequent day. Circumstances requiring the newly baptized person and some others to remain on the ground longer than the majority of the congregation, we again gathered around our fire and returned thanks to God for his mercies, and sung—

“Saviour, if of Zion city
I through grace a member am,
Let the world deride or pity,
I will glory in thy name.
Fading is the worldling's pleasure,
All his boasted pomp and show;
Solid joys and lasting treasure
None but Zion's children know,” &c.

* Referring to an adjacent Indian burying-ground.

† The weapons of the warrior are buried with him. The Putawatomies have been fierce and formidable in wars with the United States.

Some of the neighbouring Indians were present; most of them were at this time absent on their winter's hunt—a circumstance which we deeply regretted. At night we held religious exercises in the Indian language, for the benefit of those who could not understand English; after which, we spent some time in conversing with the penitent.

November the 8th. A little Indian girl of our family was very tender, and expressed great desire to become religious. On the following day she went to Miss Goodridge, and said that she and one of her associates desired to hear her converse on the subject of religion. The latter, in her artless manner, said that she was so much troubled on account of her sins, that she could scarcely sleep. After family prayers, we spent an hour in lecturing and other religious exercises. The deep solemnity and sorrow depicted in the countenances of some, and the humble transport exhibited by others, were deeply impressive. The note in the mission journal for that evening reads as follows: “About the time of making this note I hear Miss Goodridge in an adjoining room, talking and praying with a number of our Indian girls. Mrs. McCoy is on the other side of me, endeavouring to comfort some mourners; Mrs. Polke has a band around her in her room, engaged in a similar way; and Mr. Lykins and Mr. Simerwell are in our house of worship with a considerable company, talking and telling of the great things which the Lord hath done for them.”

November the 10th. Soon after evening prayers we again assembled, and heard Charles Polke and Jared Lykins tell of the goodness of God in leading them to repentance and to hope in the Redeemer; they were received as candidates for baptism. The following is an extract from the mission journal:

“November 11th. My two elder sons leave us for Washington City, to enter as students in the Columbian college. Three Indian children are taken into the school, making the number of scholars sixty-six. Scarcely an hour passes without religious conversation with a penitent sinner or a happy Christian. This evening a little Indian girl stood some time silent beside me where I was writing. At length I asked her, do you desire to be religious? She answered, yes. Do you try to be religious? Yes, sir. Do you think you will ever become a Christian? I am afraid not. What is the reason? I am so wicked. Do you pray? Yes, but there is nothing good in my prayers; there is nothing good within me; I never did any thing good, &c. Do you and your associates talk about religion? H—— and I do. How long have you felt concerned about it? Ever

since Miss Goodridge talked to us one night. Another little Indian girl stopped reading her hymn-book, to listen to our conversation, and hid her face and wept. An Indian boy is present. J——, do you desire to become a Christian? Yes, sir. Do you boys ever talk about religion? J—n and I do. What does J—n say? (J—n had lived a while in Detroit, and had been taught some Roman Catholic forms.) J—n says he wants to be religious, and he intends, when he shall have learned to read, to go to Detroit and there learn religion.

“After family prayers, J—— called on me again, with J—n in company, and sat down in silence beside me. Judging what their business was, I introduced conversation by reading to them, in the September number of the *Latter Day Luminary*, Mr. Dawson’s account of their penitent Charles, among the Cherokees; after which, in conversation with them, the boys wept freely. J—n said, I think *now* that I am not good enough to be saved; meaning that he had lost the hopes he had lately drawn from his Catholic forms. J—— said he knew he was wicked, and had sinned against God. While I conversed with them, my little son, C——, placed himself near us to hear, and when they retired I followed them to the door with my son. We all withdrew from the house, and, kneeling down, a petition specially for them was put up to God. The boys were much affected, and I said to myself, ‘How sweet and awful is the place!’

“November 12th, 1824. Our evening lecture for the benefit of the children was in both Putawatomie and English. Anthony, the young man brought by my sons from Fort Wayne in the preceding June, as heretofore noticed, and who had been kept some years from our school by his father’s Catholic prejudices, has become very uneasy, but clings with desperate tenacity to Catholic ceremonies. I say nothing to him in particular. He expresses great uneasiness of mind to others, and says he will go to Detroit as soon as practicable, to consult his priests, in the hope that he can by that means obtain happiness similar to that apparently enjoyed by others here. We trust that the Devil is too late in this business, and that Anthony has received wounds that can only be healed by the Balm of Gilead.

“Another Catholic, a young man employed by the Government to labour under our direction among the Ottawas, manifests great uneasiness of mind, speaks freely on the subject of his troubles, and appears to have a just sense of his sinful, lost, and helpless condition; says he can find no relief by praying; he cannot improve his condition; all is sinful, &c.

“Anthony’s anxiety becoming almost insupportable, he placed

himself near me for conversation, and spoke of his distress. He perceived others happy, he said, in the enjoyment of *their religion*, while he found no happiness in *his*. He had been good once, but he had lost it all. Formerly, when troubled about these things, he obtained relief by praying; now his prayers were not followed by relief. Still he was determined that he never would change his religion—no change ever should take place with him.

“He wept, and appeared to be almost distracted, seemed anxious to hear my conversation and advice, and yet listened with fear that he would be convinced of something wrong in what he termed ‘his religion.’ While he was deeply sensible that we were his friends, he endeavoured to cherish all the hatred for our religion that was possible for a prejudiced mind.”

Soon after this he gave very satisfactory evidence of a saving change of heart. His health declined, and he was not baptized. He abandoned all his Catholic forms and hopes, and died rejoicing in salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ, and in confident expectation of a blessed eternity.

It can easily be conceived that Indians qualified for missionary service would be more useful to their countrymen than white missionaries; hence we were exceedingly anxious to promote in them a spirit of Christian benevolence, and, in hopeful cases, to give a suitable direction to the mind in education.

On the 14th of November, we introduced into public worship hymns in the Indian language, sung to our common congregational tunes. The success of this experiment exceeded our expectations. The practice has been continued ever since, and with improving advantages. A note in the journal for this day reads as follows: “The spirit of religious inquiry among us increases. O, what a blessing it is to us to drink of the stream from the rock in the wilderness, and what encouragement to find the stream still rising.” On Monday, November 15th, Ezekiel Clark, Charles Polke, and Jared Lykins, were baptized. These were young white men, who had engaged to labour for us for the sake of wages, but who obtained a better reward. The celebration of the Lord’s supper on the following Sabbath was an interesting season.

Our smithery for the Ottawas, as before stated, was on the line between the Putawatomes and Ottawas. It became necessary for one of us to visit it, and Mr. Polke, who had been commissioned teacher for that station, was still absent. Mr. Lykins was on the eve of setting out for that place, when Gosa, an Ottawa, of Kekenmazoo, arrived with a message which had

been intrusted to him by an Ottawa of Grand river, earnestly requesting me to visit them. Gosa also brought us our *sixty-seventh* Indian scholar.

I regretted the necessity of leaving home at this time of religious interest in our family. But, taking our Putawatomie lad, Noaquett, for interpreter, I set out on the 24th of November, 1824, accompanied by Mr. Sawyer, who was our blacksmith, C. Mettez, labourer, and Gosa. Our horses swam across the St. Joseph's river, and the night we spent without a house. In the absence of our smith, the Indians had undertaken to work at the forge, and had fired and nearly burnt up the house. On the 27th, we encamped at Gun Lake, and on the following day had an interview with Naoqua Keshuck, an Ottawa chief, who was encamped, with his family and some others, on the opposite side of the lake. He said he had long desired to see me, and had sent the messenger to ascertain the cause of my delaying to visit them. He urged me to make a settlement at his village, at the rapids of Grand river, declaring that he and some others desired to adopt the habits of civilized life, and would be glad to avail themselves of our assistance. He was anxious for the establishment of a school for the benefit of the youth, and wished also to hear preaching. "I am an Indian," said he; "nevertheless I think of God, and of religion, and had we a preacher among us perhaps I could become good." While I informed him what we proposed to do for them, I was deeply affected with the fears he manifested that we, as he said other white men had often done, would deceive them. He desired me to commit to writing my proposals, which I did. He then arose and said, "In token of friendship I take hold of your hand. I take *fast* hold of it. God sees us take hold of each other's hands and will be witness against him that shall deceive."

We decamped on the following day, November 29th, and proceeded towards the rapids of Grand river. At twelve o'clock we were joined by Noonday, alias Naoqua Keshuck, Gosa having left us. That night I was violently attacked with dysentery, occasioned by the mode of living necessary on my journey. I usually carried medicines with me, but at this time happening to have none, the skill of both Noonday and myself was put in requisition in seeking vegetable remedies in the forest. I spent a night of great distress. With some abatement of pain I became able to sit on my horse the following day, but continued much indisposed during the remainder of the tour.

Two days later we reached Grand river, which it was necessary we should cross. Noonday had two canoes hid in the brush, smaller than I had ever before seen. He brought one on his shoulder, and, placing it in the river, directed me to lie down in it, as in a sitting posture there would be danger of capsizing. When I was thus adjusted, he said he believed he could get me across, as I did not appear to be so heavy as a deer he had once taken over in the same canoe. I spent the night in camp. As far as indisposition admitted, and assisted by the chief, I made examinations on horseback, for the purpose of selecting a site for our missionary station. Having marked out a place, and given the chief some advice in relation to buildings and fields, which he desired to make, on the 2d of December, in a rain which continued all day, sometimes mingled with snow, I set out for home.

The site selected was about thirty or forty miles lower down Grand river than the one fixed upon two years before by the United States' commissioner. I preferred the selection which I had made on various accounts. In making it, I acted upon my own responsibility, and I lost no time in requesting Governor Cass to confirm the location; which he did, and it was afterwards approved by the Secretary of War.

Many obstacles had, from the first, opposed the formation of an establishment at this place; the first of importance was the failure of the teacher, and the second was the insidious attempt of the man we had employed in business to supplant us; and, with our onerous cares at Carey, we should probably have abandoned it, had not the provisions for a school, &c., at this place grown out of our efforts at the Chicago treaty. Another inducement to perseverance was, that by a connection of the two stations, under the same superintendency, our means of support might be enlarged.

The Ottawas, as we have elsewhere stated, being dissatisfied with the treaty of Chicago, malicious white men endeavoured to persuade them that our object was to inveigle them into a confirmation of that treaty. They were told that we were not seeking *their* welfare, but that for the education of their children and our other services we would retain a portion of their annuity; that their children intrusted to our care would be enslaved, that their burying places would be violated, &c. A fruitful source of these calumnies, and of our most formidable difficulties, was the hostility of the Catholic French, or rather Canadians, who were almost the only white people with whom these Indians had had much acquaintance. One of them at the

treaty at Chicago had the hardihood to endeavour to supplant us in relation to the station on the St. Joseph's,* and they had constantly been endeavouring to acquire the occupancy of the station among the Ottawas; of this further evidence will be seen in an official report of the agent appointed by Government to inspect missionary stations. Again, these Indians had fought under the British flag, and they considered themselves still in the British interest; hence were occasioned causeless jealousies and fears, which were fostered by designing white men. The distance from Carey, (being more than a hundred miles,) in connection with our multifarious labours, had prevented us from speedily overcoming these prejudices. When I visited them in 1823, I could not obtain a meeting in council, and Mr. Polke met with the same reception in May of the following year.

We had located the smithery for them temporarily on Kekenmazoo, and on the same half way ground had erected a building for Gosa. Gradually we secured their esteem, so that at the time of which we speak, three villages, embracing nine chiefs, invited us to settle among them. Had the number of missionaries enabled us to improve our acquaintance with them faster, the present point would have been sooner attained; or had the first missionary appointed teacher by Government gone promptly to work, they would have been kept free from prejudices.

Cold and disagreeable as was the day on which we left Grand river on our return, and severe as was my indisposition, I was urged by Noonday to go considerably out of my way, through the wilderness without a road, to see a salt spring. Next, amidst a perpetual fall of either rain or snow, we must be shown where the old man had lately killed three deer; for our information, the position of both the hunter and the game was pointed out, and the bleating of the victims imitated—all which would have been more interesting in pleasant weather and in better health. He afterwards took us to a bed of gypsum. A small stream of water having washed it, and produced an unevenness similar to that made on salt banks by animals, our guide said it was supposed that the spirits fed there. Particularly anxious to show himself kind, he informed me that he had concealed a kettle in the woods while he was on his winter's hunt, which he would allow our men to use when they should commence the erection of buildings, &c. Indians have no idea of measurement, and the size of this vessel was de-

* See page 114.

scribed by saying it would contain in cooking, six ducks, or three racoons. He gave me the parting hand with great apparent affection, saying, "If God permit us to live, we shall see each other again."

Having no grain or hay, and grazing at that season being very poor, our horses suffered severely. Pretty late in the night of December 4th, after a very disagreeable day, I arrived at Gosa's, very much fatigued on account of my continued sickness. I urged Gosa to abandon ardent spirits, and among other things I stated that with the natural industry of himself and wife they would soon become very comfortably situated. He jestingly replied, that he had left off drinking at one time for some months, and that he became poorer every day. I told him that I had used tobacco seven years, and after becoming very fond of it had abandoned it, because I deemed it unmanly not to have the mastery of myself. He said, the whiskey had not the mastery of him, and, to convince me, he would forbear drinking any length of time that I would fix. Leaving the matter to himself, he said he would abstain for three years, and desired me to write the pledge and keep it, with his signature affixed. His fidelity far exceeded my expectation. He was rarely, if ever, disguised with liquor during the three years, though the habit subsequently increased upon him.

I employed Gosa to assist our blacksmith and Frenchman in taking our smith's tools from their present location to the one I had selected at the rapids of Grand river. The attempt, however, failed, on account of ice in the waters which they were required to navigate. On the 6th of December we left camp before day, in order to reach our home; which we did, after swimming our famished horses across the St. Joseph's river.

On the 7th, we received a communication from Colonel McKenney, of the Department of Indian Affairs, at Washington, acknowledging the receipt of our annual report. He said "the prosperous condition of the school at Carey is very gratifying," &c.

The board not having found it convenient in their prints to take so much notice of Indian colonization as I had hoped for when in Washington, and deeming it, myself, one of vital importance in our operations, at the request of Mr. Meehan, editor of the *Columbian Star*, I forwarded a communication in its support, and regretted that I had not time oftener to appear before the public in favour of this benevolent object.

The religious excitement in our family continued. On the 12th of December Simeon French, another of our hired white

men, was baptized, and the Catholic Frenchman, before spoken of, remained much agitated. About this time Mr. Polke arrived with a drove of hogs, intended for our next year's consumption. Scarcely had we felt the satisfaction of Mr. Polke's arrival, after an absence of nearly four months, before we realized the pain of a separation from Mr. Lykins; he left us on the 14th of December, with the expectation of being absent nine months or a year. Domestic afflictions in his father's family induced him to obey a parental call, which indeed was too urgent to be resisted. We needed the services of all our missionaries, and more than all, and lamented the necessity which weakened our force. I accompanied him a little way, in order that our adieus might be alone, where we might indulge our mutual sympathies, without being reproached with childishness. On the 17th, our blacksmith, William Sawyer, with two labourers for the Ottawas, left Carey, to improve the station which we had recently selected on Grand river.

Business and cares crowded upon us so much, that, although our religious exercises on Sabbaths and other days had not been neglected, we had not usually enjoyed them so well as previously; but the 26th was another very comfortable Sabbath. During worship, besides many others, one of our pupils, a sensible young man, who, after a long absence, had just returned, was deeply affected. On the following Thursday he gave a satisfactory account of his having experienced a work of saving grace in his soul. This was the first conversion which, so far as we knew, had taken place among our Indian *pupils*, the other Indians whom we had baptized not having been members of our family. Noaquett, our interpreter, also showed signs of repentance. "I once thought," said he, "that I was not wicked, but since I have heard you talk so much, and have listened to the conversation of these young men who have lately been baptized, I feel that I am a sinner, and have a sinful heart, and I am sometimes in great trouble on account of my sins. I once thought well of the French [Catholic] religion, but I now think otherwise. They kneel and pray, but I believe they say over their prayers as one would recite a lesson committed to memory. I believe there is nothing of it here," laying his hand on his breast; "and, on rising from their knees, they indulge in all common vices."

Wednesday, January the 12th, was a happy day with us, when our hearts were rejoiced to hear some declare what God had done for their souls. On this day we baptized one of our female Indian pupils, Henry Reeder, our blacksmith, and J. H.

George, an elderly German employed as a cook, each of whom had given a satisfactory account of a work of grace on the heart. The following appears in the mission journals: "This day we have esteemed the most blessed that we have experienced since we came into the wilderness." We sung the following lines, as expressive of our feelings:

Hail, exalted mighty Saviour!
 Push thy glorious conquests on,
 Help us, who enjoy thy favour,
 Sing the victories thou hast won.
 We would praise thee,
 For what sovereign grace hath done.

E'en in this benighted nation
 Smiling mercy cheers the soul;
 Here the waters of salvation,
 Softly murmuring, onward roll.
 Let thy praises
 Soon be spread from pole to pole.

Mingling here in sweet connection,
 Taught to speak with divers tongues—
 Not less different in complexion,
 Yet harmonious in our songs:
 Sweetly praising
 Jesus, though with stammering tongues.

Help us, Lord, thy footsteps tracing,
 Steadily to keep the road;
 Gladly thy commands embracing,
 Pressing towards thy blest abode.
 Come ye with us
 Mourners, we are going to God.

The following day continued to us rich blessings. Devotional exercises had become the chief and almost only business of the establishment. Three of our male Indian pupils, who had gladdened our hearts by their artless accounts, in broken English, of their conversion, were baptized, under circumstances unusually interesting. One of the missionaries wrote in the journal: "I never before felt so sensibly that the gracious presence of God would convert any place on earth into a kind of heaven. It seems that a celestial atmosphere may descend to earth, and may be breathed and enjoyed even in this literal wilderness." The father of one of our pupils who was baptized on this day was a Catholic Frenchman. The lad, after relating to us his Christian experience, had expressed an inclination to defer baptism until he could ask his father's consent—a measure of which we did not disapprove. Subsequently, and before he could hear from his father, he desired us to baptize him, expressing a strong inclination to accompany into the water an associate

to whom he was much attached. The day before that on which he was baptized, a lad of about the same age, or something older, also the son of a Catholic by an Indian woman, came to our house, and remained until the evening of the second day. He said he had been sent thither by his father, to prevent the baptism of the convert above mentioned. This Catholic youth was permitted free access to the company of our Indian youths, as he had been on former visits, and he appeared faithful to his unhallowed trust. He endeavoured, by sneers and all that he could say among them, to induce them to decline baptism. Some of his remarks were very cutting to our young converts, but they all remained firm. Two days later a Catholic trader called at our house and complained of the baptism of the Catholic lad alluded to. We found it easy to silence his lips, but had no hope that we had changed his heart.

The journals record the 16th of January, 1825, as "the most sweet, solemn, blessed sacramental occasion that had been realized by the missionaries." The satisfaction of sitting down to the communion table with Indian youths whom we had gathered from among the ruins of savage life, was indeed like an Elijah's meal, served up in the wilderness by an angel of God. Our meetings for conversation, prayer, and praise, were frequent; and we had, pretty soon after the commencement of this revival, introduced special ones, for the benefit of such as were inquiring what they should do to be saved. They were not held in our place of public worship, and all who chose were permitted to attend. The meeting on this sacramental day was more fully attended than usual. Two others of our Indian lads satisfied us of their conversion; one of them becoming favoured with very comfortable evidence that his sins had been forgiven, and feeling anxious to talk about the Lord Jesus, and diffident in our presence, retired, and communicated the news of salvation to a company of his school-fellows, one of whom, a boy, came in and informed us, in his broken English, "N— been down yonder talking to de boys; he say he feel very well." He was sent for, and found to be in a joyous frame of mind. "I want to talk," said he; "I don't care if de house full of people. I feel happy; I never feel so happy before. . . ." He described the sensation of mind, on first obtaining a hope, as follows: "My heart seem all de time to go up' to God, and whenever I walk I think God see me, and sometimes seem like he come very close."

The father of the other lad was a Catholic Frenchman. After the youth had become anxious for the salvation of his

soul, he conferred with us, and wrote to his father, asking permission to be baptized if we should deem him worthy. He had not, however, patience to wait for an answer from his father, who resided a hundred miles off. On Monday, January 17th, the mercury standing at only ten degrees above zero, we repaired a sixth time to the river, and baptized three of our male and one of our female Indian youths.

About this time our Indian converts were in the habit of uniting, two or three, or more, in private prayer; sometimes they would invite their fellows, who had not experienced religion, to accompany them. This was particularly gratifying to the pilgrim missionaries. "O, how delightful it is," said they, "to think of these poor red youths thus bending on the frozen earth and snow, sheltered from human sight by the sable curtain of night, and in the very forests in which they lately roamed like beasts, now imploring the mercy of God on themselves and associates and kindred!"

They also held evening prayer meetings among themselves. On these occasions one who was most competent would read and expound the Scriptures to such as could not understand English. We had, as before stated, taken into our family a respectable Putawatomie woman, who assisted in taking care of some of our smaller pupils, and who, being extensively known and respected among her people, was of great advantage in correcting any dissatisfaction they might feel in relation to our treatment of their children. She, too, after coming to reside with us, had been led to seek the salvation of her soul, and on the 20th of January she was baptized, together with a Putawatomie boy, both of whom gave a very satisfactory account of their being adopted into the family of heaven. On the 25th, another of our male Indian pupils was baptized.

While we were greatly favoured with religious enjoyment, and employed all the time in religious exercises that a due regard to our necessities allowed, we were compelled to be burdened with many secular cares. Sensible that the temporal condition of the people of our charge ought not to be overlooked, if we would hope for extensive and lasting religious improvement among them as a nation, our favourite scheme of a colony in the West bore with constant weight upon our minds. It was the 13th of January before we received the annual message of Mr. Monroe, to Congress. We were exceedingly gratified to find in this document a reference to the subject of colonizing in accordance with our wishes. We copied the part containing it into our journal, as an important historic fact, and

one upon which we, and others who should come after us, might look back with peculiar satisfaction. The following is an extract from the message:

“The condition of the aborigines within our limits, and especially of those within the limits of any of the States, merits particular attention. Experience has shown that unless the tribes be civilized they can never be incorporated into our system, in any form whatever. It has likewise shown that in the regular augmentation of our population, with the extension of our settlements, their situation will become deplorable, if their existence is not menaced. Some well digested plan, which will rescue them from such calamities, is due to their rights, to the rights of humanity, and to the honour of the nation. Their civilization is indispensable to their safety. Difficulties of the most serious character present themselves to the attainment of this very desirable result on the territory on which they now reside. Between the limits of our present States and Territories, and the Rocky mountains and Mexico, there is a vast territory to which they might be invited, with inducements which might be successful. It is thought if that territory should be divided into districts, by previous agreement with the tribes now residing there, and civil government be established there in each, with schools for every branch of instruction in literature and the arts of civilized life, that all the tribes now within our limits might be gradually drawn there. It is doubted whether any other plan would be more likely to succeed.”

On the 17th of December, 1824, in the same Congress to which the aforementioned message had been communicated, Mr. Conway, Delegate from the Territory of Arkansas, offered in the House of Representatives the following resolution, which was adopted: “*Resolved*, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of organizing all the territory of the United States lying west of the State of Missouri and Territories of Arkansas and Michigan into a separate territory, to be occupied exclusively by Indians, and of authorizing the President of the United States to adopt such measures as he may think best, to colonize all the Indians of the present States and Territories permanently within the same.”

Of the President’s message from which the foregoing extract is made, and of the bill before Congress which grew out of the above resolution, we had the honour to receive twenty copies, forwarded to us from the Department of Indian Affairs

By the unnecessary extent of territory proposed for the Indi-

an colony by the foregoing resolution, it will be perceived that either very crude notions of the subject existed at that time, or that principles were involved not necessary to the welfare of the Indians. Nevertheless, the favourable notice of the subject by the President of the United States, and the early attention to it by Congress, were very gratifying indications of a successful issue.

It became necessary for me to make a journey to Ohio, which was commenced on the 27th of January, and terminated on the 19th of February. This journey, lying through a wilderness of nearly two hundred miles, at an inclement season of the year, was attended with the usual privations. Within this time two more Indian scholars had been added to our family, which increased the number to seventy.

When, on the 17th of December, 1824, our blacksmith and two labourers left Carey to improve the Thomas station, we regretted that they should, at that interesting time, be separated from their religious associates, and be placed in the wilderness, where they could not enjoy the advantages of religious instruction. In February, 1825, we were gratified to learn from the smith, who visited us on business, that much seriousness had attended the little company in the desert. They had daily united in prayers, the smith professed to have received the spirit of adoption, and the other two were serious. The company had suffered for want of provision; on hearing of which Mr. Polke sent them supplies, on horseback. On the 27th of February the smith and a Putawatomie young man, resident in our family, were baptized.

CHAPTER X.

Narrow escape from a murderer. Improving condition of the Ottawas. Improvements of the Putawatomies. Baptisms. Paralyzing effects of ardent spirits. Preparation of Indian youths for superior usefulness. They enter the Baptist Theological Institution at Hamilton, New-York. Indian festival. Resignation of missionaries. Condition of the school, &c. Arrival of missionaries. Efforts to promote colonization. Effects of intemperance. Cattle furnished the Ottawas. Measures of the board in reference to missionaries.

On the 10th of March, 1825, Mr Polke, with the blacksmith, an Indian apprentice to the blacksmith's business, and a labourer, set out in a periogue for our station on Grand river. On the

way he availed himself of the assistance of our Ottawa friend, Gosa. He found a majority of the Ottawas well disposed towards the mission, and the prospects of its usefulness very pleasing. At the same time, some malicious persons had resolved on breaking up the establishment. From time immemorial the rapids of Grand river had been a place of great resort in the spring, on account of the facility with which fish could be taken; and, in accordance with this custom, many were now encamped there. A council having been proposed, the opposers of the mission delayed, with the design that Mr. Polke should leave for the St. Joseph's before it should be convened. These men had brought whiskey on the ground, to aid in making disturbance. All, however, appeared friendly towards Mr. Polke, except one, who as we afterwards learned, had previously meditated mischief. Mr. Polke, in his journal, says: "I had been requested by some of the Indians to remain at the place another day, in the hope of being able to have a council. I was undecided, when a circumstance occurred which induced me to remain, and which circumstance evinced that life is in the hands of the Lord, and that 'not a single shaft can hit till the God of love sees fit.'

"Many Indians near our house were in a state of intoxication. The blacksmith, our apprentice, and Gosa, were on the margin of the river, while I was standing on the river bank, near our door, looking at some canoes of fishermen in the river, when more noise than usual occurred in an Indian camp near. At this instant the fishermen in the canoes, who could perceive what was going on in the camp, hallooed lustily to us on the bank. I could not understand them; but Gosa, who understood them, rushed up the river bank towards me. On turning my eyes towards the camp, I discovered an Indian running towards me with a gun in his hand. I apprehended that his intention was to shoot me, and I resolved that as he raised his gun to fire, I would endeavour to save myself by a sudden leap down the bank. He approached within about fifteen yards, when he abruptly halted to fire. In the attempt to raise his gun he was seized by Gosa. The fellow made a violent effort to accomplish his purpose. The Indian apprentice boy came to Gosa's assistance, and they disarmed the wicked man, who was taken away by some of the people of his camp."

About the 1st of December, previous to the time of which we have been speaking, an old Indian chief was detained at the mission house a few days by indisposition. Mr. Lykins and Mr. Simerwell were the only male missionaries at the establishment

at that time. They improved the opportunity of imparting religious instruction to the old man. In February he returned to our house, and immediately inquired for Mr. Lykins and Mr. Simerwell, saying, he desired to converse with them on the subject of religion. He had been made to hope in Christ, and gave an account of his religious exercises of mind so satisfactory that we gave him the right hand of fellowship. In his case it was deemed expedient to allow a little time before his baptism, for him to manifest "fruits meet for repentance." He was baptized on the 20th of March.

About ninety persons now daily fed at our table. To procure the means of support for so many persons, especially at a distance so remote from the settlements of civilized man, occasioned no little labour and anxiety. Early in November the board had been informed that we should find it difficult to get through the winter without some pecuniary assistance. It was the 10th of March following before we received an answer to this communication, and then we were only authorized to draw for an allowance which passed to us through their hands from Government, on account of buildings erected at Carey. These buildings had been produced by the personal exertions of the missionaries, without taking any thing therefor from the actual funds of the board; and having reported them according to a regulation of the Department of Indian Affairs, we were allowed two-thirds of the cost of their erection. It was this sum only which the board at this time made available to us.

On the 17th of March, 1825, Mr. Simerwell and Miss F. Goodridge, two of our missionaries, were united in marriage. On the 21st of April Mrs. Polke set out for Indiana. Her journey led her about two hundred miles through a wilderness, in which Mr. Polke accompanied her two days, when she proceeded with suitable company. Mr. Polke was returning alone, and being obliged to encamp in the wilderness one night, his horse escaped, and left him to prosecute his journey on foot. This he found fatiguing, being under the necessity of carrying his saddle and other travelling apparatus; but he chose to endure the fatigue, rather than, by leaving it in the wilderness, to run the risk of losing it.

A Putawatmie southwest of us, notorious for the many murders he had committed, had rendered himself so odious to his people, that on the occurrence of the last crime, which was the murder of an Ottawa, they resolved to surrender him to that tribe, to be put to death according to Indian custom of retaliation. On the 26th of April, a company of Ottawas called at our house,

and intimated their intention to proceed to the neighbourhood of the offender, and despatch him. We discovered at once that angry feelings between the two tribes would probably thus be engendered, notwithstanding the willingness manifested by the Putawatomies to surrender the murderer, and that the loss of many more lives might be the result. We therefore dissuaded them from their purpose, and were gratified when they acquiesced in the measures of forbearance which we proposed. They then requested us to communicate to the Ottawas near Chicago, through Dr. Wolcott, United States' agent, their desire that every thing like hostility should be for the present postponed. They also requested us to write to Governour Cass on the subject, and obtain his counsel. This circumstance shows how easy it would be, in most instances, to prevent hostilities between the tribes, and also between the tribes and the citizens of the United States, by suitable advice from men in whom the Indians place confidence.

On the 17th of May, Mr. Polke returned from another visit to Grand river. He found the Indians friendly; many expressed regret that he had been insulted on a previous visit, and hoped nothing of the kind would again occur. Even the man who had made an attempt upon his life had since that time indicated a disposition to conciliate those connected with the mission. Mr. Polke also found a favourable attention to public religious exercises, which he had the happiness of performing while at the station. Our blacksmith and the two workmen for the Ottawas were labouring to great advantage for those people. Improvements in the erection of dwellings, in the making of fence, and in ploughing, were advancing. The Indians themselves were becoming animated with their prospects of better condition, and began to labour with their own hands much more than they had previously done. We stated to them that Government had placed under our control only two white men, to labour for them. These could do but little, compared with the amount of labour needed by the neighbourhood. They must therefore take hold themselves. If, for instance, they could not manage a plough and oxen themselves, let them furnish a man to work with one of the labourers, and by this means they would learn to manage the plough and oxen, and two ploughs instead of one could be kept constantly moving by the two labourers. To two families we had loaned milch cows, for their encouragement. These Ottawas also expressed a desire to avail themselves of the advantages of schools, and solicited the establishment of one among them as

soon as practicable, which we assured them should be done. Three children had been sent by them, from Grand river, to our school at Carey.

This had become a busy season. Our Putawatomes, on their return to our neighbourhood after their regular winter's ramble, or, as we more commonly say, *winter's hunt*, resolved to improve their condition, by making fields and houses, and by the raising of live stock. They sought for eligible situations for farms, and for implements with which to labour. In those things their applications to us for advice and assistance were almost incessant. We went with them to make locations, and to give advice in regard to the nature and extent of improvements which ought to be undertaken. Ploughs, hoes, and axes, were needed, far beyond what our smithery could furnish, and it was affecting to see them digging up the bushes with an axe instead of a grubbing hoe. Both men and women wrought in making improvements. For their encouragement, we sent our male Indian pupils to aid them, and sometimes our own hired white labourers. Our teams were also employed for them whenever they could be spared from our own farm.

Previous to this time, scarcely a rail for a fence was found among the Putawatomes. Often their small patches of corn were not enclosed at all; and, when enclosed, it was with a temporary fence of brush, or one formed by inserting stakes in the earth, to which a tier or two of poles were tied horizontally with strings of bark. Now they commenced to make rails at different places, and to build their houses of wood instead of bark. Topenebe, the principal chief of the Putawatomes, and almost all the people of his settlement, removed from the north side of St. Joseph's river, and settled near us on the south. More than thirty families in our neighbourhood were improving more or less rapidly, and were now enabled to keep live stock, which, while their fields were unfenced, it was useless to attempt.

As the number of our family increased, it was necessary to enlarge our means of support. We had now upwards of two hundred acres, most of it pasture land, enclosed by good fence; thirty acres were planted in corn, and a few acres in culinary vegetables. We knew that, as the rapid approach of the white settlements would soon compel the Indians to recede, our residence there could not be permanent; and, taught by necessity to exert our utmost to support the mission, we employed all the means within our power to enhance the real value of the farm, for which we expected to be paid by the Government of the

United States, on our removal. We early planted peach seed, and now had an orchard of two or three hundred trees. By searching in the brush, about deserted Indian villages and trading houses, we found here and there a few young apple trees, which perhaps had grown from seed accidentally cast; these we transplanted, and ultimately had nearly one hundred apple trees growing. We were also at this time erecting a flouring mill, to operate by horse power, there being none within one hundred and ninety miles. We had made a small mill with materials obtained in our neighbourhood, which was turned by hand. One strong man at this constantly was able barely to make meal, of a poor quality, sufficient for bread, of Indian corn. Wheat flour could not be manufactured. A mill of similar construction was put into operation at Grand river.

About the 1st of June, 1825, we were favoured with the receipt, by our wagon from the white settlements, of sundry articles much needed at the establishment, among which were several boxes of clothing for our Indian pupils. About the same time, similar supplies arrived by way of Lake Michigan. These articles, which were forwarded by benevolent persons in different parts of the United States, were favours which preferred strong claims on our gratitude; and they were the more highly esteemed by us on account of the heavy charge of providing for the comfort of so large a family. We were also sometimes pleased and affected to overhear our Indian converts, in their prayer meetings held among themselves, returning thanks to God for giving them favour with good people at a distance, and whose faces they had never seen, and invoking on them the benediction of Heaven.

On the Lord's day, June 12th, Joseph Bay, another of our hired white men, was baptized; and on the Tuesday following we baptized an Indian woman resident in the neighbourhood. Her husband at first opposed her pretensions to religion; and when she first intimated a desire to be baptized, he declared that the act should cause their separation. She very prudently forbore any thing that would provoke his dislike to religion, and not many weeks elapsed before he cheerfully consented that she might be baptized. He was severely indisposed at the time, and expressed a strong desire to attend the baptism of his wife. We conveyed him to the river in a carriage, where he witnessed the administration of the ordinance as he lay in his bed.

This summer we harvested about three hundred bushels of wheat, and no longer felt fears of suffering for bread. Favoured

with the conversion of many young men whom we had employed at different times as labourers, and still more highly favoured with the conversion to godliness of many of our pupils and some other Indians—with our school prosperous, and our Indian neighbours animated by the encouragement we had given them, and becoming industrious, erecting dwellings, making fields, and raising live stock—with their numbers near us increasing by new settlements; our mission appeared to be really prosperous; and with our work prospering in our hands by the blessing of God, we felt ourselves more than repaid for all our toils and sufferings. We were, however, continually haunted with the painful reflection that the Indians would soon be driven from this place by the ingress of white population.

Our location was so remote from the settlements of white people when we first made it, and the inconveniences of reaching and residing at it so great, that we hoped, at that time, to be able to push forward the work of civilization to a state not much liable to injury by the proximity of white population, before we should be crowded by it. In this we were disappointed. The Indian title to land had been extinguished on the north of the St. Joseph's river, to a distance of not more than one mile from us. Our settlement in that country attracted the notice of people who are fond of being on the frontiers of civilization, and our road led them to our neighbourhood. The first was a man from Indiana, who came on foot and alone to our house; he made a settlement as near as the claims of the Indians would allow, and for some time after his arrival was much dependant on us for subsistence. Having, however, erected for himself a little hut on the north bank of the St. Joseph's, and laid in a small stock of bread and meat, he procured a barrel of whiskey, and commenced retailing it to the Indians, without regard to our entreaties to desist.

It was in this same memorable spring of 1825, when our business, both of a religious and of a secular character, at the institution and in the neighbourhood, was prospering pleasingly, that the evil practice of vending liquor to the Indians increased to an alarming degree. Some of our Indian converts were ensnared, and became intoxicated. Our religious meetings were interrupted; our Indian neighbours were induced to neglect their fields and other improvements, which they had begun under favourable circumstances; and sometimes even the clothing and bedding of our pupils would be purloined by neighbouring Indians, and exchanged at these whiskey houses for ardent spirits.

We increased our efforts to oppose the growing evil. We not only prayed and preached, reasoned and remonstrated, but we exerted all the authority among the Indians that we could venture to exercise. With the design of destroying their whiskey, I on one occasion went, with two young men of our family, to the new settlement formed near our place by Topenebe, the principal chief, and his party, where we found the inhabitants engaged in a horrid bacchanalian revel. After searching among them awhile, I found a keg of spirits, but I had scarcely taken hold on it before it was seized by the drinking Indians, and I was under the necessity of leaving it in their possession. On all occasions they would admit the reasonableness of our remonstrances, and would make fair promises of reformation, but, when tempted to drink, they had not fortitude to resist. For some months the struggle between the influence of the mission and the blighting effects of white settlements, which rapidly increased around us, was obstinate. But, to our great mortification and grief, we perceived the adversary of our hopes acquiring strength and ultimately getting the ascendancy.

These accumulating difficulties admonished us, in language not to be misunderstood, that it was necessary to urge by all possible means the colonizing of the Indians, in a country from which they could not be forced by a white population, and in which the state of society among them might become so much improved, before they would be pressed by people of clashing interests, or be dragged into the vortex of ruin by whiskey sellers, as to render their protection practicable.

As a measure preparatory to the success of the scheme of a colony, we deemed it our duty to endeavour to fit for enlarged usefulness some of our most hopeful Indian pupils. Nothing could be more evident than that in both civil and religious matters, Indians with suitable qualifications could be more useful than white men among their countrymen. Indian language being their mother tongue, and being by kindred identified with Indians, their opportunities of usefulness would surpass those of strangers. We were allowed the peculiar felicity of church-fellowship with a considerable number of our Indian pupils, and from among them we proposed to make a selection of some who appeared to possess the most promising talents, whom we would endeavour to qualify for superiour usefulness.

At that time we supposed that the Columbian College, in the city of Washington, and which was under the management of the same society which patronised our mission, partook so largely of the character of a missionary institution, that it would be ap-

propriate and convenient for our select Indian youths to complete their education there. Indeed, we supposed that the college concern would feel itself honoured by the presence of our Indian youths, and would esteem it a privilege to gratify us in this matter. Accordingly we wrote a lengthy letter on this subject to the Corresponding Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Staughton. Our views, hopes, and prospects, in relation to this matter, may be inferred from the following extracts from our letter:

“July 11, 1825.

“**REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:** I beg leave, respectfully, to solicit the attention of the board to a matter of more than ordinary interest to us.

“Of the natives who have united with our church by baptism, upon a hopeful profession of faith in Christ, seven male youths who belong to our school ought, we believe, to be allowed more than an ordinary education. Could not the board provide them a situation in the Columbian College? and could not one of them, after spending some time in your preparatory school, be allowed to learn the art of printing?

“Many considerations, enforced by actual observation, leave us no hope for the national salvation of the Indians, except in anticipation of an Indian colony in the West. For this we hope—we pray—we labour. Should a colony be established, Indians of piety and attainments qualifying them for usefulness in the different departments of the state, of the schools, and of the church, will be wanted to give tone to a rising community. So soon as practicable, the colony ought to be supplied with men of their own nation, capable of managing all their own business. This none will doubt. Our denomination is not prepared to send one single Indian thither capable, of filling the place of magistrate, capable of teaching a respectable school, and much less capable of defending from the pulpit the doctrines of the Gospel.

“Labour is bestowed upon ungodly youths, under some probability that those labours will be lost. We do not pray you to take such under your patronage. We will keep those knotty sticks here, and will smooth them as we can. But God has blessed us with seven hopeful Indian youths, who give evidence of genuine piety, and some of whom, at least, feel strong desires to be useful to their less fortunate countrymen, whose language they speak, and with whose manners and customs and wretchedness they are well acquainted. These youths we entreat you to take into the Columbian College, and to favour

with such advantages as your wisdom and goodness may prescribe. Should God smile on these efforts, the youths may, on the completion of their several courses, return with your prayers to the forests, and sound the jubilant trump to their despairing kindred.

“We feel a strong confidence that nothing more would be wanting than a representation of the case by the board, to induce the President of the United States to meet the whole expense of their situation in your institution, and possibly that of conveying them to it, out of the ten thousand dollars annual appropriation for purposes of Indian reform. We believe that the number being considerable, would attract greater attention from the Secretary of War, and excite more interest than if we were to offer you only one or two, and that on this account the aid that would be obtained in support of those students would be more than in proportion to their numbers. But, if *all* cannot obtain situations in your excellent institution, can you not make room for *some* of them? But, O, how can we separate them! To which of the seven must we say, *you cannot go*? My heart, my eyes are affected by this thought, and I persuade myself that a secret whisper says, Heaven will smile propitious upon this our humble petition to you.

“We need not say a word on the propriety of preparing *natives* for ministers, missionaries, school masters, civil officers, &c.; of this you are fully aware; but I entreat you to allow us to ask, have missionaries among the aborigines of our country ever been able to offer to their patrons a more acceptable remuneration for their deliberations, instructions, and expenditures, a more precious boon, than that which your servants now beg leave to send home to you from the missionary field, in the persons of these Indian youths? We venture, further, and ask when and where in any of the missionary fields on earth, did Providence exhibit stronger, more affecting, or more interesting claims on the philanthropy of a missionary society, than in this case upon yours? But, we correct the sentiment just now expressed; we will not say *we offer* them to you; they are your own pupils, fruit of your own labours, the gift of God. To us is reserved only the pleasure of reporting them ready to be promoted by your charities.

“We may be mistaken in relation to the state of the college as affording room for these Indian lads, yet we trust ‘there is room,’ and we feel a full conviction that their names would not disgrace your catalogue, or in any way detract from the character of your institution. The boys are willing and anxious to

go. We beg leave to tell you their names, and to state their ages, condition, &c. * * * * *

“We are sorry that these youths are not further advanced in their studies. Yet, considering the state in which they came to us, the time they have been with us, and the portion of that time which has been spent in manual labour, we are not ashamed of their acquirements.

“Were it our province to petition Government in behalf of these youths, we would call up to consideration the condition of the tribes to which they are related. The Cherokees and others in the South are in a manner a civilized people. They have been advancing in habits of civilized life more than thirty years. They have their mills, machinery, looms, farms, houses, wagons, ploughs, &c. But these tribes are almost wholly destitute of such things. It is with humble gratitude to our God, yet with boldness before men, that we say that these tribes have received their first impressions favourable to civilization since the commencement of this mission, and, even at this time, the number of houses of better materials than bark, the amount of fencing on farms, and the number of cattle and hogs, are exceedingly small. Not a spinning wheel or loom is owned by one of them, and, in a word, a large majority of them are as far from what they ought to be as any Indians were when the whites first set foot on the American shores, and even further. These tribes were engaged in the hostilities of the last war. They are generally poor and wretched to a proverb, and with slight exceptions their sufferings are daily increasing; consequently, their prejudices against the whites run high, aggravated by a thousand considerations. We suppose, therefore, that from the ideas which these facts naturally associate in the mind, our Government would be pleased with the opportunity of aiding these youths in the acquisition of useful knowledge, who may live to light up and cherish the lamp of existence of their expiring tribes.

“Until we shall be allowed the pleasure of hearing from the board, we shall aid the youths in their studies all that we possibly can, and this we shall do in the hope that before the beginning of the next year they will be under better instructors.

“We can offer no better apology for troubling you with a letter so long, than the deep solicitude we feel for the success of our application.

“Faithfully, your humble and obedient servant,

“ISAAC MCCOY.”

“Rev. Dr. Staughton, Corresponding Secretary.”

In order to present our story in relation to these Indian youths, to our readers, unbroken, we shall be obliged to leave behind many incidents which, in the order of time, claim priority.

On the 24th of October, 1825, we were informed by the Rev. Luther Rice that a committee of the board of missions had been appointed to wait on the Secretary of War, to solicit pecuniary aid for the support of the Indian youths in the Columbian College. From this circumstance we inferred that the board was favourable to our design of educating them in the higher branches. And in another letter, afterwards, Mr. Rice informed us that he thought some help might be obtained from Government. Nevertheless, fearing a disappointment ultimately, we endeavoured to find a place for the youths elsewhere, should they not be taken into that institution. On the 25th of November we wrote to the Rev. Daniel Hascall, a principal in the Baptist Theological Institution at Hamilton, New-York; Rev. J. Chaplain, D. D., President of Waterville College, Maine; Rev. Francis Wayland, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts, and Rev. S. H. Cone, of the city of New-York, inquiring for a place, and suing for favour for our Indian youths, in event that they should not be received into the Columbian College. From the Rev. D. Hascall, of Hamilton, New-York, I received an answer that five of our Indian youths could find places in the institution of that place, if we could not provide for them elsewhere.

Up to the 16th of January, 1826, we had heard nothing from the board officially, in reply to our pressing request of the preceding July. We attached so much importance to the education of these youths, that we conjectured others would view the subject somewhat in the same light, and that a place could be found for them somewhere, and therefore we had been preparing to take them abroad. We could not well abandon the undertaking, without great disappointment and discouragement to the Indians, and a considerable diminution of our influence. We were therefore resolved on proceeding in the scheme, believing that we should be able to obtain from Government some pecuniary aid towards their education.

We were destitute of funds to procure the necessary outfit for the journey to Washington, or to meet the expenses of travelling. We sent to Detroit for some money due us from Government for our salaries, but, it not being ready for delivery, were disappointed in its receipt. We were compelled, therefore, to start from home without money, in the hope of borrowing in the State of Ohio.

Gosa, our Ottawa friend, desired to accompany us, and I deemed it expedient to consent. Among the several motives which influenced me, one was that he might see how the boys would be situated, and might report to his people, to prevent any dissatisfaction, through the influence of mischievous white men. We resolved on taking the seven who had long been candidates, and all of whom were members of the Church. Through S. Hannah, Esq., of Fort Wayne, I had made arrangements for another to be placed in charge of a Presbyterian friend in New-Jersey, by the name of Holsey. I therefore took in company another young man of our family, who was not a professor of religion.

With these eight Indian youths and Gosa, I left Carey on the 16th of January, 1826. Want of means to enable us suitably to prepare, subjected us to a good deal of inconvenience. Some others from our place were going to Ohio, making our company, in all, fifteen. We were nine days getting through the wilderness, to Troy, Ohio. There was snow on the ground, and the weather exceedingly cold; the mercury on the last day sinking six degrees below zero. Here I stopped the young men, while tailors could prepare clothing for them. Horses, saddles, &c., had also, to some extent, to be obtained here. All this outfit I obtained upon credit. In the meantime I proceeded to Dayton, and borrowed of my friend, Mr. Phillips, money to bear the travelling expenses of our journey.

Anxiety, fatigue, and exposure, threw me into a fever, and for three days we had reason to fear that our enterprise would fail, on account of my indisposition. I was hardly able to sit upon my horse on the 13th of February, when we proceeded on our journey. On the ninth day following, as we passed Wheeling, Virginia, I met a letter from Mr. Rice, informing me that the board of missions had directed that we take the boys to what was denominated the Choctaw Academy, in the State of Kentucky. He stated that "this course would satisfy the board, but no other would." To have complied with these orders would have required us to retrace our steps through Ohio. I was unwilling to turn back, and the boys insisted that if I did not proceed I should take them back to Carey. I thought the board ought not to have made their decision without consulting the views of the missionaries relative to the eligibility of the location they had chosen for them. We wished well to the Choctaw Academy, which belonged to Colonel R. M. Johnson, but at the same time we did not believe that the opportunities to be enjoyed at that institution would be superiour to those of our

own. We therefore proceeded on our journey. Thirty-six miles further we found a letter from Dr. Staughton, still directing us to turn back to Kentucky; and in Hagerstown, Maryland, I received another letter from Mr. Rice, to the same effect.

I obtained board and lodgings for some of the young men in Cumberland, Maryland; while, with Gosa and Noaquett, I proceeded to Washington. It is due to the memory of Dr. Staughton, and to his son-in-law, the Rev. S. W. Lynd, who was also a member of the board, to say that they had strenuously opposed the measure of turning me back with my Indians to Kentucky.

My own two sons were at this time students in the Columbian College. Some members of the board having intimated that inconvenience might arise out of the circumstance of the admission of *Indians* into the college, the students, on hearing of it, unanimously joined in a petition to the faculty in favour of their admission. Understanding, afterwards, that *want of funds* might be the principal objection with the board to the admission of the boys, the students were preparing to make a subscription for the purpose of introducing at least one, two, or three of them. It was ascertained, however, that none could be admitted.

We obtained from Government the promise of one hundred dollars a year towards the support of each, seven hundred dollars annually for the whole; and I returned to Cumberland, rejoined the party I had left there, and conducted them across the country, a journey of eleven days, to Hamilton, New-York. Here we were welcomed by the Rev. N. Kendrick, D. D., President, and all others of the faculty, and by the students and the people of that neighbourhood.

The young men found places in this institution, and as the annual sum of one hundred dollars each, for their expenses, was too little, the deficiency was made up by the liberality of the Christian community which surrounded the institution. To the wants of the youths, those connected with the institution paid unremitting attention during several years that they were students, and gratitude to all concerned, especially to Dr. Kendrick and Mr. Hascall, are deeply impressed upon the missionaries, as well as upon the immediate recipients of their favours. No doubt, Heaven approved and will reward the kind attentions which these Indian boys received while at Hamilton. The expenses of this undertaking had not been incurred at the cost of the board.

Believing, as before mentioned, that Indians suitably qualified could render more service to their barbarous and wicked coun-

trymen than whites, we rejoiced that success had attended our efforts in relation to the young men of whom we have spoken. At the same time we deemed it important that some of the Indian females should also enjoy advantages not accessible at a missionary station in the wilderness, where all must receive attention alike. Under these impressions, we wrote the board of missions, November 21, 1825, on the subject of affording superior opportunities to two Indian females in the mission family, one of whom was pious. We asked in a direct manner nothing more of the board than their approbation thus to extend the opportunities of education of these females, provided we could do it without cost to the board. We argued that we hoped, ere long, to see the Indians permanently located in a country of their own, and under an independent Government. That high schools for the advantage of the males would be established, and that the present was a favourable opportunity for qualifying some females for the management of female academies. We at the same time requested the board to propose the plan of a female literary institution, and to petition the Government for its patronage. Matters of this kind would necessarily move on so slow, that were the board to enter upon it immediately, it was not probable that they would be in readiness to employ teachers before we should have some prepared for employment. We also brought the subject of female education to the consideration of several of our correspondents. But our designs were not much favoured, either by the board of missions or our correspondents. We did, however, find an opportunity of sending two of the female pupils, upon our own responsibilities, to a school in Ohio a few weeks.

We have always found it difficult to persuade our correspondents among the white people, that the Indians were naturally like all other human beings, and that the same means which were necessary to improve society among the whites, were necessary among the Indians.

If we would form a correct opinion of a people, we must notice small matters as well as great. We must contemplate them as they are at *home*. In the summer of 1825, I attended an Indian festival, which, according to custom, they accompanied with dancing. These festivals professedly partake of a religious character, but in reality it seems otherwise. Different festivals have appropriate names. The seasons for some occur regularly, but most of them are occasional, as circumstances are supposed to suggest or to require them. That which occurred at this time was one at which singular feats of legerdemain, such as

taking meat out of a boiling pot with their naked hand, drinking boiling hot broth, eating fire, &c., are attempted. Some ignorant whites who have mingled with Indians, have reported that the latter were very dexterous in these feats, but we have never seen any thing of the kind attempted among them that was not very clumsily performed.

On the present occasion, a little tobacco prepared for the pipe was placed in the centre of the hall, on the bottom of a new moccasin, (Indian shoe,) with a small bundle of cedar sticks, resembling candle matches. Three large kettles of meat, previously boiled, were hanging over a small fire near the centre of the house.

The aged chief, Topenebe, led in the ceremonies. He delivered a speech of considerable length, without rising from his seat, with a grave countenance, and his eyes almost closed. He then sat and drummed with one stick, and sung at the same time, while his aid at his side rattled the gourd. At length, four women appeared before him and danced. A while after this he arose, delivered another speech, then drumming and dancing, turned round, and moving slowly around the dancing hall, was followed by all the dancing party. When he had performed his part in leading, others went through the same ceremonies; and these were repeated until every pair had twice led in the dance. These exercises were accompanied with many uncouth gestures and strange noises. Occasionally a man would stoop to the kettle and drink a little soup. One fellow, assuming a frantic air, attended with whooping, lifted out of a kettle a deer's head, and holding it by the two horns, with the nose from him, presented it first upwards, and afterwards towards many of the bystanders, as he danced around, hallooing. The droppings of the broth were rather an improvement to the floor than an injury, it being the earth, and now becoming pretty dusty. At length he tore asunder the deer's head, and distributed it to others, and what was eatable was devoured with affected avidity.

At the conclusion, which was after sun setting, each brought his or her vessel, and received a portion of the food. Chebass, a chief, sent to me and invited me to eat with him; and I having consented, he placed his bowl on the earth beside me and said, "come, let us eat in friendship." The same dish contained both meat and soup. The chief took hold of the meat in one hand, and with a knife in the other severed his piece, and I followed his example. After eating, another speech was delivered, the music followed, all joined in a dance with increased hilarity,

and most of them with their kettles of meat and broth in their hands, and at length breaking off, each went to his home.

On the 21st of April, 1825, Mrs. Polke left Carey, on a visit to Indiana and Kentucky, as has been previously stated. Being the mother of a numerous family of promising children, and a justly esteemed relation and acquaintance in an extensive circle, it was not surprising that she should be led to doubt the propriety of continuing in the missionary field. Similar views were realized by Mr. Polke himself. Their reasons for retiring from missionary labours were too plausible to be opposed by the other missionaries, notwithstanding we greatly needed more help. Mr. Polke made his resignation to the board on the 24th of June, and on the 21st of July took his leave of us at Carey. On parting, we gave to them, and they to us, written assurances of friendship and esteem. Through life, Mr. Polke's talents and piety had made him prominent in both civil and religious society, and it was our prayer that the evening of the lives of our brother and sister should continue tranquil and happy.

Four days after the departure of Mr. Polke, Mr. Lykins arrived, after an absence of more than seven months. He was appointed by Government teacher for the Ottawas, in the place Mr. Polke had filled. This was the third appointment made for that station, at my request, in a period so short that it was natural to feel a little mortification in the repetitions of those requests.

Settlements of white people were at this time rapidly multiplying near us, attended with ruinous effects upon the Indians. We resolved to double our diligence to prevent a deterioration among those around us. Mr. Simerwell, Mr. Lykins, and myself, alternately made tours of several days at a time among the villages, for the purpose of imparting religious instruction, and of promoting habits of industry. We were almost invariably treated respectfully, but the devil and whiskey sellers appeared to pull down faster than we could build up; we therefore urged with increased zeal every measure which we thought would promote a settlement of the Indians in the West, and our removal thither.

In August, intoxication prevailed to such an extent on Grand river, that our young men employed there as smith and labourers requested leave to abandon the station. An attempt had been made on the life of our friend Gosa, and on one occasion he and his family took refuge in the house with our young men, where the whole party remained watching all night.

Recovering from a bacchanalian revel, and finding our young men inclined to leave them, they sent Gosa messenger to us, to entreat us to continue our efforts for them; promising better manners in future, and requesting me to visit them. By way of extenuation, they said the disturbances had been originated by young men, who had been prompted by a white man, whom they named—the same who had stated to the United States' commissioners, at the treaty of Chicago in 1821, that the Putawatemies desired a Catholic instead of a Protestant teacher; which statement was instantly contradicted by the Indians. They stated that some Ottawa young men had been told that we would rob them of their annuities, would induce the whites to settle in their country, &c.

My health had for some considerable time been very poor, and at this time I was almost wholly confined to my room; I could not, therefore, visit them according to their request.— We sent them by Gosa what we esteemed a suitable message, and wrote, encouraging our young men not to abandon the station, and promising to visit them as soon as practicable.

The navigation of these upper lakes was at this time in its incipient state, and supplies by this route were often attended with great expense. Sundry articles of importance to us had been left at Chicago, a distance by water of more than one hundred miles from us, and we had to encounter the expense of sending a barge for them. On the 5th of September, 1825, we started a perioque to Grand river, with iron and steel, and other articles needed at that station. On the following day, with Noaquett, who was yet with us, a Frenchman, and an Indian, I set out for the same place by land, driving with us five head of cattle, for the benefit of our establishment there. On the same day, Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell set off on a journey of four or five hundred miles, to Kentucky, with the expectation of being absent two months. Mr. Lykins and Mrs. McCoy were the only missionaries left at Carey.

On our way to Grand river our Indian sickened, and we had to send him ten miles, to find a shelter in an Indian village. We reached Grand river on the fifth day, having suffered not a little inconvenience at some of our encampments, on account of the scarcity of water.

I delivered to the Indians ploughs, yokes, chains, and other farming utensils, and also some mechanics' tools, all which had been forwarded to our charge by the Government. The articles, as too often happens in such cases, were not of good quality. By such delinquencies the confidence of the Indians is

impaired, and the obstacles to the success of missionary labours are increased. Advice was given them in regard to places for improvements, and the most eligible modes; and they seemed inspired with new hopes, and made new promises to endeavour to do well. Some who had been induced to oppose the mission at Grand river visited me while there, and appeared to become entirely satisfied. We had as yet little improvement in buildings or farm at this station. Hands were now set to work to erect permanent log buildings, such as the operations of the mission called for.

To hear these people entreating that a school should be furnished them, to find them actually improving farms, and to observe them listening attentively to religious instruction, could not but make a deep impression on my mind. We regretted the necessity which we foresaw would soon occur for their removal, and for the abandonment of the missionary improvements which we were now making; still we hoped by our efforts to prepare some, by making them acquainted with civilized and Christian institutions, to become useful citizens in the Indian territory in the West, to the establishment of which much importance was attached by every day's experience. Had these Indians been permanently located in a place in which it was possible to avoid the effects, to a ruinous extent, of the proximity of white settlements, our prospects in relation to them would have been fair, and our satisfaction great; but we laboured under the discouraging reflection that our work there was temporary, and that after we had with much sacrifice produced a little improvement among the people of our charge, there would be a distressing deterioration at the time of their emigration to another country; therefore, the sooner their permanent location in a country of their own could be effected, the better. We also hoped that some remuneration for our expenditures at the place would be made to the mission by the Government, at the time that it would require the removal of the Ottawas. The place we had selected for the establishment of the mission, we could easily perceive, would one day become a place of importance—much more so than that which had originally been selected for it by the commissioner of the United States. That our estimate of the local advantages of the present site was not erroneous, will be seen in the sequel.

In the fore part of October, I attended at Chicago the payment of an annuity by Dr. Wolcott, United States' Indian agent, and through his politeness addressed the Indians on the subject of our mission. On the 9th of October, 1825, I

preached in English, which, as I was informed, was the first sermon ever delivered at or near that place. Between our place and Chicago was a wilderness, in which we took five nights' lodging on the tour.

In consequence of a pressure of business on our part, and a knowledge of the absence of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs from his office, our semi-annual report, which ought to have been made out in July, was not forwarded until the 1st of October. The following are extracts from it:

"Seventy scholars belong to our school, viz: fifty males and twenty females; fourteen of whom have advanced to the study of arithmetic, twenty-two others to reading and writing. During the last year four have completed their courses, and have left the institution; two are apprentices to the blacksmith's business, and one to the shoemaker's. The residue of the males who are old enough labour a portion of the time on the farm, and the females spend part of their time at the wheel, loom, needle, &c. Two hundred and eight yards of cloth have been manufactured the past year."

The following is an extract from the answer of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs:

"Detroit, October 12, 1825.

"SIR: I am highly gratified with your report of the condition of the schools, and of the general state of the establishments. I have no doubt but that, under your immediate superintendence, they will increase in numbers, usefulness," &c.

"LEWIS CASS."

On the 24th of November, 1825, Mr. Jotham Meeker and Mr. W. M. Crosley arrived at Carey, with the view of becoming missionaries; they were from Cincinnati, Ohio; each about twenty-one years of age; the former a printer, and the latter by trade a blacksmith. Mr. Simerwell, on a journey to Kentucky, had formed some acquaintance with them, and had encouraged them to enter upon missionary labours. The mission assisted them in making the journey, two hundred and seventy-five miles, to Carey. Mr. Meeker, whose name will hereafter frequently be mentioned, remains up to this time a faithful missionary. Mr. Crosley remained until the 27th day of May, 1826, when, having declined further missionary labours, he left the mission and returned to Ohio.

By the 26th of December, 1825, we were prepared to report to the Secretary of War the erection of three neat buildings at Grand river, one of which was designed for the accommodation

of a school. These reports were made for the purpose of obtaining some remuneration for the costs incurred in the erection, and we did afterwards receive two-thirds of the cost, as we had for some of the buildings at Carey. It was by means obtained by us from the Government, in connection with donations from benevolent individuals and societies, *made specially for Indian stations*, or for our stations, that we were enabled to carry forward our operations.

On the 17th of February, 1826, I made an arrangement with General J. Tipton, United States' Indian agent, from which a hope was indulged that, at a treaty to be held in the ensuing autumn, some provision for education could be made, which would add somewhat to our relief in the support of the mission. In this we were not disappointed, as will be seen hereafter. On the 9th of March following, I addressed a letter to the board, in relation to some of our missionary plans, of which the following is an extract :

“DEAR BROTHER: I beg leave to communicate to the board of managers of the Baptist General Missionary Convention the following, in regard to missionary operations.

“The emigration of citizens of the United States westwardly will, doubtless, soon drive from the neighbourhood of Carey and Thomas the Putawatomes and Ottawas, as well as the Miamies, Shawanoes, and others. A treaty has been authorized by Congress, which will occur the next summer, and will extinguish the title of those tribes to all, or nearly all, the land they respectively own. These Indians will be removed to the west [of the Mississippi river.] Should this removal take place before suitable preparation is made for locating, aiding, and instructing them, they must inevitably wander and perish, as others have done under similar circumstances.

“The removal, when it occurs, must be attended with loss to the mission, and with a deterioration in the condition of the Indians. In order to prevent, though in a small degree, these evils, we propose that as soon as a competent number of missionaries can be obtained to manage the stations of Carey and Thomas, the undersigned, with his family, shall go westwardly, say in the ensuing autumn, and make himself acquainted with the country and its inhabitants west of the State of Missouri; by actually residing in and exploring those regions, &c.

“ISAAC MCCOY.”

“Rev. Dr. Staughton, Cor. Sec. &c.”

We also took measures at the same time to influence the Government to make suitable locations for the emigrant tribes, and provision for their comfort and improvement. This design was favoured by the Board, which appointed a committee upon the subject of its management. I also conferred freely upon the subject with the following members of Congress, all of whom appeared ready to promote our views, viz.: Hon. R. M. Johnson, Hon. James Johnson, Hon. William McLean, and Hon. James Noble; also, Col. T. L. McKenney, who was at the time at the bureau of Indian Affairs, and who approved, and declared himself ready to promote our wishes.

In the fore part of May, 1826, I attended the Baptist General Convention in the city of New-York. At this meeting the Convention unanimously passed the following resolution:

“*Resolved*, That a memorial be presented at the next session of Congress, expressive of the entire approbation of this Convention of the design of our Government to locate the aborigines of our country in the West, and of our readiness to co-operate in such a measure, and praying Congress to increase the appropriation for Indian reform.”

Embarrassed for want of pecuniary support for our mission, we had made great efforts to obtain it from Government, and from benevolent societies and individuals, and these efforts had been successful to a degree that excited gratitude to God. Still we had sensibly felt, from the first, the want of the zealous co-operation of the board in devising and accomplishing measures which we deemed of vital importance. The inconvenience to us was the greater, because we could not, without injury to our good cause, tell the public that we were left to contrive and manage for ourselves; and the prints emanating from the offices of the board (the Latter Day Luminary and the Columbian Star) being deficient in information respecting our missions, and in requesting help in means and missionaries, less interest was felt in our behalf than would otherwise have been the case. Persons with whom we corresponded, on reading our letters to them, often expressed astonishment that the board should not do more to inform the public of our condition and wants. We supposed that the absorbing interests of the Columbian College had diminished their attention to missionary affairs.

At this convention the college matters were very properly separated from those of a missionary character; and we now hoped that the board would find room for more thoughts relative to our missions. The office of the board and its common place of meeting were removed from Washington to Boston,

Massachusetts; consequently, a new secretary and treasurer were appointed; and what might be termed the *acting* members of the board were changed with the change of the place of meeting.

But with all that was gratifying in the good sense, piety, and zeal in the cause of God in general, manifested by the members of the Convention, I was much distressed on observing how imperfectly *Indian affairs* were understood, and the little probability there was that *Indian missions* would be zealously prosecuted.

I returned from the convention by way of Detroit, at which place I obtained for our relief some funds due us from the Government, and which we greatly needed; and, what was of still more importance, I was allowed an opportunity of presenting to Governour Cass, who was to be one of the commissioners to treat with the Indians the following autumn, a petition, that, in making the treaty, provision should be made for educational purposes.

From Detroit I was accompanied by Mr. R. D. Potts, who had been appointed sub-agent of Indian affairs, and who for a long time after resided in our family. Five days' journey through the wilderness brought us to Carey, from which I had been absent more than four months. It was on this tour that the Indian youths had been taken to the literary institution in the State of New-York, as before stated. I had overstaid my appointed time for returning, and our family having become uneasy lest some serious accident on the lake or elsewhere had befallen me, I was met by Mr. Lykins on his way to Detroit, to inquire for me. Agreeably to custom, on returning from a long journey, a large company of Indians assembled "to hear the news."

For two days our family had been in great anxiety on account of two of our little Indian girls, one about five and the other about six years of age, who had wandered from our house, and lost themselves in the surrounding woods. During their absence, diligent search was made by every one who could be employed; but it was some time before any signs of them could be perceived. At length it was discovered where they had rested on a log, and had chewed roots and twigs, and, after extracting the juice, had thrown them on the earth. On the evening of the second day they were found, and brought home upon the shoulders of Mr. Meeker and one of our hired men.

The following may furnish a faint idea of the evils of intemperance around us about this time. While absent on my late

tour, Mr. Simerwell wrote me as follows: "Our white neighbours, T——, G——, and E——, deal out whiskey to the Indians plentifully, with which they purchase any thing which the Indians are willing to part with. A silver mounted rifle, worth twenty or twenty-five dollars, has been purchased of them for seventy-five cents worth of whiskey. The clothing of the Indians, and farming and cooking utensils, are purchased for liquor; and these articles are sometimes again sold to the Indians for furs. Articles manufactured for the Indians in our smithery have afterwards been seen in the stores of the whiskey sellers."

Mr. Lykins also wrote as follows: "Since we last wrote you, [twenty-eight days previously,] I suppose the Indians have not passed a single day without drinking. Poor old Topenebe [principal chief] is said to be near his end, from intoxication. I have never before known them to continue in a state of intoxication so long without intermission. T——, and G——, and L——, all near us, are engaged in selling whiskey; and I suppose they have enough to keep the Indians drunk all the spring and summer. Sympathize with us, my dear brother, in our griefs, when I tell you every hope, every prospect for the welfare of the Indians around us, is prostrate—is entirely cut off. I entreat you to *plead for their removal*. If our patrons have not funds to employ, they have feelings and voices; entreat them to make themselves heard in behalf of the Indians." On the 19th of January, a father, under the influence of liquor, resolved on the murder of a son, and with a loaded rifle in his hand started to a neighbouring house in quest of him. The mother ran to our house for assistance, to prevent the murder. An older son, who was a member of our family and of our church, was barely able to intercept his father, in time to save his brother's life. The gun was presented at our young man, who by a dexterous and violent effort saved his life, and disarmed the murderer. On the 10th of June, 1826, a Putawatomie, under the influence of ardent spirits, became troublesome at our house, and was compelled to leave, though no violence was used towards him. He left in anger, and went five miles to a trading house; there he declared his determination to return and take the life of some one of us, and, mounting a horse, hastened back; the trader, in order to warn us of our danger, followed him, and they both reached our place at the same time. He was induced to leave the premises without doing any mischief.

Amidst these disorders, by which the mission was surrounded,

unremitting efforts were made for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people of our charge. We assisted them with our teams in ploughing land, and aided them in other respects; and religious visits to their houses and public religious exercises were not omitted.

Having ascertained that we could place two of our Indian pupils in a medical institution in the State of Vermont, on the 6th of June we selected two lads, each about sixteen years of age, who were very much pleased with their prospects. Their Indian names were Soswa and Conaуда. For their improvement we employed them as interpreters, and hoped that religious truth might reach their hearts. Nearly a year preceding this time they had been serious, and one of them had requested to be baptized; but it was feared that he was not prepared. One day, after interpreting a religious discourse, Soswa said to one of the missionaries, "Soon after you told us you would send us some place to learn to be doctors, I said to Conaуда, well, now, our friends are very kind to us, and we must do as they tell us. They tell us to be good, and we must try; and Conaуда say, well, I am willing. I said, now we must try to pray; and Conaуда say he was agreed. So every night we pray in the woods. One night I pray, and next night Conaуда pray. One time I try to pray in English, and I could not say many words, because I did not understand English very well. Then I say to Conaуда, well, we pray in Indian, because God can hear Indian talk the same as he hear English; then we always pray in Indian. The first time I pray I feel afraid—I think somebody see me; and Conaуда say he feel so too, the first time he pray. Now we don't feel so. We talk very much about being good."

On the 7th of June, 1826, Mr. Lykins was licensed by the church to preach the gospel. On the 19th, more than eighty Sauks from the west, on their annual visit to Malden, Upper Canada, for British presents, called at our house and performed their begging dance. A minute account of their dress for the occasion, their painting, drumming, dancing, shouting, speech-making, &c., would make a long story. They had taken great pains to appear in good style, and to perform their uncouth feats to advantage. One had the scalp of an Osage suspended to a string around his neck, and hanging on his breast.

June the 25th. We received fifty-five head of cattle, sent by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in conformity with the treaty of Chicago of 1821, to be distributed by us to the Ottawas as we should think proper. About this time Mr. Lykins

returned from a visit to Thomas, by way of the lake, and in a few days started with the cattle for that place, having with him a hired white man, an interpreter, who was a half-Indian, and an Indian.

His interpreter sickened on the road, and afforded very little assistance in any way, and was left at Thomas. His hired white man poisoned his limbs in the wet grass and weeds, so that he became a burden rather than an assistant; and about half-way through the wilderness his Indian deserted him, when more than a day's journey from Grand river. By him, however, he sent instructions to our hands at Thomas to meet him and help him forward.

The Ottawas were generally assembled, and the distribution of the cattle was made among them entirely to their satisfaction. They were told that the cattle must not be killed for food, unless such as might not be necessary for draught or milk, or for increase. They remained in charge of the mission, subject to the use of the Indian owners, respectively, whenever they desired. The two labourers employed by the Government, by virtue of the Chicago treaty, who were under our management, prepared hay for the cattle and fed them in winter, except such as the Indians applied to use. This method of preserving the cattle was very troublesome to the missionaries, but it was a measure necessary to the welfare of the Indians. Mr. Lykins had much interesting conversation with the Ottawas, who repeated their earnest request for a school, and expressed a desire to hear preaching. Gosa, on his return from Washington and the State of New York, whither he had accompanied the Indian youths who had been taken thither to school, had made a full report of the journey to his people, and it soon became evident that it produced a favourable impression upon them.

On the 21st of July, we received a communication from the corresponding secretary of the board of missions lately organized by the General Convention, by which we were informed that I had been appointed their agent, to attend to business for them in relation to settling the Indians in the West, subject to future instructions. They also informed that Mr. Slater and wife, and Miss Purchase, had been appointed missionaries to unite with us. All this was good news.

The most prominent part of the communication of the board was, however, far from being satisfactory to us. We had, long since, adopted what we termed "Family Rules."* In these we had established equality among ourselves, and had conse-

* See page 170.

crated our whole lives and labours to the business of missionaries to the Indians. All our earnings from the Government, all the products of the industry of our own hands, and all money or property accruing to us, or coming to us from any quarter except a private inheritance, was to be thrown into the common missionary fund, to become the property of the board, and accredited to the board as it came into our hands, the same as if it had actually come out of their treasury; and all our expenditures were to be regularly reported to them, and our accounts of receipts and expenditures were to be examined by them. At the same time we held that the board were bound, if they had the means, to afford us needful support so long as they chose to continue us in connection with them. Any missionary was liable to be dismissed at their pleasure. If, in auditing our accounts, we had not expended all the money that we had received, the balance was placed to the credit of the board, to be accounted for by the mission at the next rendering of accounts. If we had expended more than we had received, we expected the board to refund it to us, if they possessed the means. These Family Rules, having been approved by the board, had become a written contract between them and the mission, until by one of the parties it was disclaimed.

The new board, without consulting the missionaries, and without respect to the Family Rules, informed us that they "contemplated putting all their missionaries on a footing of pay." Against this, and sentiments connected with it, we strongly remonstrated. We pleaded that it would be degrading us to the condition of persons *hired* to labour; whereas we had not been influenced by the love of wages to come hither. We attached to the missionary enterprise a dignity with which we thought their proposition did not comport. The adoption of the measure proposed would produce an entire change in our relation to one another as missionaries, and to the missionary cause. Now, we lived as one family, fed at one table, the comfort of all being provided for alike, and the burden of labours was borne as each had strength and opportunity, and no one claimed as his any thing belonging to the mission; but if we should be put "upon a footing of pay," the distinctions of *mine* and *thine* would be introduced. This would ruin us. Our trials and sacrifices were great, and our labours severe, and we knew that the missionaries must be actuated by higher motives than it seemed the board had supposed. We respectfully, though *positively*, refused to submit to the decision, and continued, as before, to make our reports of all our receipts and all

our expenditures. This, however, was no disadvantage to the board, because they were not advancing for our support any moneys which did not belong to us. It was, indeed, an advantage to them; because our salaries from Government were properly our own money, as much so as the salaries of any other agents of Government were theirs, and might justly have been applied to private use. The fulfilment of the duties of these Government agencies was properly missionary labour, and added to our influence and usefulness. Had we accepted of a salary from the board, all our earnings from Government might have been laid by as private property; but all the missionaries had not salaries from Government. Hence a difference in condition would have been occasioned; and, moreover, we were resolved not to put it into the power of any to suppose that we were actuated by any other than principles of disinterested benevolence. We had no objection to a monthly or yearly allowance, nor that this should be varied to meet our actual wants, which at one time might be greater or less than at others.

On the 27th of September the corresponding secretary informed us that, "in compliance with our united and pressing request, the board had agreed that the missionaries at Carey might remain without a salary," as had been the case before; still our views were not harmonized in all points. We did not believe that our obligations to our families, in certain respects, had been diminished by our undertaking to labour for the Indians. We believed that our children ought not to be reared up wholly in the Indian country; we were willing to send them into the world poor; we were not laying by a particle of property for them, but we were resolved that they should be decently educated in better society than existed among the Putawatomes and other Indian tribes. This was a case too plain, we thought and *felt*, to need argument in its support. The board, however, declined assuming any responsibility for the education of the children of missionaries, further than it could be imparted at the respective missionary stations. From this resolution they have never since departed; but the mission not being dependant on the board for support, we continued to adhere implicitly to the rules we had adopted, sent our children to school in the white settlements a portion of the time, and reported to the board the whole of our receipts and expenditures, as formerly.

CHAPTER XI.

Commissioner's report of the mission. Important treaty stipulations. Arrival of missionaries. Difficult journey to Thomas station. Voyage to Thomas. An idol. Two boys taken to Vermont to study medicine. Superstition. Missionaries arrive at Thomas; others return to Carey.

On the 27th of July, 1826, a poor, destitute Indian woman, whose little son was a member of our family, and who had herself resided with us some months, was murdered about a mile and a half from our house, by Putawatomes, under circumstances too shocking to be related. About the same time, Topenebe, the principal chief, fell from his horse, under the influence of ardent spirits, and received an injury, of which he died two days afterwards. Both these deaths are attributable to the whiskey sellers.

John L. Leib, Esq., the Government agent to visit and inspect, annually, Indian schools within the Detroit superintendency of Indian affairs, visited Carey a second time in the latter part of August, 1826. The following is the acknowledgment of the report by the Department of Indian Affairs at Washington :

"DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
"Office of Indian Affairs, February 7th, 1827.

"SIR: Your letter of the 10th ultimo, enclosing Judge Leib's report, is highly satisfactory. I have no doubt much good will result to the Indians from his visits, sustained as they are by just and humane views towards the Indians, and an intelligence which works advantageously upon their hopes and their happiness.

"I have the happiness to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS L. MCKENNEY.

"To his Excellency Lewis Cass, Detroit."

The following are extracts from the report itself, made to Governour Cass :

"On the 15th of August, I proceeded to the Carey establishment, on the St. Joseph's, where I arrived on the 21st, and was much gratified with its improvement in all its departments. It is a world in miniature, and presents the most cheerful and consoling appearance. It has become a familiar resort of the

natives, and, from the benefits which they derive from it in various shapes, they begin to feel a dependance on, and a resource in it at all times, and especially in difficult and trying occasions. There is not a day, I might almost say an hour, in which new faces were not to be seen. The smithery affords them incalculable facilities, and is constantly filled with applicants for some essential service. It is a touching spectacle to see them, at the time of prayers, fall in with the members of the institution, which they do spontaneously and cheerfully, and with a certain animation depicted on their countenances, exhibiting their internal satisfaction.

“The missionaries permanently connected with this institution, besides the superintendent and his wife, are Robert Simerwell and wife, Jotham Meeker, and Johnston Lykins, who is now constituted the superintendent of a missionary station, called Thomas, on Grand river, a ramification from the St. Joseph’s.

“There are at present seventy scholars, forty-two males and twenty-eight females, in various stages of improvement. Their ages and advancement in learning will be found in the paper marked A, annexed. Eight of the alumni of this institution, who have completed the first rudiments of education, have been transferred to academies in New-Jersey and New-York. Two of the boys at Carey are learning the trades of blacksmith and shoemaker; the remainder of sufficient size are employed occasionally on the farm. The girls are engaged in spinning, knitting, and weaving, and the loom has produced one hundred and eighty-five yards of cloth this year. Two hundred and three acres are now enclosed, of which fifteen were in wheat, fifty in Indian corn, eight in potatoes, pumpkins, and other vegetable products. The residue is appropriated for pasture.

“There have been added to the buildings, since my last visit, a house and a most excellent grist mill worked by horses. The usefulness of this mill can scarcely be appreciated, as there is no other of any kind within one hundred miles, at least, of the establishment; and here, as benevolence is the predominating principle, all the surrounding population is benefited.

“Numerous Indian families have, since my last visit, settled themselves around, and have, from the encouragement, countenance, and assistance of the missionary family, made considerable progress in agriculture. Indeed, a whole village has been formed, within six miles of it, under its benevolent auspices and fostering care. I visited them, to witness myself the change in their condition. To good fences, with which many of their grounds are enclosed, succeed domestic animals. You now see

oxen, cows, and swine, grazing around their dwellings, without the danger of destroying their crops. These are the strongest evidences of their improvement, and not the least of the benefits arising from the neighbourhood of this blessed abode of the virtuous inmates of Carey. Occupancy now seems consecrated by the labour which these new exertions cost, and results in giving birth in the mind of the Indian to a strong sense of individual property. This germ, as it expands, will give root to a principle which will ensure gradual civilization, producing security against want, while it dissipates the fears arising from a precarious subsistence.

“It is not in the immediate neighbourhood alone that the efforts of missionary exertions are felt. In distant places, near the mouth of the St. Joseph’s, and at Grand river, the most surprising changes have taken place. Strong and effective enclosures are made and making, and stock acquired; and at the latter place the missionary family has erected several spacious buildings, including a school house, and improved some lands. Whilst at the St. Joseph’s, I was solicited by a very intelligent and exemplary Indian, in behalf of his tribe, to interfere with their Great Father, [the President of the United States,] to endow an establishment on Grand river, similar to that on the St. Joseph’s.

“I cannot forbear to mention here, that I was visited by numerous chiefs of known and approved influence over their tribes, who came to express their satisfaction at the establishment, and inviting me to a conference with them. In one of these conferences I represented to them, and endeavoured to impress it strongly on their minds, that the Government of the United States, and the missionaries under its countenance, had no other views in the expenditure and personal devotion but to improve their condition; that they could be destroyed at much less expense than protected and cherished as they had been, and would be, if good were produced; but that all the efforts of both would be vain and fruitless, if they did not abstain from whiskey, and prevent its introduction among them.

“I shall never forget, on one of these occasions, the answer of a venerable and interesting chief. He was surrounded, besides other chiefs, by a numerous offspring, who, like himself, were magnificently attired according to their custom. After a considerable pause, he commenced by stating that what I had said was very true; that they were all sensible of the deleterious effects of whiskey, and of the ravages it had made and was still making among them; that they did not seek it, but it was brought

to them, that they could not prevent it, nor could they possibly forbear from drinking it when it was within their reach, that they have lost all their manhood with their independence, that they were a degraded and disgraced race, that they now looked upon the whites as so much their superiours that they would not attempt to resist any thing they did or should do. 'But,' continued this chief, elevating his dignified person, 'if our Great Father feels such an interest to preserve us as you mention, *all powerful as he is*, why does he not command his people to abstain from seeking, in the ways you mention, our destruction? He has but to *will* it, and his *will* will be done. He can punish—he can save us from the ruin which surrounds us. We can do nothing of ourselves. If whiskey were not brought to us, we should soon cease to think of it, and we should be happier and healthier.'

"All this was said with so much feeling and truth that I blushed for my country, and could find no apology for my Government, in not devising means to restrain these licentious traders, high and low individuals and companies, who, by every means, open and covert, are conveying to the Indian the poison of his life and his hopes."

On the 15th of September, 1826, I left home, in company of one of our pupils, to attend the treaty which had been contemplated for some time, with the Putawatomes, Miamies, and others, and was absent from the mission two months. We designed to secure reservations of land to our Indian pupils. We supposed the time was not distant when these Indians would remove to the West, and the proceeds of the sales of these tracts of land, at the time of emigration, would assist the respective owners to make improvements in the West. The first few days of our journey were spent in the wilderness, in the examination of the country, so that, should such locations be made by stipulations of the treaty, we should be able to point to suitable places.

The negotiations of this treaty with the Putawatomes and Miamies lasted nearly four weeks, and resulted in the cession of a considerable amount of land to the United States. On the part of the latter, Governour Cass, of Michigan, and Governour Ray and General Tipton, of Indiana, were commissioners. On Sabbaths I was favoured with an opportunity of preaching in the council house, which I did not fail to improve, in pleading the cause of Indian reform. The commissioners also politely afforded me an opportunity of making known to them our plans and requests. They also very properly endea-

voured to impress upon the minds of the Indians the lamentable fact that their woes would accumulate while they remained in their present places, pressed by white population; and argued the propriety of their removal to a country in the West, from which, it was hoped, they would not be compelled to remove. For their encouragement to adopt at once this measure, they were told that, in event of their consenting to remove, we would accompany them, and continue our school and other labours among them for their benefit. In reference to removal they made no reply.

Among the stipulations of this treaty we had the happiness to see secured for educational purposes among the Putawatomes two thousand dollars annually, for twenty-two years, and for education among the Miamies one thousand dollars a year, as long as the President of the United States should deem it expedient. One-half of these allowances for education we expected to be applied under our direction, and the other half to be applied at the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky. One-third part only of these annuities was afterwards applied in aid of our operations for a year or two, when the whole amount turned into the channel of support to the Indian school in Kentucky.

There were granted to sixty-two of our Indian scholars, or those who had been such, and had completed their course of study, reservations of land, the smallest tract containing one hundred and sixty acres, and the largest six hundred and forty acres. The aggregate of these reservations was ten thousand five hundred and sixty acres, which, at the minimum price of Government land, equalled thirteen thousand two hundred dollars in value. Five hundred dollars worth of goods, suitable for clothing and bedding, were allowed for the benefit of the pupils of our school; this favour was very acceptable, as we were in want of such articles.

At that time we hoped that the Putawatomes would soon be located in a suitable and permanent home, west of the Mississippi, and that the fruit of our schools could there be settled about us, and that by the sales of their reservations of land they would be enabled to commence business in the new country, above the discouragements of poverty. The preliminaries of emigration, as the sequel will disclose, advanced more tardily than we had anticipated, on which account the ultimate benefit derived from these lands by the owners was greatly diminished. The lands were to be selected by order of the President of the United States. Mr. Lykins was appointed to make the selec-

tions, and he was judicious in his choice. The lands were valuable. The Putawatomes being detained in their original country long after most of the missionaries had gone west, and missionary operations had been discontinued at Carey, the consequence was, these youths remained there without guardians of their interests. The country filled up with white people. The owners sold their lands to whites, and in many instances consumed the proceeds for food and raiment, while they were doing nothing for their own substantial benefit. The causes of these hurtful delays in relation to the permanent location of the Indians will be better explained hereafter. Had the fruit of our schools been allowed to go west within the time we had reason to expect it, our scheme would have succeeded equal to the hopes in which it originated.

At this treaty, General J. Paine, a respectable gentleman from Kentucky, attended for the purpose of obtaining some Indian youths for the Kentucky school—none from the Indians in those regions having yet entered that institution. This gentleman was unsuccessful in his undertaking, and was about to return without a candidate for the school, when, as some of the provisions of the treaty for education were designed for the benefit of that institution, and as nothing could be realized without scholars, I obtained a Putawatome boy about thirteen years of age for the school. I was required to pledge my promise to the parents that the boy should be well treated, &c.

Pretty soon after the treaty, it was believed that the Miamies would not be satisfied with the application of their funds for education outside of their own country, and the design was conceived of establishing a school for them within their own limits. With the agent, General Tipton, I made an arrangement by which we were to be employed in bringing the school into operation, and that it should be managed by us, in connection with a mission among the Miamies. This was a scheme in which we felt a deep interest. Our missionary labours were commenced among the Miamies, and among them we had desired to locate. In locating among the Putawatomes and Ottawas we had been compelled to abandon about twenty Miami youths who had been members of our family, many of whom had made encouraging improvement in their studies. We had left the vicinity of the tribe when many of their most respectable people were oft repeating their entreaties that we would settle permanently among them; and we had promised, if practicable, to give them a mission, embracing a school, &c. We hoped that the way was now opening for the accomplishment

of our desires in these respects. But all ended in disappointment; and our disappointments in relation to a mission among the Miamies were chiefly for want of missionaries.

Returning from the treaty spoken of, I fell in company with Mrs. McCoy, who had made a visit to the white settlements in the States of Indiana and Ohio, chiefly for the sake of a little respite from labours which were bearing hard upon both health and spirits. The journey from and to the missionary station was attended by the usual privations of spending both the days and the nights in a wilderness, without a house to afford accommodations either for eating or sleeping. On our return, we found Mr. Leonard Slater and Mrs. Slater, and Miss L. Purchase, who had united with us as missionaries. The latter was one of the last remnants of a tribe of Massachusetts Indians. She had no knowledge of Indian language or manners. She was intelligent, and well educated in English, and felt a great desire to be the instrument of good to the suffering aborigines.

Pocagin, a Putawatomie chief, and his party, had commenced a village about six miles from the mission, and manifested a disposition to make themselves more comfortable. It was one of our places of preaching. In the spring of 1826, we were about to afford them some assistance in making improvements, when one of those white men that are commonly hanging about the Indians, for the sake of flaying them, like crows around a carcass, interfered, and made a contract for making improvements. This ended in disappointment to the Indians. Pocagin again applied to us, and in November we hired white men to erect for them three hewed log cabins, and to fence twenty acres of prairie land. The Indians promised to pay them, and for the payment we became security. We saw that justice was done to the Indians in regard to price and the good performance of the work, and we subsequently employed our team and hands to plough up the new prairie land for them. We also presented to them some stock hogs, and loaned them a milch cow for their encouragement to raise stock.

It happened this autumn that a heavy charge in missionary matters devolved upon Mr. Lykins. In securing supplies for Carey, he had to make a tour of one hundred miles through the wilderness, to Chicago; and, in order to render a similar service to Thomas, made a journey thither by way of the lake.

Up to the last of November, 1826, we had not a school in operation at Thomas, on Grand river. We had had for some time men there working for the Ottawas, and preparing buildings for ourselves; but a missionary had not been regularly

labouring there, though different persons had at divers times visited the place and people. It now appeared necessary that I and my family, including Miss Purchase, should go to that station, and remain some months, in order to put the station into full operation, while the other missionaries would remain in charge of affairs at Carey.

The following are extracts from the mission journals :

“ We now look towards Grand river, and we do it with dread. Winter appears to be fairly set in. The snow is about six inches deep, which must greatly increase the inconvenience of a journey one hundred and twenty miles through a desert. No food for our horses, and probably none for ourselves, can, at this season of the year, be obtained on the way, except what we carry with us. There is also danger of not being able to find, amidst the snow, the very small path along which we have to travel. Our youngest child, in the arms of its mother, has been for more than a month severely afflicted with sickness. All things considered, we really fear to set out. Our business has prevented us from starting sooner in the season, when our difficulties in travelling might have been fewer; and the state of our affairs is such as to forbid delay. The Ottawas are expecting us, and must not be disappointed.

“ We started on the 28th of November, 1826. Our company consisted of myself and wife, and three small children, Miss Purchase, an Indian girl, Anthony Rollo, who was one of our Indian scholars, and who served us as interpreter, Mr. J. F. Polk, who was a gentleman from Washington, engaged in collecting materials for a history of the Indians, and who proposed to teach our school for a short time, our blacksmith, four hired white men, and an Indian boy. We had five horses and a small one horse wagon, and we drove twenty-three swine, intended to be butchered for the support of the station. In addition, we took a horse load of provisions, and hired an ox team to convey hay and corn as far into the wilderness as they could venture to go without being in danger of perishing with hunger on their return.

“ We found the travelling bad, particularly on account of the snow, which hung heavily on the bushes, and adhered to the feet of the footmen and to our wheels. Wagons had never before gone that way. On the second day, our wagon with hay and corn mired, and occasioned not a little labour to extricate it; and later in the day, my one horse wagon, with my wife and three children in it, upset. It was on the side of a hill, and our situation for a while seemed perilous. The mother and three

children were all fastened beneath the carriage, so that they could not easily be extricated. The infant had been heard to weep, and cease. It was breathless when first relieved, but soon recovered. During this time our horse was lying with his back down the hill, in a position from which he could not recover without our assistance. We were happy to find that, although we were a little bruised, we were not seriously injured. That night we pitched our tent by the side of a large log, and, raking off the snow, made our bed on the earth. We carried with us implements for the purpose of removing the snow.

“ On the third day, November 30th, Miss Purchase narrowly escaped serious injury by being torn from her horse by the limb of a tree. At noon, we kindled up a fire to warm our company, from which we started in a heavy fall of snow. In the distance of half a mile we discovered that we had lost our way. Most of the company halted, while others of us were searching the woods around, in order to ascertain which way we ought to travel. The snow was falling so fast that there was danger that some would get out of sight of the rest, and not be able to find them again, and might perish. We therefore hallooed to each other frequently. An Indian hunter, hearing us, came to us just as we had found the appearance of a small track, which we supposed might be the proper one for us, and we were rejoiced when he assured us that we were not mistaken. Relieved from our anxiety, Mr. Polk remarked, that ‘ Providence had sent that Indian to us, for our relief.’ We then endeavoured to hire the Indian to show us the way to Grand river. We promised to reward him with powder, lead, tobacco, and some articles of clothing. In order to rid himself of our importunity, he promised to join us late in the day, but we heard no more of him.

“ December 1st. The fore part of this day was extremely uncomfortable. About nine o'clock we found it necessary to kindle a fire for the purpose of warming the company. Our infant was more unwell than usual; under the influence of fever, it wept for water; but we were in a place where, for several hours, none could be obtained, though I sent a man to every sink that appeared, in order to search for it. We were then in a desert, without any path. Here and there an old mark on the scattering trees were the only indications of the right way.

“ We were travelling through an open country, where we were much exposed to a piercing wind, and the snow retarded us so much that it was exceedingly difficult to proceed. Our sick child became so distressed that my wife began to entreat

me to halt. But we were then travelling through a piece of country in which I knew we should soon perish with cold and for want of water. Without stating the extent of my uneasiness on account of our situation, I proposed still to proceed a little and a little further. In order to lighten our carriage and facilitate our march, I walked and drove it. We at length reached a little grove of oaks, whose proximity to each other had tended to diminish the quantity of snow about them, and where I hoped to be able to kindle a fire. On the sides of these small trees we hung blankets, to break the chilling wind, and in the lee we soon had a fire burning. In the meantime, our man in search of water had been successful in finding what would answer our purpose, with the snow which we were now able to melt. We waited till the hindmost of our company had come up and refreshed themselves, and again proceeded and encamped. From this place, the wagoner, who had come with hay and corn for our horses, turned back. In coming thus far he had deposited hay in two places to feed his oxen as he should be returning. Our own horses, we designed, after reaching Thomas, to send back to Carey, to be fed during the winter. At this encampment we hid a little corn, for their use also on their return.

“December 2d. We crossed Kekenmazoo river, and pitched our tent near the remains of one of those ancient fortifications which are numerous in these countries. This was more ancient than the lofty oaks which shaded its ruins. It had been a fort, with a circular wall of earth, about four rods in diameter, with one gateway near a beautiful stream of water.

“December 3d. Being foremost, I was misled by marks on the trees made by hunters, which I mistook for those I ought to have followed. I had a Frenchman with me, on foot, to aid me in breaking the road. In searching for way marks, the Frenchman soon became separated from me, but, fortunately for us, I had been in that wilderness before, and knew pretty well in what direction to drive my small wagon, which contained my family, though it was not a very convenient condition to be in without assistance. Reaching a small lake which I knew, I kindled a fire, and after waiting some time we were overtaken by our Frenchman, and still later by our Indian boy, and two other footmen, at different arrivals. The rest of the company, who had charge of our drove of swine, had taken another road. I sent after them, and after we had passed through an Indian village, from which all the inhabitants were absent, as is cus-

tomary with these Indians at this season of the year, we encamped.

“December 4th. Miss Purchase, our Indian girl, Indian boy, and interpreter, on horseback, and a hired white man on foot, started early, and by a hard day’s journey reached Thomas. Our way had now become more difficult for our carriage; all within had frequently to quit it in difficult places. Fatigued every evening, we hastened to repose, and soon in sweet slumber lost sight of the wintry woods around us.

“December 5th. Hid a little corn in the woods, for the purpose of feeding our horses as they should be returning to Carey. About eleven o’clock we were met by Mr. Lykins and two men to assist us, and some fresh provisions, all which were acceptable. We crossed Grand river in a periogue, and that night rested in our own houses, after a dreary journey of eight days.”

Some of the neighbouring Indians had requested that our trumpet should be blown on our arrival, that they might have an early opportunity of calling to shake our hands. But we preferred rest to compliments. The news of our arrival, however, reaching the neighbouring village, a few called on us, though late in the evening, and in the village the drum was beaten all night, as a token of rejoicing.

On the following day, Noonday, Blackskin, principal chiefs, and many others, men, women, and children, visited us, and bade us welcome to their country. They desired to see us again, when our circumstances would allow the transaction of business; and the day being agreed upon, they departed happy that we had arrived, while we were no less happy in being allowed the peculiar privilege of bearing the tidings of salvation to a poor and almost friendless people.

Mr. Lykins, with a hired Frenchman, had left Carey on the 20th of October, for the purpose of getting supplies to Thomas, and of putting our buildings there in such order as would admit of our wintering in them. At the mouth of St. Joseph’s river he put his property and a large periogue on board of a schooner, and had them conveyed, on Lake Michigan, to the mouth of Grand river. The schooner anchored a mile from shore; the periogue was lowered into the water, and, being loaded, was towed ashore by the long boat, while the waves run so high as to threaten to turn all into the lake. Three trips to and from the vessel got all ashore, but not without wetting both men and goods. They had barely landed the last of the property, when

a storm of wind and rain so raised the sea, that it was with difficulty Mr. Lykins, who was suffering much pain from a sprained ankle, and his Frenchman, could secure the property by conveying it further up on the beach. Had the schooner been one hour later in reaching the place, the property could not have been landed, Mr. Lykins would have been carried in the schooner to Mackinaw, at the northern extremity of the lake, unable to return before the following spring, and our missionary station at Grand river would have been left destitute of supplies. But the Lord had "gathered the winds in his fists, and bound the waters in a garment."

Extracts from Mr. Lykins's journal.

"November 14, 1826. Succeeded in getting our goods a mile or two up Grand river, to a trading house, but could not obtain a shelter for them.

"November 15th. Sent my Frenchman up to Thomas, to procure assistance. In the night of the 16th he returned, with men and another canoe. Could not travel, on account of the snow and rain, until late on the 18th. Our friend Gosa, having heard that I was on the river, came down in a bark canoe, and, taking me on board, hoisted a sail, which enabled us soon to leave the other crafts out of sight. In the afternoon we had snow. I halted and made a fire for the benefit of the men in the canoes behind, when they should come up. They became so chilled, that they deemed it prudent to halt, to keep from perishing; but they had become so benumbed with cold that they could not make fire. There remained no alternative, therefore, but either to assume courage, and push forward their canoe against the stream, or to perish. They succeeded in reaching my fire.

"November 19th. It continues to snow, and the weather is so cold that we remain here to-day. We are at a village at which only one man is found, all the other inhabitants being absent on their winter's hunt. The village contains nine houses, constructed of pine timber let into guttered posts, and covered with bark. The solitary occupant showed us as much hospitality as his place would allow, giving us a shelter for our persons and property, and inviting us to remain during the storm. Noonday, having heard of my approach, also came down the river in his canoe, and met me at this village with his wife and children, and assisted in making our quarters comfortable.

"Here I discovered, in the corner of a house, a wooden

image, seven and a half feet high, facing the south. The upper part is shaped like a man's head and face. From the shoulders down, it is a pillar of equal thickness, hollowed somewhat on the back, which makes the upper and lower extremities incline a little backward. The nose is aquiline, and broad at the face. A bunch of feathers of the tail of an eagle is suspended from the right shoulder, and on the back of the neck hangs a bunch of some other kind of feathers, and on the left shoulder is tied a piece of tobacco. Spots of dark red supply the place of eyes, and a spot of the same is made upon each cheek. A line of the same runs from the left shoulder diagonally across the breast, and returns by a lower stroke to the same side. It bore the appearance of antiquity, as it was beginning to decay. The ground around it appeared to be a dancing place. I suppose that this is an idol which is worshipped; this is the only thing of the kind that I have ever seen among the Indians.*

"We reached Thomas on the 21st, and the day following I sent a canoe back to the lake for the remainder of our property. I have been amused and affected by children and others swarming about me, and addressing me as I pass them with, 'Bozho Meketa koneah?' (How do you do, preacher?")

On the 11th of January, we held a general council on business. Much was said on both sides, and with very good feeling. Noonday led the way in the speeches of his people, who remarked: "My brother, I wish you to listen to what I have to say; and I hope you will not be offended at any thing I shall say, for I shall be careful not to wound your feelings. I remember your promises to us; I have forgotten nothing. You said you would help us to build houses, make fence, plough, and such like things, besides giving us a blacksmith, a school, and a preacher. I have seen the beginning of the fulfilment of your promises—have seen a little done. We are all rejoiced that you have come to live among us, and hope that we shall realize the whole. You have told us to be good, and I tell you that ever since you first talked to me about God, I have been trying to be good; and since that time, I and a few others of my people have often endeavoured to persuade others to become good also. For my own part, I acknowledge that I know nothing correctly about the Great Spirit, and I am glad that you have come to live among us, and regularly preach to us about him.

* There is good reason to believe, that among the aborigines of America, especially those north of Mexico, idol worship was unknown prior to their acquaintance with Europeans. See remarks on idol worship, p. 12.

“In regard to the school, I say I wish our children to be instructed like the whites; then these educated children will become capable of assisting us in the transaction of business with white people.

“My brother, when you promised to favour us, because our heads might forget, you put your words on paper, which could not forget them. Look at this paper, (taking it from his bosom; carefully enveloped,) and see if it is the same you gave me; notice if we have forgotten any thing you promised us.”

I told him that I had made that paper, and it contained my name. I was now prepared to complete the fulfilment of all that it promised. There is the blacksmith, there are the labourers, there are the milch cattle, the oxen, ploughs, chains, and other farming and mechanical tools; the school will be opened in a few days; and I am here ready to preach to you.

On the 12th of December, Mr. Lykins left us, to return to Carey. The buildings not being finished on our arrival, our school was not opened until the 25th of December, when we commenced with five Indian scholars, and one of our hired white men. The latter entered the school with a view of qualifying himself for missionary labours. He was one of those who had lately embraced religion at Carey, and we were much gratified with the hope that some missionaries might be raised up on missionary ground. He received an appointment, improved his education somewhat; remained in connection with us some twelve or eighteen months, and retired from missionary labours.

Our scholars were fed and clothed by the mission; and, under our circumstances, many could not be accommodated. By the 1st of April the scholars had increased to fifteen.

Our communication with the civilized world was by way of Carey, to which place we occasionally hired our friend Gosa to go express. The snow being sometimes a foot and a half deep; or more, travelling was chiefly performed on snow shoes.* It required twelve days for our first express to make the tour to Carey and back; and our second was nineteen days in performing

* A snow shoe is constructed by bending a light piece of tough wood, so as to resemble in shape, somewhat, the profile of a pear, though narrower in proportion to length; about two feet and a half in length, and a foot in width at the broadest place. The interior is filled with a webbing of leather strings, not unlike a ratan chair bottom. The foot is placed on the webbing, and fastened by a string near the broad end of the shoe. The surface of the shoe is such that the person is sustained and walks upon the top of the snow. On raising the foot, the narrow end of the shoe trails on the snow. Considerable practice is necessary to enable a person to use them, and even then the weight is tiresome to the traveller, but causes much less fatigue than if he were to sink into the snow at every step.

it. The cold at our station was extremely severe, and our dwellings were not sufficiently warm for such weather.

On the 20th of January, 1827, Mr. Lykins wrote us from Carey as follows: "The winter thus far has been the most severe that we have ever experienced at this place. The snow is two feet deep. It is said that the Indians on Tioukakeek* river are actually starving to death. The snow is so deep as to preclude every chance of taking muskrats—their only means of subsistence, at that place, at this season of the year. Seven of the poor creatures, who lately abandoned that place in search of a better, are now here. So distressing is the tale of their sufferings, that the subject has spontaneously become a matter of prayer with the missionaries, that God would feed them and take care of them, as he does of the young ravens that cry."

On the 8th of January, I contracted a cold which threatened to prove mortal, and from the effects of it I have never fully recovered. Four weeks after the attack I was unable to preach, except feebly, from my chair. Nearly a year previous to this time, we had opened a correspondence with the Rev. Pharcelus Church, relative to placing two of our Indian boys in a medical institution at Castleton, in the State of Vermont. The boys had been selected on the 6th of June, 1826, and we had been making arrangements for Mr. Lykins to take them to Vermont the present winter. They were not to be placed there at the expense of the board, benevolent friends in that quarter having nobly offered to meet the expense of their living and education. Out of respect to the board, we had asked their approbation, and solicited for liberty to apply so much of the means produced by our own efforts and industry as would meet the travelling expenses incurred in conveying them to Vermont, unless the board should prefer making a direct appropriation for that object.

On the 8th of January, 1827, a letter from the corresponding secretary of the board reached Carey, disapproving of our design of sending the boys to Vermont. We were exceedingly sorry that our patrons had taken a view of the subject so different from our own. The reasons which were assigned for their decision were by no means satisfactory to us, some of which were, that by sending Indian youths abroad to complete literary or professional education, we were "occupying the attention and diverting the means [of benevolence] of various sections of the country to particular objects," which they thought would "be attended with mischievous consequences;" because there

* By corruption called Kankakee.

“ would soon be no ground left to the great foreign purposes of the mission.”

We, too, felt a deep interest in foreign missions, and claimed the honour of not being second to any in our esteem for the missionaries who were labouring in foreign fields, in our admiration of their devotion and self-denial, and in the ardour of our desires for their success; but we supposed that placing some select youths from among *our heathen*, in the white settlements, to qualify them for superior usefulness among their heathen kindred, so far from producing the result apprehended by the board, would promote a spirit of benevolence favourable to missions, both foreign and on our own continent. The fear that we should monopolize public attention, and public munificence, was thought to be not well founded. Moreover, we had consecrated all the life and labour that God would allow us to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians. While the board justly contemplated the objects of foreign missions as being “*great*,” as they chose to designate them, we felt that the considerations involved in missions to the Indians ought not to be esteemed *small*. It was a duty which we could not dispense with, even to avoid the sacrifice of feeling which we must make in departing from the instructions of the board, to *do all that we possibly could for the benefit of the people of our charge*. We did not claim the right of adopting measures of our own, contrary to their instructions, at their cost; this had not been contemplated. We had made great exertions to obtain the means of support, and from April, 1824, up to that time—nearly three years—the board had applied to our use no other funds than properly belonged to our stations, and which could not, without our consent, be applied any where else. According to these views, and without any feeling of disrespect towards our patrons, though differing from them in judgment, Mr. Lykins, on the 25th of January, 1827, started from Carey, for Vermont, with the two candidates for a medical education. Their English names were Francis Barrow and Thomas Baldwin.

A journey into a region still further north, at this season of the year, was attended with much suffering, but it could not be made in the summer, as the labours of the missionaries were then so pressing that Mr. Lykins could not be absent. They went by way of Detroit, and thence through Canada to Queenston, where they recrossed to the United States. It was the 15th of April before Mr. Lykins got back to Carey.

The boys were well received, and found benevolent friends, who took pleasure in helping to rescue the aboriginal race from

threatened extinction, and who rejoiced that an opportunity was afforded for the exercise of these best feelings of Christian man. They were making proficiency in study that promised future usefulness, to reward the kindness of their benefactors, when it appeared the pleasure of Heaven to take them both away by pulmonary consumption. Their loss we felt to be a severe stroke. We had daily and painful evidence of the want of physicians among the Indians; and in the medical department, as well as every other, it was an opinion which experience had confirmed, that *natives*, suitably qualified, could be more useful than persons introduced into the Indian country from other nations.

It became necessary for me to make a journey to Carey, which I commenced on the 5th of March. After spending three nights in the wilderness, and swimming our horses across Grand river, Kekenmazoo, and the St. Joseph's, we found ourselves at Carey, and were much gratified to perceive all things prosperous. Sunday, March the 11th, was a pleasant day at that place. Public religious exercises commenced a little after nine in the morning, and continued until between two and three in the afternoon; within which time Jacob French, one of our hired white men, was baptized, in presence of a large company of red and white people, and the Lord's supper was celebrated. I returned to Thomas on the 20th of March, accompanied by Mr. Meeker. Mrs. McCoy was at this time in poor health.

In travelling from one of our stations to the other, we passed by a lake, which was supposed by the Ottawas to be the abode of spirits, who sometimes performed strange feats. It was by them called Gun lake, because, as they said, a noise was often heard in it, like the report of a gun at a distance. In one place they said there was a large heap of ashes, the summit of which rose almost to the surface of the water. They supposed it had probably been accumulating hundreds of years, by being carried from a fire which they thought might be kept up near it. It was said, also, that the trunk of a large tree had been standing in the water many years, the top of which extended a little above the water. It was supposed to be held there by some supernatural agency, and, should any one have the temerity to approach it, his canoe would be certainly capsized by an invisible hand.

At that time, (March 11th,) it was reported that, on the margin of this enchanted lake, a tree had been set on fire, probably by lightning, the previous autumn, which had been burning all winter, from the top downward, until the stump of the

tree was not more than ten feet high. The snow in the country had been, all winter, about two feet deep, yet, according to this spirit story, the earth had been bare for a considerable distance around this burning tree. Great fears were felt that when the fire should burn down to the earth, the ground would become ignited, and the fire be found to be unquenchable; it being evident, as they said, that it was a kind of fire which water would not quench.

On the evening of the 11th of February, 1827, there was noticed in the vicinity of Thomas a meteor, or, as it is commonly called, a shooting star, which resembled a ball of fire more than meteors usually do. In its passage a sound was heard, which, on its disappearance, resembled an explosion, such as is common in connection with these phenomena. This alarmed our Ottawa neighbours. Noonday called on me the next day, to ask my opinion concerning it. "Was it ominous of distress? Did the good book give any information on the subject?" &c., were among his inquiries.

Between Carey and Thomas, on the 7th of March, curiosity attracted me to a neat little house of poles in a grave-yard, in the east end of which a small hole was made, not much larger than necessary to admit a mouse. Through this aperture we could see, wrapped in a blanket, the skeleton in a sitting attitude, with its face towards the little window. It was the skeleton of a Putawatomie, who had died about two years before.

In relation to diseases, their causes, and cure, the Ottawas and neighbouring tribes are exceedingly ignorant and superstitious. A charm, some kind of conjuration, incantation, or witchcraft, is always associated with the application of means for the recovery of the sick; indeed, so much importance seems to be attached to these mystic matters, that commonly their agency appears to be principally relied on for effecting the cure. The idea, which has gained too much credit with the whites, that the Indians are, in many instances, skilful physicians, is preposterous. Indians of sound judgment are generally sensible of this, and avail themselves of the better skill of the missionaries, even of those who make no pretensions to the science of medicine; nevertheless, among those poor, ignorant people, instances frequently occur strongly marking the tenacity of the natives to their superstitions in regard to this as well as other matters. Any disease which becomes located, so as to produce a sore, swelling, or pain, in one particular place, is attributed to the existence of small vermicular insects.

Near our station on Grand river, a poor Ottawa woman, to

whose comfort the female missionaries often administered, lingered and died with pulmonary consumption. She was related to Noonday, the chief of the village. The latter one day informed me, previous to her death, that her afflictions were occasioned by the existence of small worms, the size of which he described to me with much confidence, and represented them to be about half an inch long, and collected in the upper part of the lungs. He stated that on the preceding day, Goauboi, who was something of a conjuring doctor, had applied a hollow tube to the outside of the woman's chest, and, by enchantment and suction, had extracted one of those mischievous vermin. I asked if it had required a great effort to dislodge the one which they had taken? He replied, not very great, but it would be impossible to extract them all, and therefore the woman would probably die.

In our fields, at Thomas, we ploughed up pieces of earthen ware, made by the natives long before the recollection of any living; none of those tribes have manufactured earthen vessels since the discovery of America by the whites. The Ottawas, more or fewer of whom were always about our house, noticed that, with some interest, we examined ancient fortifications, mounds, &c., and preserved with care specimens of this earthen ware of ancient manufacture. These circumstances elicited some traditionary tales respecting these matters. Our friend Gosa related the following, which was, probably, believed by many:

“Three ages ago, that is, when the grandfather of him who is now an old man was born, some Ottawas at this place, (Rapids of Grand river, Michigan,) experiencing great inconvenience on account of having no vessel in which they could prepare their food, set about making a pot of earth. The vessel being placed over the fire, broke. Other trials were made to construct a substantial vessel, all of which were unsuccessful; none yet could be made impervious to fluids, or that would resist the action of fire. After two days' fruitless labour, and when the workmen were hungry for want of a vessel in which to prepare their food, they sat down in despair and wept. On a night, not long after, a spirit appeared to one of them in a dream, and inquired, ‘Why do you weep?’ The sleeper answered, ‘Because I am poor—I have no pot. Why did you create me and place me here, to suffer poverty and disappointment, without remedy?’ The spirit pointed down the lakes, and said, ‘Go in that direction, and I will accompany you, and you shall find relief.’ They set off, and the spirit, unperceived by day, accompanied

them, and conversed with them every night. They passed the islands of Mackinaw and Montreal, and reached Quebec. At the latter place they found the French, who extended to them the hand of friendship, and who furnished them with an iron pot, to which were added other useful articles of which they had previously been destitute. Their spiritual guide having fulfilled his errand of kindness, now discontinued his communion."

B——d is a Frenchman, slightly related to the Indians, and married to a Putawatomie woman. He was employed to assist in collecting some of the Putawatomies, and in conducting them to the treaty of Wabash, in the autumn of 1826. While we were upon the treaty ground, he related to me the following story, with a seriousness which forbid the suspicion that a doubt rested on his mind in relation to its truth:

"After their company was formed, which consisted of four or five hundred souls, they set out for the treaty ground, compelled by circumstances to travel slowly. Within the first three days' journey, their most expert hunters, to the number sometimes of fifty, with their utmost vigilance, were unable to kill a deer. They saw game, and often shot at it, but killed nothing. The consequence was, that they began to be distressed for want of food. Soon after the company halted to encamp on the evening of the third day, Saugana, a well known chief, fell asleep, and slumbered soundly through the night. On the following morning he informed the company that in a dream a person had acquainted him with the cause which had rendered their hunting unsuccessful, which was an error in Chebass, a celebrated chief, who had been the principal agent in prevailing on them to set off on the journey, to attend a place at which business of importance was to be transacted, and had neglected to make a sacrificial feast before they started. He had started on this important journey, the dreamer said, as a white man would, without making any religious preparation; and for this dereliction of duty the whole company had been rebuked by being left by the Great Spirit to realize the scarcity of food. In order to propitiate the Deity, Chebass must fast that day. Twelve men, neither more nor fewer, with faces blacked, indicative of hunger and want, and of their devotion, must proceed to their hunting, six of them on each side of the road along which the company had to travel. By the time the sun had risen to a height pointed out in the heavens, [we would say about 9 o'clock,] Saugana said they would have killed four deer. He assured them that such would be the fact, because he had seen in the vision four deer lying dead.

“The hunters set off according to instructions, killed the four deer within the time spoken of, and brought them to the company. A general halt was called. The four deer, including head, legs, feet, &c., were all boiled at the same time, and feasting immediately followed, in which all participated, each receiving a portion meted out, excepting Chebass. The feast was considered *his*, and on that account it was necessary for him to fast until the sun had gone down. Several speeches were made during the festival. About noon of the same day the company resumed their march; and on the following day they killed five deer and one bear, and during the two or three remaining days of their journey had plenty.”

In April, Mr. Lykins visited us at Thomas, and Mr. Meeker, who had for a while been our school teacher, returned with him to Carey. I was then compelled to go into the school myself. Our scholars increased to twenty-one. By the 20th of May, we had made some improvement in our buildings; had fenced over fifteen acres of land, ten or eleven acres of which we had planted in corn, potatoes, and other vegetables. It so happened that, contrary to our expectation and that of the Ottawas, the two labourers for these people, provided by the treaty of Chicago, were recalled for a few months at this busy season of the year, on account of some temporary deficiency in regard to funds to pay them, which occurred in the Department of Indian Affairs. Not anticipating this, we had promised the Ottawas assistance, and we were unwilling to disappoint them, especially as they seemed willing, with some encouragement, to work a great deal more for themselves than they had been in the habit of doing. We therefore kept one plough constantly, and sometimes two, running for them.

I had been exceedingly anxious, from my first entering the Indian country, to acquire such a knowledge of the language of those among whom I resided, as would enable me to converse with them with ease. While at Grand river, I pressed into this service every moment which could be taken from imperious calls of other duties. Noonday and Gosa were my instructors. But during this time, as previously, a constant press of other labours allowed little time for the study of the language. With the assistance of my instructors, neither of whom spoke English, I wrote discourses, prayers, and hymns, in the Ottawa language, which enabled me to conduct religious exercises commonly without an interpreter.

Our religious meetings were better attended at this place than at Carey. It was common for neighbouring Indians to walk

three quarters of a mile to attend family prayers, both morning and evening. It was most interesting to see them at morning prayers, because they were under the necessity of rising very early, which was contrary to their ordinary habits. A few cases of serious concern for the salvation of the soul, of a favourable character, occurred. The time drew near when it would be necessary for me and my family to return to Carey. The anticipation of this elicited expressions of desire, on the part of many Indians, to attend regularly on preaching, which circumstance, to us, was very affecting.

Noonday had said that he designed to put a boy, for whom he was guardian (having no children of his own) in our family. He delayed doing so four or five days longer than we had expected. The boy was frequently at our house, and we wondered why the brief ceremony of saying, "here he is, take him," should be delayed. These queries were all answered on the following Sunday, when Noonday and his boy appeared at our house very early. "I wish," said he, "to speak to you. I have brought hither my son, for the purpose of placing him in the mission family. Jesus, the Son of God, after his death, arose from the dead early on the day of prayer, (Sunday.) On that account, we meet every day of prayer, to pray, to sing, and to talk. It is not right to work on the day of prayer. Therefore, as Jesus arose *early* on prayer day morning, I have brought my son early this morning, to deliver him to you, to be instructed in things that are good. I thought that if I gave him to you on the morning of the day on which Jesus arose, perhaps he would have mercy upon him." This was a rare method of honouring the Saviour and the day on which he arose. It was an original thought, and one that indicated sincerity, though not a well cultivated understanding.

Mr. Meeker had left Thomas on the 22d of April, for Carey, to take charge of the school there, of which Mr. Slater had for some time had the management, the latter expecting to locate at Thomas.

On the 5th of May, 1827, Mr. and Mrs. Slater arrived from Carey, with the expectation of making Thomas their home in future. About the same time, a periogue which we had sent around by way of Grand river, Lake Michigan, and St. Joseph's river, to Carey, for supplies, returned to Thomas, after a voyage of thirty days. This brought seasonable relief to the station, but the cost was very heavy upon us. On the 9th, having provided for them suitable company, Mrs. McCoy, and our three little children, and Miss Purchase, left Thomas, to return to

Carey. Business compelled me to remain a while longer. On the 20th, Mr. Lykins unexpectedly arrived on foot. He had heard of a vessel coming up the lakes, and had providently contrived to meet it at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, with corn and pork, and had purchased of the schooner seven barrels of flour, and got all on to Grand river, coming up to us in a perogue, before we had heard of the transaction. This arrival was alike unexpected and acceptable. The station was now pretty well furnished with supplies for several months.

I became much attached to these people, and was sorry to leave them. A malign influence, emanating from some mischievous whites, had cherished some opposition to us among the Ottawas most remote from us; but, as fast as we had been able to form personal acquaintances, we had the happiness to see their suspicions give way, and the opposition constantly weakened. We took pains to extend our acquaintance to some whom we could not visit, by sending messages to them by Gosa and others, and inviting them to visit us. Excepting the uncommon religious excitement with which we had been blessed at Carey, we had not seen a missionary station in a condition so hopeful as Thomas was at this time.

I felt very much like going from home, when, on the 22d of May, I left Thomas, for my old residence at Carey. Mr. Lykins remained at Grand river a month longer, before he visited Carey.

CHAPTER XII.

Marriage of a missionary. Sickness. Origin of the mission to Sault de St. Marie. Indian hostilities. A captive redeemed. Cannibalism. Indian murders. Journey to Thomas. Sickness among the Ottawas. Treaty at Carey. Failure for want of missionaries. Smithery at Carey. Journey to the Eastern States. Remarks on Indian reform published. Efforts to promote colonization. Objections on account of slavery. First settlement of emigrants in the Indian territory. Exploring tour originated. Station at Sault de St. Marie.

June 7th, 1827, Miss Purchase was married to Mr. R. D. Potts, United States' agent of Indian affairs, who had resided many months in our missionary families. Out of respect to

the parties, and for the sake of making a favourable impression upon our Indian neighbours, we suspended the ordinary operations of labour at the establishment, and had a prepared dinner. By this connection, Miss Purchase necessarily dissolved her connection with the board of missions. For a while they resided at Fort Wayne. Subsequently they returned to Grand river, and Mr. Potts became teacher of the school at that station. He became religious, and was baptized, and some time afterwards obtained from Government an appointment as a school teacher to the Choctaws, within the Indian territory. These are the Mr. and Mrs. Potts who are at this time labouring successfully as missionaries, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

At this time, the routine of business at Carey remained the same as formerly. Visits were also made to the neighbouring villages, for the purpose of imparting religious instruction, though congregations could not be collected regularly. In the latter part of spring and the fore part of summer, before vegetables could be gathered from gardens, was the time of greatest scarcity of food during the year. Notwithstanding the notice we would give that we would attend and preach at their villages, the poor creatures would sometimes be almost all absent in quest of roots, or some other spontaneous production of the woods, for food.

Among our expensive inconveniences was the necessity of sending expresses. We had no mail, and it was necessary to keep up a communication with Chicago, ninety miles from us, with Fort Wayne, one hundred miles, and with Detroit, two hundred miles.

On the 3d of July, 1827, Mr. Lykins left us, on a journey to Indiana, of five or six weeks. On the same day I was attacked with severe indisposition. A violent fever, with very great suffering, brought me down, until those around me almost despaired of my recovery. On the eighth day I thought myself that I should die. My sufferings for a few days were greater than had commonly attended me in attacks of fever. I gave such directions respecting my family, and advice respecting the mission, as I deemed proper on leaving them. I endeavoured to commit my family to the care of a gracious Providence, but I felt great uneasiness on their account. I was leaving them in a wilderness, excepting those of my children then at school in the white settlements, and I had fully learned that there was no certainty that they would find friends to provide for their comfort and education. I said, "I am leaving my family in a lamentable

condition !” My missionary brethren would not be wanting in sympathy and kindness, but they would not have it in their power to help. They were wearing out the best portion of life without securing any thing for the future benefit of those of whom they had charge, and, for ought that could be foreseen, they too might one day realize anxieties in relation to their own families, similar to what I felt. From Heaven alone could hope and consolation be drawn, under circumstances like these. I had to prescribe for myself. Despairing of my recovery, and influenced by sympathy for me under great sufferings, those around me entreated me to employ anodynes to allay my pain. But I resolved on a different course, and continued the use of calomel. “In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and he heard me.”

In April, 1827, Dr. Bolles, the corresponding secretary of the board of missions, had informed us that an annuity of one thousand dollars, for educational purposes among the Chippewas, was available, provided we could find a missionary who could undertake a mission there, to be located at Sault de St. Marie, between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, and inquiry was made whether one could be spared from Carey or Thomas for that place. We were unable at that time to send a missionary from our place, and so answered the board; but we hoped that our number would increase. We were exceedingly desirous that the board should improve the opening for the establishment of a mission there, and trusted that, even if we should not be re-enforced with missionaries, we should be able to make such arrangements as would eventually allow one of us to labour there. In the mean time, in order to secure the occupancy of the place to our board, we addressed a letter to Governour Cass, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Governour Cass and Colonel T. L. McKenney were commissioners for the purpose of negotiating treaties with the Chippewas and others, this year, and it was designed by us that I should endeavour to attend their negotiations, which would be at Green Bay, not far from Sault de St. Marie; by which means it was hoped some profitable arrangements could be made relative to the occupancy of the contemplated station, and for the procurement of other educational facilities for the enlargement of our operations. Governour Cass very politely invited me to attend the treaty. Twice I had appointed to set out on the journey, and each time was prevented by sickness. These disappointments afterwards appeared to us to have been providential. My route lay by way of Chicago, and the distance to Green Bay was nearly three hundred miles, and through an unsettled

country, excepting a few families at Chicago. I should have necessarily passed through the Winnebago towns, and should have entered them unconscious of danger, whereas it appeared by an express, which passed us on the 27th of July, 1827, going from Chicago to Detroit, that the Winnebagoes were in a state of almost open hostility. Had I entered their country at the time that I desired, I should probably not have left it.

News of hostilities was very unexpected. Some information which Governour Cass received at Green Bay induced him to procure a birch bark canoe, and proceed across to Prairie Du Chien, on the Mississippi river. In descending the Wisconsin, he passed many Winnebagoes, at great hazard. About the time he reached Prairie Du Chien, these Indians, in open day, made an attack on a little settlement at that place, and killed two men and a child. The people hastened into the fort. Troops from the fort at St. Peter's were ordered down the river, to the assistance of Fort Crawford, at Prairie Du Chien. Governour Cass descended to St. Louis, and troops were also sent up from that region, to the relief of the place. Another boat, in descending the Wisconsin soon after Governour Cass, was attacked, and had three men killed and seven wounded. Governour Cass returned in his canoe up the Illinois river, to Chicago, and thence went again to Green Bay by way of the lake.

The little settlement at Chicago was thrown into great alarm, being only two days' journey from the enemy's towns. They took refuge in the fort at the place, but no troops being stationed there at that time, their dependance for protection, for some time, was on their own prowess. Subsequently, two hundred militia, from the State of Illinois, arrived for their relief. Governour Cass invited as many of the Putawatomie chiefs to a council at Chicago as his haste would allow, and gave them such a *talk* as the times required, in order to prevent them from participating in the hostilities of the Winnebagoes. All appeared friendly excepting one chief, named Bigfoot, who refused to come into council.

The Providence by which I had been prevented from entering the Winnebago country at that time of danger was made more impressive by a letter being unaccountably detained on the road. Governour Cass wrote me from Detroit the 22d of May, encouraging me to go to Green Bay. Had the letter reached me in the usual time, say in ten or twelve days, I should probably have started. But, from some cause unknown to us, the letter did not reach me until the 18th of July, at a time when I was unable to travel.

The Putawatomie country adjoined the country of the Winnebagoes, and on account of the intercourse to which their proximity to each other gave rise, it was natural to suppose that some of the Putawatomies, especially those who lived nearest to the hostile tribe, should partake somewhat of their spirit of disaffection towards the whites. Chebass, a noted Putawatomie chief of our neighbourhood, stated to us that while they had been at Chicago to receive their late annuity, four men from the hostile Indians, in a formal manner, according to Indian custom in such cases, invited them to join in the war against the whites, by presenting to them their war tomahawk, war pipe, and war beads, with the hair of a buffalo or of a cow's tail suspended to one arm, all of which emblems were coloured red.

On the 29th of July, though I was so feeble, from my late severe illness, as to be scarcely able to sit up, I sent for a few of the neighbouring chiefs and principal men, sixteen of whom called to see me, to whom I stated the unpleasant news we had heard respecting hostilities which had commenced between our Winnebago neighbours and the whites, and gave them such advice as I thought circumstances required. Saugana, a chief, was made their speaker, who said :

“Our brother, we are sorry to hear that some Indians have been fighting with the white people. This is not good, and we will not join them ; we will remain at peace ; we are happy that you have come to live among us, and that you are our friend—the same as one of us. If soldiers should pass through our country towards the Winnebagoes, our women and children will be afraid. There are some foolish white men as well as foolish Indians. We shall be glad if you will meet the soldiers, and speak to them, and accompany them through our country, that our women and children may not be alarmed. You will know every thing that passes among the whites. If any thing should occur that we ought to know for our safety, we desire you to inform us, and advise us what to do. We will understand all that occurs among the Indians. If we hear of any thing which affects your safety, we will inform you. Finally, I can say no more than, do you take care of us, and we will take care of you.”

At all times we had Indian acquaintances who would confidentially communicate to us any thing we desired, of which they had knowledge, in relation to occurrences in the Indian country. With vigilance on the part of agents, and a discreet management on the part of Government, almost all Indian wars might be avoided. The first symptoms of hostile feelings might be known, and

measures adopted to check them. If they had just cause for dissatisfaction, justice ought to be extended to them; if their dissatisfaction was the result of a mischievous influence from others, or of a malignant spirit of their own, it might be corrected before it produced serious consequences. On the present occasion we were so fortified with Indian friends, in whose fidelity we could rely, that a party of hostile Indians could hardly have reached us without our knowledge of their approach.

At the time that the first overt acts of hostility occurred with the Winnebagoes, several hundred Sauks were on their annual visit to Malden, in Upper Canada, to receive an annuity of presents, a reward for the part they had taken in favour of England in the last war between that country and the United States. The country of the Sauks adjoined that of the Winnebagoes. Hearing, in the vicinity of Detroit, of the disturbances in their neighbourhood, they hastened home. Eleven passed hastily on before the main body.

On the 4th of August, the main body of them encamped about five miles from Carey, and very early on the following morning two chiefs, Nepop, and Kukékamaquau, the latter a war chief, with a highly ornamented war club, called to see us, as they said, in behalf of the whole company. As they approached our door, they showed signs of fear, which we took measures to remove. Our conversation turned on the subject of the difficulties between the Winnebagoes and the whites, and we urged upon them the propriety of their remaining neutral. They declared their fears that on their journey home they might fall in with soldiers, or other white men of hostile feelings, from whom they might receive ill usage, and requested a line, stating that they had passed peaceably through our neighbourhood, and requesting that they might be treated as friends by any whites whom they might chance to meet. They also asked for a piece of white cloth, which they might use as a flag of peace, should occasion require. These reasonable requests were cheerfully granted.

On their arrival, they lost no time in exhibiting a certificate favourable to the character of one of them, obtained at the Department of War, in Washington, in 1824, and also a line from two of the white settlers near Detroit, saying they had passed through peaceably. They appeared much gratified to learn that they probably would not be molested on their way. Nepop said, "I am glad that there is no danger of the white people attacking us, for if they were to strike us, we should

return the blow. We fought very hard against the long knives [citizens of the United States] in the last war, and they came near killing me. There," said he, putting his finger on his forehead, "a white man's bullet struck me, and had well nigh taken my life." The scar indicated a very narrow escape, sure enough. The conduct of our Putawatomie neighbours during these transactions was very much to their credit and to our satisfaction, and we had reason to believe that the pains we took to preserve the Indians unhurt, had times become worse, by promoting peace, elevated the character of the missionaries in their estimation very much.

A few days after the Sauks had passed on, Pocagin and his wife visited us, bringing with them an Indian boy, apparently about eleven years of age, supposed to be a Naudowisse (Sioux) whom they had purchased of the Sauks. Pocagin having heard that in divers villages of the Putawatomies the Sauks had been offering a person for sale, went to them and proposed purchasing. He gave for the boy three horses, saddles, and bridles, and other property equal in value to a fourth horse. The boy had been taken prisoner by the Sauks, and illy treated. Several scars on him were pointed out to us, occasioned by the blows of a cruel old woman to whom he had belonged. In making the purchase, it seemed that Pocagin had been actuated, in a good degree, by humane motives. He said that many of his own children were dead, and the living being few in number, he had redeemed this captive to adopt into his own family. In evidence of the sincerity of our commendation of this praiseworthy deed, we presented the boy with a couple of garments, of which we perceived he was still in want.

Pocagin, who is a Putawatomie chief of respectability, assured us that the Sauks frequently killed their prisoners, after they had been a considerable time captives; and what rendered the account shocking in the extreme was, that they ate the flesh of the victims. He said that two years previously, while the Sauks were making their annual journey to Canada, an Osage man, who was a prisoner, when sitting in his tent unconscious of danger, was approached by two Sauks, who, taking him by the two arms, conducted him out of the company and killed him. A woman afterwards cut him to pieces, and boiled the flesh, and it was eaten by the party. These horrid deeds are not done on account of hunger, but they are the effect of superstition. They are considered evidences of bravery, and are supposed to inspire the eater with additional courage.

Pocagin also informed us that one year before, when the

Sauks were on their way to Canada, they were about to sacrifice a young man, who was a prisoner, and that he overheard them as they were devising his death, and made his escape. This year the claimant of the fugitive was not in company, but had enjoined it on others to endeavour to retake his captive; and in event of their getting him again, he directed that he should be murdered in a manner too shocking to be here described. Our very natures, revolting at the thought that human beings could be thus savage, would fain have furnished grounds for disbelieving these horrid tales. But we were compelled to believe that it was such a people as this that we laboured to improve. From well attested facts, the recital of which was no less shocking than the above, we are constrained to believe that the Putawatomes, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Miamies, the tribes among whom we laboured, have all been guilty of cannibalism. We do not mean that human flesh was eaten for the sake of food; this we presume never has been done by any people, except in extreme cases of suffering. If the accounts of the Indians can be credited, the last war between England and the United States, in which Indians were mercenaries on both sides, was disgraced by cannibalism, the last instance of which we have been informed, occurred near Fort Meigs, on the Maumee river, in 1813. Deeds, the enormity of which cannot be described, we know have been done in the country about us. What else can be expected from depraved human beings, unrestrained by law?

Whatever else, whether good or bad, we had occasion to notice among the people of our charge, the disorders on account of intemperance were ever prominent. Two murders about this time were committed on the Tiaukakeek river, and Mr. Potts, the sub-agent, found it necessary to interpose to prevent others following, from a spirit of revenge. A few days after the Putawatomes received their annuity at Chicago, in July, 1827, three murders were committed, one of which was within a mile of our house; a fourth murder occurred a while after: all were the effects of whiskey, distributed to them by our white neighbours. About the same time, the son of an Indian named Owl, was murdered near us, in which wicked deed a son of the chief, Chebass, acted a conspicuous part. The murderer a short time after set fire to the house of Shak-wauk-shuk, one of our near neighbours, in which several others resided besides his own family, and destroyed all the property it contained. They appealed to us, and we afforded them some relief in their destitute condition.

One of Shak-wauk-shuk's wives was a sister to the murderer. She very unconcernedly said that her brother had become so troublesome that the Indians were about to look for him and kill him. A few hours afterwards, Chebass, the chief, called on us, and said he was in great distress; that a council was to be held on the following day, when the family of the late murdered man would demand vengeance on his son, who had participated in the murder. He said he would take a horse to the council, as an atonement for the offence of his son, and by the price of atonement he would suspend a flag of white cloth, which we gave him at his request. The culprit and the price of atonement would be placed near each other, and the avengers would make their choice of one or the other. He awaited the decision in an agony of hope and fear; and equal to his anxiety must have been his joy, when it was decided that the offender should not be executed.

It was at this time deemed expedient for Mr. Meeker to join Mr. Slater at Grand river, and on the 20th of August he and I set out for that station. Late rains had swollen the St. Joseph's river, so that our horses had to swim it. At night, on account of the unpleasantness of lodging on the ground, which was very wet, we turned a little from our way, and took shelter in an Indian hut. The inmates took great pains to show kindness to us. A little scaffold, above which was a temporary shed, was pointed out to us for our sleeping place. Here we were so annoyed by fleas, that Mr. Meeker soon retreated to a scaffold erected for the purpose of drying corn, some ten feet from the ground; the enemies of his comfort, however, were not avoided by the change of place. The little settlement had made preparation for a dance. They appeared to delay entering upon their exercises awhile, to allow us to fall asleep. They continued drumming, dancing, and singing, until near daylight; so that between the noise which was in a house adjoining us, and the insects, which treated us with less ceremony, we slept none.

Mingling with uncivilized Indians, especially in warm weather, is exceedingly unpleasant. All filthy vermin with which persons are liable to be infested, when little or no regard is paid to cleanliness, abound among them. On our visits to their houses, for want of a chair, a blanket is commonly spread for us to sit upon, and the consequence very often is an accumulation of filthy vermin, of which it is difficult to rid our garments. This was also a source of much vexation and labour in regard to our schools. Relatives and acquaintances, on visits, would

mingle among our scholars, and divide with them their offensive vermin.

Want of attention to their persons, in regard to cleanliness, occasions uncivilized Indians to be subject to cutaneous eruptions, especially the itch. With all the caution, by the missionaries, which it was possible to observe, the children of the school would frequently contract this disagreeable disease, by mingling with their acquaintances; and to suppress it among a family of sixty or seventy Indian children was not a light matter.

On the second night of our journey, as we lay in camp on the bank of Kekenmazoo river, I was taken very sick. We were, however, able to reach Thomas on the evening of the following day.

The establishment at this time appeared to be exerting a salutary influence all around. We were welcomed by the neighbouring Indians, who flocked in to see us, and we had much interesting conversation with them, both in council and on other occasions; most of all, we were gratified to hear them express a desire to receive religious instruction. A lively disposition to improve their condition was manifested in many villages, and some were indeed becoming quite comfortable, both in respect to food and raiment. Noonday's village, which was near the mission premises, was increasing in population, and improving in regard to the character of buildings. They had twenty-four acres of land well fenced, and most of it in a good state of cultivation; and at Blackskin's village, they had twelve acres fenced.

On the 27th of August, 1827, a considerable number of the neighbouring Ottawas called at Thomas to pay their respects, on my leaving the place for Carey, on which occasion I introduced Mr. Meeker to them, as the superintendent of the station, and as a licensed preacher. With this they appeared to be much gratified—the more so because they discovered that he could read to them religious discourses in the Ottawa language.

I was on the eve of setting out, when they desired me to tarry a short time, until they could bestow on Mr. Meeker a name. They conferred with me privately on the propriety of the measure, and on the suitability of a name which they had proposed among themselves. We then all became seated, in a serious manner, as if a matter of great moment had been on hand, when the old chief, Blackskin, arose and shook the hand of all the whites, both male and female; then turning to me, said, "My brother, it is nothing bad that I am now about to say. We are all pleased that you have brought this young man to

live with us; we are happy to hear that he is a speaker of things that are good. It is difficult for us to pronounce his English name, and we therefore desire to give him an Indian name. We have decided that his name shall be Mânó-kéké-tòh' [He that speaks good words, or, a preacher of righteousness.] We have given him a good name; we hope he will remain with us, to teach us and our children good things, so that our children will be benefited, and be worthy of good names which you will give them." He concluded by giving Mr. Meeker the hand, addressing him by his new name. I made a brief response, and also gave Mr. Meeker the hand, under address of his new name. On similar occasions of conferring a name among themselves, the recipient, or one of his friends, is expected to give a feast; we were happy that this part of the ceremony could be dispensed with upon the present occasion.

We had no physicians near us, which often occasioned great anxiety. In August, Mrs. Simerwell made a visit to Thomas, on account of the indisposition of Mrs. Slater, from which she returned, in the company of her husband, in September. Mrs. Simerwell and her infant both came home sick of fever; they had been much exposed to rains on the way, and were sometimes thoroughly drenched. One day the poor child had its paroxysm of ague and fever in the woods, when its clothes were thoroughly wetted with rains. They also brought the unpleasant intelligence that a diarrhœa, which existed in that country when I was last there, and of which I had suffered, had increased to an epidemic. Several deaths had occurred; Mr. Slater and six of the pupils were sick, and studies in school had been suspended. During these afflictions, Noonday invited the missionaries to visit the sick, and converse and pray. He also lectured his people himself, on the propriety of forsaking wicked ways, which gave offence to the Great Spirit, and of attending to the instructions of the missionaries. We were frequently called upon for medicine, and we knew that it was necessary to administer it with great caution. We could not depend upon their fidelity in following a prescription; and if the patient should die, we were liable to be blamed. Their own conjuring physicians frequently forfeited their lives by an unsuccessful case. In the time of this general sickness at Grand river, Mr. Meeker gave an emetic to a child, which died while under the influence of the medicine. When he issued the medicine, he was not aware that the child was so near its end. Notwithstanding no blame ought to have been attached to Mr. Meeker, the Indians felt unpleasant, and on that account the missionaries felt more

so; they could not tell how far these ignorant people would be influenced by their superstition. The parents of the child claimed of the missionaries burying clothes, with as much confidence as if the child had been destroyed by design. In these requests the missionaries gratified them, and, by a steady and prudent course, nothing prejudicial to the mission ensued.

On the 17th of September, 1827, his Excellency Lewis Cass and suit arrived at Carey, for the purpose of holding a treaty with our Putawatomie neighbours, whom, by runners sent before him, he had assembled at our house. At this treaty, several small reservations, on the north side of the St. Joseph's, were consolidated in one; five hundred dollars worth of goods were paid them, and an annuity of twenty-five hundred dollars. About half a dozen traders, and some others who had nothing to sell except whiskey, placed themselves, for the time, near the Indians' encampment, and not much more than a mile from us. In about twenty-four hours after the Indians had received their money, the dealers had relieved them of it, and broken up their temporary store encampments, and left the place. Such is the facility with which an Indian can rid himself of the burden of carrying his money.

By personal services and the sale of some of the products of our farm, &c., this treaty was made to benefit the mission more than four hundred dollars, which our pressing want of funds, for the purpose of paying debts, made very acceptable. But we believed that the greatest benefits to the mission on account of the treaty arose from the opportunity afforded us of making known our plans and wishes fully to Governour Cass, and to General Tipton, United States' Indian agent. The United States' agent for the examination of Indian schools, J. L. Lieb, Esq., was secretary to the commissioner at the treaty, and took this opportunity of making his annual examination of the establishment. All three of these gentlemen tendered their services in future, in the promotion of our views.

We were much gratified with the privilege of seeing in our house Governour Cass, who had been a kind of patron of our institution from its origin, and to whom we felt under great obligations for many attentions and positive favours. The female department of the school was at that time taught by my eldest daughter, scarcely grown. His Excellency visited both departments, and made himself acquainted with our whole routine of business; and the interest which he evidently took in these examinations, and his readiness to promote the interests of the institution, were very flattering.

From him we ascertained that at the late treaty at Green Bay, which I had desired to attend, a provision had been made for educational purposes. We immediately conceived the design of availing ourselves of the application of this annuity, by establishing a mission on Fox river, about eighty miles west of Green Bay. In effecting this object, we were assured of the co-operation of Governour Cass. We hoped that we should be able to procure missionaries, and the means of support were already provided for. The measure we thought might facilitate the formation of a missionary establishment at Sault de St. Marie, as we had for some time desired. But if a preference ought to be given to one of the two sites proposed, we believed that that on Fox river was entitled to it. Sanguine as were our hopes of success at this time, we never found missionaries to improve the opening, and our plans failed for want of men to carry them into operation.

While I had resided at Grand river, measures had covertly been taken, by some of our white neighbours, to obtain an order from Governour Cass to remove the public smithery from under our charge. Without our knowledge, a communication had been made to him on the subject, to which he had paid no attention, so that our enemies effected nothing more than an expression of their malicious feelings.

Mr. Simerwell was by trade a cutler. Soon after he arrived at Carey, he had the magnanimity to consent to be the superintendent of our public smithery, for which he was eminently qualified. We obtained for him a commission as United States' blacksmith, on account of which he received a salary of three hundred and sixty five dollars per annum, all of which he, like those of the other missionaries who received salaries from the Government, threw into the common missionary account, as money belonging to the board, and to be accounted for by a report of our common expenditures. We commonly kept another smith, hired by ourselves, to labour in the shop, for the relief of Mr. Simerwell. This hired man we obtained for less than Mr. Simerwell's salary; so that there was a positive saving of upwards of one hundred dollars a year from this source, which constituted one of the items of income by which the mission was supported. When we had not a hired smith in the shop, Mr. Simerwell laboured in it himself, and, in very pressing times for smith work, by the necessities of the people of our charge, he laboured in conjunction with the hired smith.

Some other insidious attempts had been made to deprive our mission of some streams of support for which we had laboured

at the treaty of 1826. In conference on these things with Governour Cass and J. L. Leib, Esq., at the late treaty, they both advised that I should visit Washington during the next session of Congress, and endeavour to make such arrangements with the Department of Indian Affairs as the circumstances of the mission called for.

Our expenses were heavy. Besides the seventy Indian children to be supported and educated at Carey, we had to contrive to meet the expenses of the Thomas station. All supplies for that place, except what they could make on the ground, were sent from Carey, usually in periogues or a barge, by water. Accidents by winds and water sometimes befel them, and occasioned great loss, and added distressingly to the expense.

About the time of the late treaty we received in charge fifteen valuable cattle, sent to us by order of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to distribute to the Ottawas, in further fulfilment of the treaty of 1821.

Feeling it to be a duty we owed to our children to send them a portion of the time to school in the white settlements, and without a settled home ourselves, my wife and I had been much deprived of their society. In the mission journals the following note in reference to our family appears for September 21st, 1827: "This evening arrived my three sons, on a visit from Lexington, Kentucky, where they have been pursuing their studies. It has been years since I and my poor wife have had all our children together. This afternoon we have the satisfaction of seeing all our living children present. For this great favour, after years of anxious separation, we record our gratitude to God, our heavenly father."

On the 11th of October Mr. Lykins had an alarming attack of inflammation in the ear, attended with excruciating pain and delirium. For a few days we had reason to fear that his labours were ended; but the Lord had mercy on him, and on us, and on those for whom he has since been allowed to labour.

The time now drew near when, according to our own views of expediency, and the advice of our friends, Governour Cass and Judge Leib, I should take my journey to the eastern States. I had written what would make about fifty large octavo pages, entitled "Remarks on Indian Reform;" the principal design of which was to show the practicability of Indian reform; the obligations which devolved upon us to carry it forward, and the measures which ought to be adopted for its accomplishment. In this, the location of the tribes in a permanent home west of the State of Missouri, was particularly urged as a measure essential to suc-

cess. To get this work printed and before the public was a prominent object contemplated by the journey. I also hoped to prevail on the board to present a memorial to Congress, in favour of colonizing the Indians. Should they not consent, I designed to endeavour to form a connection with a society which I hoped might be originated for that special purpose; in this event, my connection with the existing board of missions would have been dissolved.

It appeared to us that the time had arrived when it became indispensable to make a vigorous effort to obtain some provision for the settlement of the fruit of our schools, and of the people of our charge. It seemed next to useless to wear out our lives in teaching youths, who, on the completion of their courses, were to be turned out to mingle with their depraved countrymen and kindred, while the latter were exposed to all the contaminating influences which emanated from unprincipled white men. We discovered that our Indians could not possibly prosper where they knew they had no settled residence, and where the influx of white population, and with it the introduction of floods of ardent spirits, had already added discouragements to their spiritless minds.

October 15th, 1827. I took my leave of the station, expecting to be absent several months. Many circumstances, particularly the situation of Mrs. McCoy, made these adieus very painful. But the interests of the cause of Indian reform, in which we had embarked, required the sacrifice. I took a man with me, to assist me in travelling through the wilderness to Detroit, which place we reached on the eighth day. Four nights of the journey we encamped without a house. From Detroit I sent two hired men to Thomas, and also sent up the lakes, by a schooner, salt, flour, and other articles needed at the station.

The most important of missionary matters was that which related to the forming of permanent settlements in the West, where the scattered tribes could enjoy the benefit of such civil, religious, and literary institutions, as by the constitution of man's nature, are essential to his prosperity. On reaching the city of New-York, November 7th, I was greatly encouraged to find the substantial friend of our mission, the Rev. S. H. Cone, warmly in favour of these measures. He did not content himself by silently approving, as too many do in relation to the Indians, which amounts merely to saying, "be warm and be fed, without my help," but he took pleasure in promoting these measures. He had corresponded with other members of the board, and notwithstanding some seemed to question the eligibility of the

scheme, the approbation of the board officially was justly hoped for.

I met the board of missions in Boston, on the 13th of November, at which time it resolved that a memorial be presented to the next Congress, praying for the countenance of Government in forming a settlement of Indians in the West. The board having previously appointed me their agent to go to the West on this business when it should be necessary, resolved also to seek from Government a similar appointment for me. The board having examined the manuscript which I had prepared on the subject of Indian reform, resolved that it should be printed, which was done in Boston forthwith. It was issued to the public gratuitously. A copy was given to each member of Congress, and to each of the heads of the Departments, and others distributed in the different States.

I was in Washington City on the 11th of December; and on the 12th, through the Honourable Wilson Lumpkin, of Georgia, laid before the House of Representatives, the memorial of the board in favour of the organization of an Indian territory. Mr. Adams, President of the United States, and the Honourable James Barbour, Secretary of War, were made acquainted with our plans, and the reasons which had weighed with us, and from each encouraging answers were obtained. On the 14th and 28th of December I was allowed interviews with the Committee of the House of Representatives on Indian Affairs, for the purpose of advocating our plans for Indian settlement in the West. I formed a personal acquaintance with more than thirty members of Congress, the greater part of whom were favourable to our designs. From the Hon. William McLean, Hon. W. Lumpkin, Hon. R. M. Johnson, and Hon. W. Hendricks, I received much assistance.

While there were encouraging circumstances attending this matter, there were many of a contrary character. It was easily perceived, that while many were willing to make the experiment, from motives of humanity towards the Indians, they doubted the possibility of rescuing the aboriginal race from extermination. Many gentlemen who offered to aid in any fair experiment for the improvement of the Indians, and whose polite attentions and prompt assistance brought me under very great obligations, frankly told me that they believed the Indian race was destined to become extinct. It was our duty to adopt all feasible measures for their preservation, but all would fail. Among objections to the formation of an Indian territory, was one on the part of the non-slaveholding States, relative to the form-

ation of new States in the West. When Missouri was admitted into the Union, it was, by way of compromise, agreed upon between the parties, for and against slavery, that thereafter no State tolerating slavery, should be formed north of north latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, which was the parallel of the southern boundary of the State of Missouri. In the formation of an Indian territory in the West, a portion of the country north of this line would be assigned to the Indian tribes, and, consequently, the number of non-slaveholding States would ultimately be curtailed. A majority, however, seemed not opposed to tribes removing west upon the same parallels of latitude which they respectively occupied on the east of the Mississippi river. The two parties which are necessarily formed in our Government upon the subject of slavery have continued from that time to this, to manifest great tenacity for what each esteems its rights; the non-slaveholding States opposing every measure which they suppose would introduce Southern Indians on to their side of the line compromised, and the southern States as warmly opposing the filling up of the country on the south side of the line, with Indians from the north. The Indians, when located in the West, were not expected by either party to become citizens of the United States, and it was contemplated that white citizens would be excluded from the Indian territory.

Not long before the time of which we are speaking, the Cherokees formed for themselves a written constitution of a civil form of Government. They declared their right to govern themselves, and to control their own territory, and their determination never to alienate their lands. This circumstance aroused the State of Georgia, within whose limits most of the Cherokees resided, to assert what she esteemed, and other States had conceded to be *her right* to control all within her chartered limits. The agitation of this subject had an important bearing upon the matter of forming an Indian territory. It was evident, from many considerations, which will receive notice hereafter, that the result would be, the removal of the Cherokees to the West.

The scheme of an Indian territory contemplated the location in it of all the tribes east of the Mississippi river; which, added to the indigenous tribes of that country, would make about one hundred and forty thousand souls. Doubts were felt by very many, whether so great a number could be advantageously settled within the country that was available for that object. A very imperfect knowledge of the country at that time prevailed in the United States. It was known that it was generally a

prairie country. It had never been examined with a view to settlement, and according to the reports of those who had hastily passed across it to the Rocky mountains, and by those who had traversed it on the business of the fur trade, its resources in wood, water, and soil, were such as would render it inadequate to the purposes contemplated.

The doubts which surrounded this subject, with regard to the character and resources of the country, occasioned painful anxiety to some who felt a deep interest in the salvation of these wretched people. All experience proved that they could not prosper when mixed up with or when hemmed in by white population. A country of their own, and occupied exclusively by themselves, was *essential* to their happiness, and even to their *existence* as a people. No other place than the one under consideration would answer the purpose. The northern regions, owned by the United States, would be too cold for the southern-Indians, and they would there be pressed by white population as commerce on the lakes advanced. The objection noticed already, of the northern States, to filling with an Indian population a portion of the country, all of which they desired should be inhabited by a non-slaveholding population of citizens of the United States, would apply with full force, and their proximity to a foreign Government would be a ground of objection to all the States. If, therefore, the country west of the Mississippi should be inadequate, it appeared to some, that the fate of the Indians on our borders and within the States must be considered as *sealed*—they *must perish* !

About the year 1818, a portion of the Cherokees, supposed to be about three thousand in number, by a treaty agreement with the United States, had, at different times, left the main body of the Cherokees on the east of the Mississippi, and had obtained a settlement on the Arkansas river. The object of their removal west, as stated in the treaty, was not to promote habits of civilized life, but to follow their hunting and other wild habits unembarrassed by the presence of a civilized population.

On the Arkansas they were soon overtaken and were surrounded by white population ; and in 1828 they again treated with the United States, and changed their place for that occupied by white people on their west. The white population, on a strip of country forty miles wide, extending in length, north and south, on the west border of the Territory of Arkansas, removed to the interior, on to what had belonged to the Cherokees, and the latter went west on to this strip, of which, the eastern boundary was made the western boundary of the Ter-

ritory of Arkansas; so that the Cherokees were now not only west of white settlements, but west of the States and Territories.

The motives which induced the location of these Cherokees in this western settlement were precisely the reverse of those which now prompted the desire to furnish the Indians with a peaceable and prosperous home. Their repeated removals were, on their part, to avoid embarrassment to their uncultivated habits by the proximity of civilization; and on the part of the Government, it was but a continuation of the unjust policy always practised, of removing the Indians further, to make room for white settlements. Under similar circumstances, small portions of the Choctaws and Creeks had made settlements on Red river and Arkansas river. About the same time, [1828,] the Shawanoes, Weas, Piankashas, Peorias, and Kaskias, commenced settlements on their respective tracts of land within the Indian territory.

In 1827, Col. Thomas L. McKenney held negotiations with the Chickasaws, by which it was agreed that a delegation from that tribe should explore the country west of the Mississippi, with a view to the selection of a future home, should they be satisfied with the country. He also made arrangements for a delegation from the Choctaws, to examine the country assigned to that tribe, and in which a very few of the Choctaws were then living, with a view to the removal ultimately of the whole tribe. Also, a delegation of Creeks were to visit, for like purposes, their kindred in the West. These explorations were to be made under the supervision and at the expense of the United States.

The arrangements thus made for explorations were conditional, the completion of which depended upon the future action of Congress. In December, 1827, a resolution was offered to the House of Representatives, inquiring into the expediency of making appropriations to encourage some of the southern tribes to remove. The result was, that Congress made an appropriation to meet the expense of explorations, and the same was ordered by the President to be made the following year. The vote on the question of this appropriation was so close in the House of Representatives, that there was a majority of only *ten* votes in its favour. The conduct of the exploration was committed to Capt. George Kennerly, of St. Louis, Missouri, and myself. I was no sooner informed that I should be employed, than I asked leave to take with me also a delegation of Putawatomes, and another of the Ouawas, and to be allowed the privilege of

making a more extensive survey of the country than was necessary in reference to the three southern tribes. This request was granted, for which, and for the favour of a commission to perform a service upon which I had long desired to enter, and which had been contemplated in my appointment by the board of missions, as its agent in services in the West, I was under great obligations to Col. McKenney, in whom, after my first acquaintance, I always found a *friend* while he continued in office.

We had felt, to our grief, that the work upon which we had entered was more difficult than we had at first anticipated. We had supposed that missionaries, competent to sustain the work of Indian reform, would not be wanting; in this we had been disappointed. We knew that the influx of white population would crowd us out of that country, but we did not expect that the torrent would have overwhelmed our affairs so soon, and not until we had made some suitable preparation for the better location of our people. With the board of missions we had reasoned and entreated in favour of seeking a better situation for the Indians, nearly five years before any efficient measure, or one positively affecting the matter, had been taken. Its first actual effort was the presentation of its memorial to Congress. With the Government and political men we had respectfully laboured the same length of time, and we now found the matter no further advanced than the authorizing of an exploration of the country. But great as were our discouragements, on account of the accumulation of evils around our station, and the tardiness of the public in acting, there remained to us no alternative but either to see all our hopes frustrated, or to persevere in efforts for a settlement in the West. The board of missions was not disposed to incur any expense on account of this enterprise; all that we could hope for from it was its approbation, by which our influence on the subject elsewhere might be increased.

Before I left Washington, Mr. H. Lincoln, Treasurer of the board, came to aid in the promotion of our plans on Indian matters. I departed from Washington on the 11th of February, 1828, and, after an uncommonly disagreeable time on that part of the journey which lay through the wilderness, on account of rain, high water, and cold, arrived at Carey on the 21st. In my absence, three deaths had occurred in the Indian part of the mission family. The increasing evils arising from the proximity of white population, especially those attending the introduction of ardent spirits, showed the necessity of the measures we had been pursuing for a removal of the Indians. We knew that our labours there must, from that time forward, be almost wholly

unavailing. A blacksmith, whom I had sent to Thomas from Detroit, as I was on my way to the East, had become dissipated, and had induced our friend Gosa, who had abstained almost wholly for about three years, again to drink, and great difficulties almost daily occurred, on account of ardent spirits. Under the torrent of evils beating upon them, we perceived that the Indians around us were rapidly diminishing in numbers.

While I was absent, the situation of Mrs. McCoy having rendered medical aid indispensable, a hired white man, and our third son, only a boy, set out for Fort Wayne on that errand. They swam their horses twice across the St. Joseph's river, crossing themselves in canoes. When they reached Elksheart river, about fifty miles from Carey, they found it very high; they encamped on its bank until the following day, when, the stream still remaining full, they formed the imprudent resolution to swim it. One of their horses was thought unable to carry his rider through; they therefore put on him most of the baggage which was necessary in travelling through the wilderness. Their plan was for the young man to ride the stronger horse across, while my son drove in the poor one, in the hope that he would follow; after which, it was hoped that the strong horse could be induced to swim back, and that my son could mount him, and swim him across to his travelling companion. The man and horse got across, but the pack-horse, being unwilling to encounter the stream, turned down it, and, after losing his load, saddle, and all, with difficulty got out on the same side. My son plunged into the river, to endeavour to save some of the baggage, but was unsuccessful. The young man, then attempting to return on his strong horse, became disengaged from him, and with difficulty swam ashore. The horse came out, but without his saddle. They now found themselves on the same side on which they had commenced their enterprise, but without provisions to eat, or a blanket to make them comfortable in sleep. Without saddles, they went twelve miles to a trading house, where they found a canoe, to which they fastened one of their horses, and dragged it back to the place of the disaster, and made an unsuccessful search for their lost property. They then returned the canoe by the same difficult means, and, after a fruitless absence of seven days, returned to Carey. Medical aid was subsequently obtained.

On the 17th of February, Miss Eleanor Richardson, of Cincinnati, Ohio, arrived at the Thomas station, in the capacity of a missionary. At the same time, Mr. David Richardson, from the same place, united with the missionaries, with the design of

labouring at the same station, but he remained no longer than till the 1st of July following, at which time he retired from the missionary field.

On the 27th of February, 1828, Mr. Lykins was married to my eldest daughter; he was the Government teacher for the station among the Ottawas, but that station being an appendage of the station on the St. Joseph's, our labours were applied, as our mutual necessities seemed to require, without much regard to place or office. In my absence, Mr. Meeker and Mr. Slater had laboured at Thomas, and Mr. Lykins at Carey.

Soon after my return from Washington, it appeared necessary for me to visit Thomas. Accompanied only by my little son, on the 24th of March I set out, and swam our horses across the St. Joseph's river. My health was poor, and I became so unwell that I deemed it expedient to return, though, in doing so, the inconvenient task of recrossing the river had to be repeated. On the following day we again undertook the journey. Traveling in these wildernesses, in the colder seasons of the year, was always severe on our horses, on account of the scarcity of grass; grazing being the only dependance for their subsistence. About Indian villages, or where villages had once been situated, we often found the blue grass, which affords some grazing at all seasons. On our journey we availed ourselves of a practice, common to us, of seeking those grassy places, though at the expense of turning out of our way. We lodged in one of the bark huts, but the dreariness of those places in winter can hardly be conceived by one who has not visited them: not an individual is to be seen about them, nor any domestic animals, nor any thing which is to be employed for the future use of the unsettled owners, on their return at the commencement of warm weather.

Matters at Thomas, at this time, appeared to be retrograding. The school was reduced to twelve scholars, and some of the neighbouring Indians seemed unfriendly. I gave notice of my arrival, and desired to see them. Blackskin, a chief, declined coming; many others, however, attended, who went away apparently well satisfied. A Sabbath was spent there comfortably, when the Lord's supper was celebrated for the first time at that place.

On the 1st of April we left Thomas, to return to Carey. In a storm, our horses attempted to escape from camp, and occasioned an unpleasant jaunt in the night to recover them. On the following night, they caused us to make another brief noc-

turnal tour in the woods, at a time when repose would have been more acceptable.

We were anxious that the board of missions should establish a station at Sault de St. Marie, as has been stated. No missionary being found to occupy the place, the subject had been so long delayed that the Department of Indian Affairs had resolved to give the place to another denomination (Episcopalians.) Ascertaining this while I was in Washington, in February, 1828, I renewed our application for the occupancy of that place, and offered additional assurances that we would not abandon the enterprise. The Department continued to us the privilege we prayed for, and allowed us the further privilege of locating a mile square of land, provided by the treaty, on which the public school was to be established.

On the 12th of March, we received a joint letter from the Rev. A. Bingham and the Rev. Mr. Stannard, missionaries to a small band of Indians at Tonawanta, in New-York, expressing a wish to unite with us in missionary labours. Mr. Stannard died not long after this. We were much gratified with an opportunity of opening a correspondence with Mr. Bingham, and were not mistaken in hoping that it might eventuate in enabling the board to meet the engagements we had made with the Department of Indian Affairs, in relation to the establishment of a missionary station at Sault de St. Marie. We wrote the board, without delay, in favour of commencing that station. In 1828, Mr. and Mrs. Bingham were appointed missionaries, by the board, for that station, which they have ever since occupied, with commendable zeal and some success. The station was located near Fort Brady, which is garrisoned as a military post, and not far from a village of two or three hundred Chippewa Indians. In 1830, Miss Eleanor Macomber and Miss Mary Rice were appointed by the board to labour at this station. Both of these females, on account of imperfect health, pretty soon left that place for other fields of labour. Miss Macomber is, at this time, a missionary among the Karens in Burmah.

The Rev. Mr. Cameron was a missionary, whom a Protestant Episcopal missionary society had sent into that country. While there, his views on the subject of baptism, church government, &c., became changed; and in 1832 he was baptized by Mr. Bingham, and since that time he has been an efficient coadjutor in missionary labour.

In 1832 Mr. Bingham had gathered a church, of the members of which sixteen were natives, and to which a considerable

number of natives have since been added. Ministerial labours have also been extended to the garrison with good effect, Mr. Bingham performing the office of chaplain; and not a few of both officers and privates have become hopefully pious. A school in English is kept in operation at the station, containing about thirty scholars, about one half of whom are natives, who are supported at the mission. A temperance society here embraces a very considerable number of members, consisting of persons attached to the garrison, and other white persons, and of Indians.

Miss Rice, after leaving the station, joined the mission to the Creeks on Arkansas river, within the Indian territory, as will be hereafter noticed; but finding the climate unfavourable, returned to Sault de St. Marie. The missionaries connected with the station at present (1839) are the Rev. A. Bingham, Mrs. Bingham, the Rev. J. D. Cameron, A. J. Bingham, Miss Mary Rice, and Shegud, a native.

Journeys, which are sometimes perilous, are made by the missionaries to distant villages, the privations of which are compensated by a degree of success. The field, however, is not so encouraging to the missionaries as some others would be. It is a cold and somewhat steril region, along the line between the British possessions in Canada and the United States, and the Indian population along the shores of these lakes is very sparse. The locality and character of the country are such as make it unfavourable to the formation of a colony, or of permanent settlements of industrious men. The natives will always be greatly exposed to a bad influence, by intercourse with other people.

In 1838, a proposition was made to some of the people of Mr. Bingham's charge, to accompany delegations from their kindred lower down the lakes, to the Indian territory, with a view to the selection of a home therein; but they declined making the tour, preferring to extend their settlements up Lake Superior. This is indeed much to be regretted, because that in those regions they must ever remain unsettled, and exposed to the evils under which the tribes have wasted away between the Mississippi and the Atlantic Ocean.

Murders, and deaths occasioned in other ways by intemperance, continued to be frequent occurrences about our stations of Carey and Thomas. I find in a note in the mission journals for April 6th, 1828, the following: "Nought but experience could give any one a just idea of our distresses and discouragements. Our prospects of usefulness in this country are com-

pletely blighted; the wretched Indians around us, without the hope of better condition from any improvements which they may make, daily grow more stupid and indifferent to every thing like improvement of circumstances in life, or in mind. From intemperance, and other evils resulting from the proximity of white settlements, they are rapidly wasting away. We have little encouragement to visit them in their encampments,* to converse with them on the subject of religion, or upon any other subject. No people could possibly be situated further from the influence of incentives to improvement, than are these, since the approach of white settlements. We are preparing to wind up our affairs here. We shall endeavour to sustain the school, and the labours connected therewith, as respectably as possible, until the last of the missionaries take up their line of march for the West. We will retrench our farming operations which have been necessary for our support, and, as fast as practicable, will dispose of all the property that can possibly be spared from immediate use. We daily feel more and more sensibly the necessity of establishing ourselves in the West, if assurances can be obtained from the Government that *there the Indians will be allowed to remain.*"

CHAPTER XIII.

Tour of exploration. Pecuniary embarrassments. Tour with Putawatomes and Ottawas. Poverty of the Osages. Indians are not taciturn. The Indian's skill in following foot-prints overrated. Miserable condition of the Kauzaus. Tour with delegations of Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. Death of a Creek Indian. Council with Osages; their buffalo hunts, names, religion, condition, tales, &c.

It was the 11th of February, 1828, that I left Washington, and it was not until the last of June following that we received information that an exploring expedition had been ordered by the Government. The interim was a time of painful suspense. We had, as early as the 1st of April, determined, by permission of Providence, to make a tour of exploration in that country, within that year, even if the Government should not authorize it. In this event, we should have been thrown wholly

* Excepting some who had advanced considerably in civilization, none remained about their villages in the colder season of the year.

upon our own responsibilities. The board had formally authorized me to accept of business under Government, but had not authorized any thing in relation to this matter to be undertaken at their cost. For the expense of an exploration, without the help of Government, we should have been obliged to provide; and this, too, when the mission was in debt more than a thousand dollars beyond the funds due us for our Government salaries, &c. In winding up our operations, however, we hoped to be remunerated by the Government for some of our landed improvements: this income, and something obtained by the sale of property which we could not carry with us, on our removal westward, added to our salaries from the Government, we hoped, would ultimately enable us to pay the debts which would be occasioned by the prosecution of our design. We therefore proceeded to engage Ottawas and Putawatomes to accompany me on the contemplated tour.

In the promise that had been made to me that I should be employed, provided the Government should authorize delegations from the southern tribes, to make a tour of exploration, it had not been intimated to me that any direct action of Government would be had, in order to induce the Putawatomes and Ottawas to send delegations. The Department of Indian Affairs had done no more than to promise that, in event of my being employed, I should be at liberty to take some of the Putawatomes and Ottawas; we therefore did not hope for any action on the part of the Government, to induce these tribes to send delegations. They knew that the subject of an Indian settlement in the West was contemplated, and it was natural for them to feel averse to removal; and the sending of delegations to explore a country, with a view to their future settlement therein, would seem to imply that they had in some degree consented to remove. Under all these circumstances, it seemed improbable that they would be inclined to send delegations.

Application, therefore, was not made to the respective tribes for an official act of sending delegations; but while we spoke of the matter publicly, and sometimes in council, it was submitted as a matter for the consideration of individuals. If any would choose to accompany me, I should be pleased to have them do so. Notwithstanding the loss of time to them was no object, yet, as they would go without any certainty that they should profit by the journey as it regarded future settlement, not having agreed to remove, they demanded some reward. On such occasions, presents must be given to Indians. On this occasion, I made specific agreements with them for the amount they

should receive, in addition to all travelling and other incidental expenses, and the needful clothing, horses, saddles, &c.

I employed Naoqua Keshuck, (or Noonday,) Gosa, and We-sauogana, from among the Ottawas, Magaukwok, Shawaunuk-wuk, and Baptist Chadonois, from among the Putawatomes. The latter was a half Indian, and served as interpreter. Having engaged these men, we commenced our preparations for the journey, purchasing horses, &c., all before I knew that the Government would order an expedition, and if it should not, with a design to make it at our own cost.

On the 30th day of June, 1828, a commission from the Department of Indian Affairs reached me, dated the 10th of the same month. This commission stated, "You are at liberty to take with you three Putawatomes, and, if necessary, an interpreter." I had three Ottawas also in readiness, and chose not to disappoint them, though I was not authorized to take them with me. The Government, however, without hesitation, afterwards sanctioned this measure.

Some mischievous white men who had intercourse with the Indians, now undertook to prevent the Indians from accompanying me. They told them frightful tales respecting the country we were about to visit. It was very far off, excessively hot, very unhealthy, and infested with venomous serpents; I designed to deceive them, and lead them into difficulty; and, moreover, the tribes residing there would take our scalps. Pocagin, a Putawatome chief, brought a party to see the Ottawa delegation, and endeavoured to dissuade them from accompanying me; but they could effect nothing. They next came to see me, and told of these dangers of which they had heard, &c., and, according to their figurative mode when speaking of bad news, said, "they had heard a little bird singing the news they spoke of." I replied, that I had heard the notes of the same little bird. I understood them well. "My younger brothers," said I, "a white man has sent you to tell these tales," to which they made no answer.

About this time a circumstance occurred, calculated to confirm us in the opinion, that of all people, the aborigines are the most friendless. Our letters of correspondence were sometimes published, and elicited relief in supplies of cash and clothing, forwarded by benevolent individuals and societies. The corresponding secretary requested that our appeals to the benevolent, for aid, should be made to the public through the board; to which we cheerfully consented. In June, 1828, we received a copy of the proceedings of an annual meeting of the board, held

a few weeks previously, and in their minutes honourable notice was taken of the missionaries to the Indians, &c. But in an address to the public, setting forth the wants of the missions, and soliciting pecuniary aid, the board pleaded for Burmah and Africa, and for aid to enable them to establish missions in South America, Greece, and China, and entirely overlooked their *Indian stations*, as though no help was needed for them; and, indeed, a pretty plain hint was given, in the proceedings of the board, that Indian stations would be amply supported by the Government. Our accounts were regularly submitted to the board, and our mission was at this time thirteen hundred and fifty dollars in debt, beyond the amount of our salaries and other resources from Government. It seemed to us that too little interest was felt for missions to the Indians. We regretted that while we were making extraordinary exertions against the current of woes which threatened to sweep the natives speedily to destruction, and were in great want of assistance, that we should be left, as it were, alone. Neither missionaries nor means were solicited in behalf of Indian stations, both of which were greatly needed. But, whatever were our discouragements, duty forbid our silence. We therefore wrote an address to the public, dated the 26th of June, 1828, from which the following extracts are here inserted:

“TO FRIENDS OF INDIAN REFORM: Pecuniary embarrassments of the missions at Carey and Thomas compel me at this time to appear before you. For several years the moneyed income to the mission has not been quite equal to the necessary expenditures. The missionaries have done what they could, by personal contrivance and personal exertion, to diminish demands upon the common treasury of the board. Providence has so far smiled upon their efforts, that for *upwards of four years* the society which we have the honour to serve has not been under the necessity of applying to purposes of this mission *one dollar* besides moneys received from Government, and moneys designed by benevolent individuals and societies *specially* for the use of this mission. Even all the money donated for Indian missions *generally*, without specification, our worthy patrons have been enabled to apply to [Indian] stations more needy than ours.

“In the course of these four years, however, the generous bequests of Miss Eliza Lincoln, late of Boston, [six hundred dollars,] and of Mrs. Baxter, late of Pomfret, Connecticut, have been received. Also, liberal donations from sundry societies and individuals.

“ Within these four years, some disbursements of a peculiar character have been made. Such were the expenditures of fitting out with clothing, horses, &c., eight Indian youths conveyed to New-York, to pursue their studies, in 1826, and two others conveyed to Vermont in 1827, and the travelling expenses of both parties; all of which has been paid out of the mission funds above described. The result has been an accumulation of debt upon the mission, of thirteen hundred and fifty dollars beyond its available means. This sum the mission now owes.

“ The perplexities of our secular concerns have been greatly augmented by the necessity of dealing on credit, or of borrowing money; the more so, on account of our residence being two hundred miles from a bank, or from individuals who usually accommodate us with loans.

“ None more deeply sympathize with missionaries in Burmah and Africa, and those at other stations among the Indians, than we. We would cheerfully divide with them our last loaf, and we would do no more than our duty in placing ourselves foremost among those who were to suffer from want, if such suffering must come. We have known that the funds of the society which we have the pleasure to serve have been low. We have observed what we esteemed a becoming silence, out of respect which we cherished for other missionaries, and on account of the deep solicitude we felt for their happiness and success. But the time has arrived when circumstances imperiously require us to ask the liberal for *aid*.

“ If you have a dollar laid by, either in mind or in purse, for Burmah, for Africa, or for other stations than ours, among the aborigines of our country, we do not solicit, nor will we knowingly accept one cent of it. But we believe that, without lessening in the smallest degree the streams of benevolence which water those thirsty places, there are persons who, on becoming acquainted with *our wants*, will delight to make us glad and grateful by their gifts. To such this appeal is *respectfully, prayerfully, fervently* made. It is done in behalf of scores of lovely youths in our schools, in behalf of a suffering people whose friends are too few. Can you help us? will you help us?

“ISAAC McCoy.”

According to the instructions we had received, to make our appeals to the public through the medium of the board, the above address to the public was forwarded to that body, with a request that it be published in the Christian Watchman, and

the Baptist Magazine, two prints under its patronage. But the board did not see fit to publish it.

I left Carey, on our tour of exploration to the west of the Mississippi, on the 2d of July, 1828, accompanied by three Putawatomies and three Ottawas. Separation from my family on this occasion was painful. The weather was now exceedingly warm, and my health at this season often failed, and sometimes brought me very low with bilious fever. It was about this time of the preceding year that my life had been almost despaired of. I was entering upon a tour of several months in a wilderness unknown to me. We had been long distressed in noticing the apathy which seemed generally to prevail upon this subject. The bill authorizing the expedition had passed the House of Representatives by a lean majority of only ten votes. Should the expedition not result in a favourable report, either by the caprice and failure of the delegations to make the tour, or because the country should not appear suitable, or from any other cause, it would probably be difficult for the friends to colonizing the tribes to press the measure forward. We lamented, too, that with five years' labour we had not succeeded in eliciting some effective action of the *Christian* public, and upon the success of the scheme of an Indian territory depended all our hopes for the salvation of the Indians from utter extermination.

We passed through the wilderness to St. Louis, a distance of more than four hundred miles. We slept in our tents in the open air, and twice on the way I was very sick. We reached St. Louis the fifteenth day.

After reaching St. Louis, nearly one month elapsed before the first of the southern Indians arrived, which consisted of a company of four Creeks, conducted by Mr. Luther Blake. An express had been sent from St. Louis to the Chickasaws, and, on the 17th of August, information was received that these Indians had resolved not to make the tour before the following spring. Another messenger was sent to them, but the distance was so great that it was not expected that this latter could return under six weeks. I was exceedingly unwilling to lose so much time. Our Putawatomies and Ottawas were becoming impatient, and I began to fear that the expedition would fail.

Gen. William Clark, of St. Louis, who was superintendent of Indian affairs in the western district, had been required by the Secretary of War to give a direction to our movements. I applied to him for permission to make a tour with the Putawatomies and Ottawas, proposing to return to St. Louis by the time that the messenger to the southern tribes would arrive, either

with those Indians or with intelligence from them. But to this measure a very formidable obstacle presented itself. The Department of Indian Affairs had ordered that none of the delegations should move from St. Louis until the Chickasaws had arrived, and were ready to proceed. Gen. Clark, therefore, declined the responsibility of giving me orders to proceed with our Putawatomes and Ottawas, as I proposed. Dr. Todson, who had been appointed physician to attend the explorations, and who was now unemployed, also declined accompanying me without positive orders. I was told, too, that the season was so hot and sickly, and the horse flies so numerous, together with the supposed scarcity of water in the prairies, that I should not be able to make the tour. Finding, however, that the journey could be undertaken without a breach upon the feelings of Gen. Clark, I assumed the responsibilities, and set off for the western wilderness on the 21st of August. On the eve of departure, Gen. Clark sent to me the following brief instructions, which I was happy to receive.

“Superintendency of Indian Affairs, }
St. Louis, August 20, 1828. } ”

“DEAR SIR: As the exploring party of Chickasaws are not expected here before the 20th of next month, and will not be in advance of this State until the 1st of October, and as the Putawatomes and Ottawas, who accompanied you to this place, are unwilling to delay, I would, in accordance with your suggestions, recommend that you proceed with your party, and explore a portion of the country purchased of the Osages and Kauzaus, west of the State of Missouri, westward of the Osage and Shawanoe reservations, and north of the Kauzau reservation, taking care not to go so far west as to endanger your party by falling in with war parties of Pawnees, and other tribes who are at war with the Osages and Kauzaus. The Indian agents in your direction are informed of your movements, and will afford you every aid and assistance in their power. You will take Noel Mograin, a half-breed Osage, who is acquainted with the country, the routes of the Indians, and speaks the Osage and Kauzau languages. I must request the favour of you to write me from Harmony mission, and on your return to Camp Leavenworth, or the out settlements, and state your views and wishes, that I may be enabled to afford such aid as may be necessary.

“Accept the assurance of my best wishes.

“Yours, sincerely,

WM. CLARK.”

Rev. Isaac McCoy.

I hired two white men, to assist in packing, camping, &c. We were in all nine in number, with twelve horses, and well equipped with guns, pistols, &c. While resting at our camp on Sunday, the 24th of August, my riding beast escaped, but on the following day I had the good fortune to purchase another.

Our Indians were unsuccessful in their efforts to take any game of more value than a turkey, until the 28th of August, when Gosa brought in a young bear, and reported that he had wounded the dam. This circumstance raised the spirits of our Indians not a little, and on the following morning the old bear was taken. On leaving camp, Noonday placed the feet of the bears, and such other pieces as had been left, at the root of a tree, and carefully covered them with brush and leaves. When I inquired the reason for this, I was answered, "that the form of the bear so much resembled that of man, that it was thought there might be some relationship between men and bears; and on this account, some respect in regard to funerals, was due the latter." He pronounced a brief address over the deceased, the substance of which was, that he had now respectfully performed the last services which could be rendered to the dead, by which he would have the latter to understand that he desired to perpetuate the good will which had long existed between the bear family and that of the Ottawas, and hoped that no offence would be taken on account of what had happened in this case.

We called on Noel Mograin, the half Osage, who was to be our interpreter and guide, and he refused to go with us unless I would employ another old Osage who sat by. This I was under the necessity of doing. On inquiring where his horse was, Mograin pointed to the old man's legs, and said, "There is his horse, one that has served him many years."

Our company now consisted of eleven persons, with thirteen horses and Mograin's dog. Our old Osage moved off on foot, little encumbered with travelling baggage. He had deerskin moccasins on his feet, and the same material composed his leggins. He wore the usual small cloth about the loins, and above, his body was naked; even his head was but partially covered with hair. He carried an old gun which I had had repaired for him, a horn and pouch, and an additional pair of moccasins. A piece of an old blanket was thrown across his shoulder under the gun, and a small sack, containing about a pint, was fastened to the belt. Thus equipped, this old man, of nearly sixty, set off on a six weeks' tour in the desert.

My first acquaintance with Osages was formed on the Osage river. On the morning of the 4th of September, a

wretched old woman placed herself by our fire, and set up a hideous lamentation and howling. We conjectured that it was a method of begging, and gave her a little food, and left her. On the same day we passed, in the wilderness, a company consisting of two Osage women, a girl, two boys, and two infants. They had three small horses. On one was seated a naked child, the mother on foot, leading the animal. The girl rode another, and on the third rode a mother, destitute of any clothing above the loins, and with bare feet and ankles, and holding in her arms an infant in a state of perfect nudity. The boys were both naked. One carried an old gun, and the other a bow. None had a covering for the head, except a heavy coat of neglected hair, hanging loosely. This wretched company was in search of roots for food. Among our more northern tribes, the men and children, when about their homes in warm weather, were usually destitute of clothing; but we seldom saw an adult female without a covering for the body. Young women among the Osages sometimes wear a strip of cloth eight or nine inches broad, resting on one shoulder and passing over the breast and under the opposite arm. On the evening of the 4th of September, I was attacked with sickness and was obliged to take physic. I was scarcely able to travel for several days, but circumstances compelled me to proceed, though scarcely able to sit upon my horse.

I had noticed, on the 3d, that Mograin had fears that his old Osage would desert us. In order to reconcile him to our company, we had made his lodgings more comfortable than his own scanty means would afford, and on this morning I informed him that he should be permitted to ride on horseback a portion of the time. The old man was regaling himself with his pipe when we left camp, and noticing that he had not joined us after we had proceeded about a mile, Mograin turned back in quest of him. Fearing that we should lose Mograin also, I sent Gosa with him. They discovered, from the tracks of the old Osage, that he had turned his back upon us, and we heard no more of him. The loss was not esteemed great by any except Mograin, whom I endeavoured to satisfy that we should be able to accomplish our object without him. I had discovered that Mograin was uneasy, lest we should penetrate the wilderness so far as to fall in with war parties hostile to the Osages. On the 6th of September, we discovered from the rising ground, that the Osage river, which we were ascending, made two branches. Mograin confidently affirmed that the northern branch was the main stream; by ascending this, we would reach

its source, and consume our time, without going so far west as we should be led by the southern. I doubted the correctness of the opinion he advanced, and after occupying an elevation in the prairie for some time in waiting for some hunters who were out, to join us, and discharging our guns to give them notice of our situation, I changed my course, in defiance of the strong remonstrances of Mोगrain. I was not mistaken in regard to the course of the river. On the decision of this question, Mोगrain appeared mortified. I knew not whether to attribute his error to a want of fidelity, and a design to mislead, and keep us out of danger, or to ignorance of the situation of the country. At any rate, I felt admonished to be my own pilot from that time forward.

This was a year when the Camanches and other remote tribes were uncommonly troublesome to companies of traders returning from Santa Fe to the United States. The time of our sojourning, in September, was that in which those companies were returning. I had reason, therefore, to suppose that hostile parties would watch, along the Santa Fe road, for opportunities to do mischief. On the 10th of September we were near the source of the Osage river, and from information I knew we must be not far from the Santa Fe road. As we were every day getting nearer those whom we did not wish to see, I admonished our Indians to be always on their guard; their guns should always be in good order for use, and individuals ought never to separate themselves from the main body. But, with all that I could say about danger, our Putawatomies and Ottawas, being much delighted with the beautiful appearance of a fine prairie country, and with the sport of firing on deer and elk, could not feel much concerned for the safety of their scalps. On the evening of September 11th, I adopted other methods to induce them to be more careful. I pointed out a small solitary grove at a distance, surrounded by prairie lands, in which I proposed to encamp. We had that day crossed the trail of a large party, going in a direction, however, which gave me no uneasiness. I stated to them, that if our trail should be discovered by our enemies, we should probably be followed. I therefore pointed out a place to which I desired Gosa to return, after we had encamped, and watch the track we had made, to see if enemies were following, while we would proceed on ground that would afford the most favourable opportunity for his discovery of any evil design against us. At camp, not a bell on our horses was allowed to tinkle, lest the sound might attract an unwelcome visitant. Notwithstanding all the pains which I

had taken to induce the Indians to feel concerned for their safety, they remained the same, always cheerful, unconcerned, and careless.

Desiring to ascertain, as well as I could, in what part of the country we were, on the morning of the 12th I took one man only, because I would avoid making much sign of foot marks, and proceeded about three miles, and struck the Santa Fe road. Returning to camp, we bore southward, on to the Neosho river, and ascended that stream.

For a few days we had found game uncommonly scarce—a circumstance from which we inferred that Indian hunters were near, or that they had recently been there. We were becoming scarce of provisions, when, on the 13th of September, we discovered a flock of about twenty elk. I and our two white men encamped, and remained by the baggage, while I gave the Indians permission to employ the remainder of the day, if they chose, in chase of the elk, or in hunting in any other way. They had fine sport, and in the evening brought in a very good elk.

Shawaunukwuk had been sick a few days, and his symptoms having indicated an attack of bilious fever, I had resolved to give him medicine on the evening of this day. I desired him not to go in chase of the elk, but to remain in camp with me; but his disposition to enjoy the rare sport of killing elk was too ardent to be restrained. Becoming quiet, after his violent and animated exercises through the day, he raised bile so freely that I omitted administering medicine, and was not mistaken in hoping that it would not be necessary. The beneficial effects which would have been sought in the administration of an emetic, or a dose of calomel, were produced by the exercises of the preceding day, and restoration of health followed.

The following day, being the Sabbath, we remained in camp; being two nights in succession in the grove, we afforded the wolves an opportunity of becoming acquainted with our resting place. On the latter night I heard an animal helping itself at our elk meat and some venison near me. I supposed at the time it was Mograin's dog, and thinking that he would undoubtedly leave enough for the use of the better portion of our company, I remained contented, and slept on. In the morning I was surprised to find that the wolves had drawn largely upon our stock of meat, although it lay near my head. Mograin's dog lay quietly by the fire at the same time, within a few feet, but had been either too lazy or too liberal to give an alarm.

I have thought that no situation in life in which men associate,

more rapidly and correctly develops the disposition of a man than one of these wilderness excursions. Melancholy and vivacity, with the causes by which each is produced, are strongly marked. Hunger, fatigue, exposure, and disappointment, seldom fail to produce melancholy, while, upon a reverse of circumstances, the spirits, with equal facility, become animated. However depressed the spirits of our Indians might seem to be at the time of encamping, they seldom reclined upon their blankets, after a comfortable meal, without regaining their accustomed cheerfulness.

Almost all who have written about the aborigines of America have reported them to be remarkable for taciturnity. This has not been the case within the sphere of my acquaintance. Silence is sometimes, though very seldom, imposed upon an Indian by reverence for a white man, and sometimes by jealousy, anger, dislike, and the difficulty attending intercommunication. But where these obstacles do not exist, I have found them uncommonly loquacious. They are particularly so among themselves. From the time I started with these Putawatomes and Ottawas, from Michigan, until we had made their tour so far as to return to St. Louis, I rose early and travelled industriously every journeying day. Nevertheless, it was common for them to spend hours at night, short as the nights were at that season, in reciting humorous anecdotes, which they enjoyed exquisitely, as was manifest by their animated peals of laughter. When they had not fact, of which to compose a story, fiction supplied its place, and was employed with equal facility. Their tent was always near my own, and for some time after we commenced our journey, and before habit had overcome the inconvenience, these long, merry conversations were a great annoyance to me when I desired to sleep. The night after their grand elk chase was memorable for this kind of glee.

On the 15th of September, 1828, we resumed our journey early. Saw deer, elk, and antelopes, and the men again enjoyed themselves in hunting. Crossed a trail of men going south, which Mograin, on examination, supposed had been made by a war party going against his people, (the Osages,) who lived in that direction. On the following day we again reached the Santa Fe road, on the upper branches of Neosho river. We changed our course, and recrossed the Indian trail seen the preceding day. I now alighted and examined it myself, and found Mograin again in error. I discovered the print of horses' feet, as well as those of men, and therefore knew that it had not been made by a war party, for a party hostile to the Kauzaus

and Osages would not approach so near their towns on horse-back.

Remarkable skill in following the footmarks of man or beast has been ascribed to the Indian; and this circumstance has not unfrequently been urged as a reason for employing them as auxiliaries against their countrymen, in wars which existed between the latter and civilized nations. To say nothing of the cruelty of hiring these credulous and ignorant people to hunt and butcher their brethren who had done them no injury, and for no other reason than to gratify the white man's ambition, or to keep the white man out of danger, facts prove that their employment for trailing was not necessary. We admit that, by habit, an Indian is better qualified to trace the footmarks of a man or of a beast than a man who has been educated in the City of New-York. But his skill in this respect is not superior to that of thousands of white men in new countries, who are not only more or less accustomed to the chase, but who, for want of grazing enclosures, are compelled to turn their stock at large, and to search for more or less of it almost daily.

In the time of the last war between England and the United States, I resided on the frontiers of the State of Indiana, where the Indians frequently made inroads into our settlements, and murdered our citizens, and committed depredations on our property. I frequently made one of the party which followed the Indians, as they retreated from the settlements, after they had accomplished their errand of mischief. They would often scatter, and not all walk in the same place, in order that their signs might be so dim that their tracks could not be perceived by their pursuers. They would not only choose the pathless wilderness, but such ground in it as would receive the least impression from the foot of a man. Nevertheless, their pursuers were almost invariably able to follow their trail, and in some instances in which they had retired with all the caution alluded to above, we were able to travel after them in a brisk gait. I am confident that I have never known an Indian more skilful in trailing than many white men with whom I have been acquainted.

Uncommon skill has also been ascribed to the Indian in steering his course through a trackless wilderness. This, to a certain extent, is true. He is at home in every place, and hence he can pass through the wilderness to any place. If encamped, he can make an excursion around on a day's hunt, and return to his encampment at night with more certainty than most white men who have occasion to go into the woods. From the habits of the Indian we have a right to expect this and no more. As a

pilot in the exploration of a wilderness country, with such objects in view as induced the expedition of which I am speaking, I should not desire an Indian. I have never derived any benefit from an Indian, as a pilot, in any exploration that I have made, and, excepting the commencement of the one of which I am here speaking, I have been my own pilot.

On the night of the 17th of September we encamped on the waters of the Kauzau river. On the following morning we fell in with a Kauzau hunter, from whom we ascertained that we were near the most remote of the Kauzau villages. As we came in sight of two houses, which were situated about two miles from the main village, we discovered that the inhabitants were alarmed. We were a mile or more from them, and open prairie lay between us. I led the company along an elevation, so that they might have a fair view of us, supposing that they would discover, by our hats and other accoutrements, that we were from the land of civilized men, and were not hostile Indians, as they feared. But their fears were not so easily allayed. We saw them in great confusion, and the women and children fleeing to a grove to conceal themselves. We were passing near a grove of timber, towards which I saw a man running. Supposing it was one coming to inquire who we were, I directed Mograim to hasten to meet him. I followed, directing the company to keep at some distance in the rear, in order to diminish the fears of the runner. We came to him in a grove, just as he had reached a couple of horses which were grazing there, when we found that his violent effort had been to remove his horses, in order to prevent an enemy, as he supposed us to be, from taking them. He had his moccasins on his feet, and wore his small cloth; excepting these, he was entirely naked. He held his gun in his hand, with his pouch and powder horn across his shoulders. Mograim spoke to him as soon as he came near enough; still, it was some time before he could recover from his fright, and appear composed.

I hurried him off at full speed, to inform the inmates of the two houses that we were friends, and not foes. While our company moved slowly on, we were met by men and women a half a mile before we reached the houses, the latter bringing us a present of boiled corn in a kettle. By the runner I also sent a message, accompanied by a few twists of tobacco, to the village, informing them of our approach. Many of the town's people came to meet us, and as we neared the village the crowd thickened. I made inquiry for a suitable place to encamp, but their stories were so long, their inquiries so numerous, and Mograim's

conversations and interpretations so tedious, that I was forced to turn off to such a place as I conjectured would be suitable, and direct the company to follow.

At camp we packed up our baggage snugly, to prevent them from purloining it; and, leaving the two white men to guard it, I took our Indians and went into the village to a council which I had requested. At camp, and at all other places, men, women, children, and dogs, swarmed about us. We were conducted into a large bark hut, in the more central part of which were two fireplaces. This, with the exception of a small space at each fire, was instantly crowded; such a scene ensued as I had never before witnessed, of crowding of men, women, and children, talking, scolding, crying of children, a few of the good mothers singing to quiet them, dogs fighting, and the conquered begging loudly for quarters. Boiled corn, in two large wooden bowls, supplied with a few buffalo horn spoons and ladles, were placed before us. We ate, and smoked, and talked, being obliged to elevate our voices in order to be heard amidst the din of noises by which we were surrounded. We breathed an atmosphere which was far from pleasant, to improve which I made a little aperture in the fragile bark wall.

Sixteen Pawnees were on a visit to the village at the time of my approach. On my requesting that they should be invited into council, I was informed that all excepting three had left on our arrival. These, I suppose, had been left behind, to ascertain the object of our visit. They were found and brought into council, to whom we extended the usual courtesies of councils. The Pawnees and Osages were hostile to each other, and probably the suspicion that some of our Indians were Osages induced the Pawnees to retire on our approach. Kauzaus and Osages are virtually one people, but the spirit of hostility between the former and the Pawnees is less virulent than between the latter and the Osages.

The condition of the Kuzaus was similar to that of the Osages. How affecting is the contrast between an assemblage of orderly, decent, comfortable people, in our favoured Christian country, and that of those barefooted, bareheaded, *naked*, miserable Kauzaus! Some infidels have endeavoured to persuade the world that the Indians, in their original condition, are comparatively happy and virtuous. Such men are either uncandid, or else they are almost as ignorant of the true condition of the Indians as they are of the inhabitants of the moon.

Soon after our arrival, an elderly man proposed to assist in the labour of encamping, cooking, &c. We accepted his services

merely for his gratification, and he was rewarded with food and tobacco.

In travelling in the wilderness, the two fore legs of a horse or mule are commonly fastened together, about eight inches asunder, with a rope, or piece of bark or leather, denominated a *hobble*, to prevent the animal from rambling far from camp; and on each leader of the company a bell is hung, in order that they may be found with the greater ease. On this night, on which we lay near the Kauzau village, we forbore to bell our horses, lest the bells should be stolen. We lost nothing except a few buckles cut off the girths of the saddles, and some other trifling articles, which they had been enabled to take without notice. These people resided on the banks of the Kauzau river, yet they had not then, nor have I ever seen among them, a single canoe; so different are they in this respect from the northern tribes about the great lakes.

I had intended to return on the north side of the Kauzau river, but the want of a craft in which to cross, and more especially the want of time, induced me to take a nearer route to the white settlements. I discovered that I would barely have time to return to St. Louis, to meet the southern delegations.

About two hours after we left camp on the 19th of September, two villages were seen across the prairie, several miles from us; soon after which we were intercepted by a man on horseback, who had come at full speed from one of the villages, six or seven miles, with no other object in view, as he said, than to see us, and obtain a piece of tobacco. Like most others, he was unencumbered with clothes. A chief, he said, had started with him on the same errand, but the race had proved too long for him and his horse.

When about leaving the white settlements, we had relied upon obtaining bread stuff at an outer house, at which, when we arrived, a competent supply could not be obtained. We were then too remote from supplies to think of returning for them. I stated the circumstances to our party, and asked them if they would be willing to proceed under the inconvenience of scarcity of bread. They all preferred to proceed, and said they could live on meat, and the bread should be preserved for me. We took a little corn, by the help of which, and economy in dividing our bread daily into small rations, we completed the tour in tolerable comfort in this respect.

On the 24th of September, we arrived at some new settlements of Shawanoes, on the line of the State of Missouri. The tour had enabled me to acquire a pretty correct knowledge of

the country designed for Indian settlements, embracing a tract about eighty miles in width, from south to north, and one hundred and fifty in length, from east to west; which country was far better than I had anticipated.

Whatever should be the result of our explorations, or whatever might be the action of the Government or of the board of missions, the missionaries had resolved to transfer their labours to the west of the State of Missouri, and we hoped that the people of our charge in the Lake country would ultimately be drawn into that region. Therefore, on returning through the white settlements, across the State of Missouri, I selected the town of Fayette as a stopping place for Mr. Lykins and myself, until we should be able to make suitable locations in the Indian territory.

We returned to St. Louis, after an absence of fifty days. The Chickasaws and Choctaws were then daily expected. I hastily equipped the Putawatomes and Ottawas for their journey home, made to them the presents which they had been taught to expect, to which considerable additions were made, greatly to their satisfaction. They acknowledged themselves pleased with the country, and all, excepting Noonday, expressed a desire to return and live in it, provided the missionaries should settle therein.

When we first arrived at St. Louis, in July, Wesauagana, one of our Ottawas, met with a little girl about eleven years of age, who was a cousin of his. Her parents were dead, and she had fallen into the hands of some poor Sauks. The child wept, and begged Wesauagana to take care of her, and the Sauks in charge of her also desired to get rid of her. We were boarding at that time at the house of Mr. John Brown, thirteen miles from St. Louis. I engaged Mrs. Brown to take care of her during our absence in the western wilderness. The child was sick, and Gosa and Wesauagana would have found it difficult to convey her on horseback from St. Louis to our boarding house, had not Mr. Llewellyn Brown had the goodness to allow her the use of his carriage. In making preparations for the Putawatomes and Ottawas to return to their country, this little orphan was not overlooked; she had by this time recovered her health, and now, comfortably clothed, and with a cheerful countenance, little resembled the ragged, sickly, neglected orphan girl among barbarous strangers. She accompanied her kindred to the North, with the view of entering one of our missionary families in that country. The company left St. Louis on the 10th of October, 1828. I accompanied them until the evening of the

11th; here we separated—they went on to their homes in Michigan, and I returned to St. Louis.

On the 12th, the delegations of Chickasaws and Choctaws, so long looked for, reached St. Louis; we therefore set about preparing for another tour in the wilderness. Had I consulted my feelings, irrespective of duty, I should have decided on returning to my family. Our company consisted of thirteen Chickasaws, six Choctaws, and four Creeks; the first accompanied by Mr. Duncan, the second by Mr. Haley, and the third by Mr. Blake. Besides these, the Chickasaw delegation had been allowed to take three white men, as helpers. Lieutenant Washington Hood, of the United States' army, and Mr. John Bell, were topographers, and Dr. ——— Todson was physician. These, with Captain Kennerly and his servant, and a coloured servant of the Chickasaw chief, Levi Colbert, made a company of thirty-six.

It appeared to me that the plan of the expedition had not been judiciously laid, and that the southern delegations had for some time been under a bad influence from white men, and I soon despaired of our being able to accomplish as much as would be a fair equivalent for the labour, and what was likely to be the expense of the enterprise.

In our commissions, the direction of the daily movements of the party had been assigned to Captain Kennerly, and the funds to meet the expenses had been intrusted to me. A few hours after my first interview, the Chickasaws, accompanied by Mr. Duncan, desired me, in not very modest terms, to place in the hands of Mr. Duncan one thousand dollars, which he might have liberty to expend for them as they and he should choose. This I declined. By reasoning with them respecting my accountability in the management of the funds, and assuring them that their comfort and convenience should not be neglected, they appeared to become satisfied. I have seldom found Indians difficult to manage by a reasonable course. The chief difficulties attending the management of Indian matters, at all times, relate to white men about them. The demand was afterwards renewed for at least five hundred dollars. I determined not to comply; but General Clark, who exercised a superintendence of our movements, in view of all things, thinking it prudent to gratify them, and having relieved me from the responsibility, I furnished the money. This circumstance placed me in such a situation as I desired. I had discovered that our expedition would be very expensive; and about this time I contrived that, while the gentlemen of our party would be required to account

to me for all the money they expended, I would not be bound to control them in relation either to the article or the price. I would report the accounts to the Government, and, if the accounts of either should be disallowed, the matter would lie between them and the Department of Indian Affairs. By this course I got on smoothly with the company, and afterwards I had no difficulty in settling with the Government; I reported all their accounts as each reported to me; but some of them were, on final settlement, greatly curtailed, and not a little to the dissatisfaction of the respective persons interested.

In relation to the Putawatomes and Ottawas, the whole matter, from first to last, was pretty much under my own management. Their exploration, which, in regard to distance and time, but not in numbers, had about equalled that of the southern delegations, had been made with about fifteen hundred dollars; whereas the whole cost of this undertaking, including the above, was about twenty-two thousand dollars!

The last of our company left St. Louis on the 22d of October. Captain Kennerly and myself travelled across the State of Missouri in a small dearborn wagon; we were in the rear of the company on the 24th, when we found Harper Lovett, one of the Creek delegation, in a cabin, sick of the measles. He had contracted the disease in St. Louis, and I had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from accompanying us. Becoming unable to travel, he had been left by his company on the preceding day; Dr. Todson had halted with him a little before we came up. He was not well situated, and we took him in our carriage seven miles further, to Mr. Van Bibber's, where we left him, after making the necessary arrangements for his comfort and for medical assistance. The poor man died the fourth or fifth day after.

The views of the Department of Indian Affairs had not, at that time, become definitely fixed on the country west of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas, as the future home of the Indians; we had, therefore, been instructed to explore the country north of the State of Missouri, as well as west, unless the desire of the Indians should indicate a different course. I was much averse to going north of the State of Missouri, because it was evident that there the Indians would not be allowed quietly to remain; and our object was, or ought to have been, to find a permanent resting place for these homeless tribes. The Indians, however, readily declined extending their tour northward; they had entered upon the tour reluctantly, and dreaded to do any thing that looked like consenting to leave

their original residences in the South. From St. Louis they would probably have turned back, had it not been for great liberality on the part of the Government, through General Clark. Before we reached the western line of the State of Missouri, three hundred miles from St. Louis, the Choctaw delegation manifested a strong inclination not to make the tour of observation, but to proceed, by the nearest route, to the residence of a few of their people on Red river. Had these left us, the others would probably have followed. They were, however, prevailed on to go forward, under a promise that our tour should not be extended as far west as had at first been contemplated.

I afterwards contrived, while Captain Kennerly went forward with the main body on horseback, to travel in the rear, and prevailed upon some of the more influential Indians to remain in my company. Among these was Colonel Levi Colbert, principal in the Chickasaw delegation, and a reasonable and worthy man, whom I took into the carriage with me, and encouraged to persevere in making the tour. I also embraced suitable opportunities to stimulate others.

November the 3d. Our whole company encamped on the western line of the State of Missouri, at the point at which I had returned to the State on the former tour. Winter was near, and I was exceedingly anxious to be moving, because it was evident that, unless we should improve our time, we would see little of the country. The latter, however, was a consideration which occasioned no uneasiness to our company. We had consumed an unnecessary length of time in getting thus far, and, with all my efforts, it was the 9th of November before we left our encampment on the State line. At this place, the Shawanoes, as they had done with the Putawatomes and Ottawas as they passed, reciprocated friendly visits with our delegations, much to the satisfaction of both parties. Our company had increased to forty-two persons, among whom was Mोगrain, who had figured so strangely on the former expedition. We had with us about sixty horses.

While we lay here, Major John Dougherty, United States' Indian agent at Fort Leavenworth, communicated to us information that it was reported that fifteen hundred Pawnees had gone on a war expedition, intending to watch the Santa Fe road, and, if unsuccessful, to proceed further southeast. He warned us to be on our guard; and should we fall in with Pawnees, though apparently friendly, not to permit them to mingle with us in camp, or at any other time, lest they should take advantage of an unguarded moment, and injure us. About the

time that I had returned from the wilderness with the Putawatomes and Ottawas, fragments of a party of traders were coming into the settlements of Missouri, having suffered much by the Pawnees and Camanches. They had been several times attacked, and had lost several men; they had also been robbed of a great many mules, and of other articles, so that many of the company nearly perished with hunger and fatigue, before they reached the white settlements. In one or two instances, pretty large sums of silver were the last articles abandoned, and some thousands of dollars were hid in the earth, which were afterwards recovered by the owners. From information, it appeared that the last assault on the party was at the time that I was farthest west with the Putawatomes and Ottawas, and about two days' journey from us.

We had proceeded about five miles, when, riding briskly over the prairie to prevent a pack horse from escaping, my horse fell with me, and rolled on to my foot and leg. I was a good deal injured on the side that had been dashed on the earth, but was able after a while to resume my journey, though I suffered much pain for several days. At camp, the doctor bled me pretty freely. The injury received by this fall has occasioned more or less pain, in unfavourable weather, ever since. Three sentinels at a time, with an officer, were on guard during every night. I offered to perform an equal part of this duty, but the company exonerated Captain Kennerly and myself.

November the 11th, we encamped on the Osage river. On stopping, I took a white man, and travelled up the river about five miles, to see if I could recognise any place that I had passed in going up the river with my company the preceding September, by which I might learn how far we were from the western boundary of the State of Missouri. In this I was not fully successful. As I have never been esteemed an expert hunter, I may be allowed to indulge vanity enough in this place to say, that on this excursion I killed two turkeys at one shoot. The man with me killed an opossum. We discovered signs by which we inferred that we were near an encampment of Indians.

Some time before we left St. Louis, one Papin had been sent to the Osage villages, a little over three hundred miles, in order to get Mograïn to accompany us as interpreter. Mograïn, with another man, afterwards joined our company at the Shawanoe settlements. At our encampment on the Osage river, Papin, and a man whom he had hired to accompany him overtook us. Papin was well known in some parts of the United States as a propri-

etor of circusses ; but whatever had been his dexterity in horsemanship, he had not learned to be a good rider in the wilderness. When mounted on the baggage which, after he joined us he was required to carry, it was remarked by all, that his appearance was extremely awkward, and he felt not a little inconvenience. The story of his misfortunes, out of which grew his failure to accomplish his mission in obtaining an interpreter, is briefly as follows: About ten miles before he reached Harmony mission, to which he was wending his way, his horse by some means escaped from him. He knew not how far it was before him to the habitation of man, but he very properly set off on foot to find a friend, and very prudently pursued the road. But not finding a house before his courage and hopes failed, he turned to retrace his steps, which he did until he despaired of enduring a journey in that direction that would reach a habitation ; he again turned around, to make further trial of the other end of the road, and whether the habit of *riding in a circus* had affected his brain or not, such was the fact that he was afterwards found on the same ground, by some travellers, where he had walked first in one direction and then in the other until he was almost perished with hunger. He was taken to Harmony mission, where with better living he soon recovered strength to sit upon a horse, which he purchased at the cost of the United States ; and, rightly judging that two heads in his journeyings would be better than one, hired a skilful woodsman and found our camp.

Soon after we left camp on the 13th of November, I took five men and turned off from the main body to examine a creek, the timber of which we discovered across the prairie at a considerable distance. Soon after this, the company fell in with a Kauzau, and from his statement, as they said, were induced to change their course, and bear in nearer to the State of Missouri. I overtook them at three o'clock, P. M., encamped, and was not a little grieved to find the company resolved to go south, parallel with and but a few miles from the western boundary of the State of Missouri.

In the evening, fifteen Kauzaus visited our camp, and had some speech making between them and our Indians. Some of the gentlemen of our party, with a good deal of formality, made many inquiries of them through Mograin, as interpreter, respecting the country, distances, &c., and received ready answers, almost all of which I discovered were erroneous. We were on a creek, by ascending which we should be going almost south, and still keeping near the line of the State. They said that this was the principal branch of the Osage river—a statement

which I knew to be incorrect, but one which the company seemed willing to admit, as it favoured their views of the course to be taken.

At the villages and encampments of Osages and Kauzaus, we often find a kind of public crier, who proclaims the arrival or presence of a person whom they choose to notice, the news which has come to hand, &c. In the present company of Kauzaus, one of these criers afforded great amusement to our people by proclaiming the name of Chickasaws, perhaps twenty times in succession, as loud as his stentorian lungs could roar. Then the Choctaws and Miscogeas, (Creeks,) and individuals respectively, would give him their names, for the sake of hearing him bawl aloud again until he was wearied.

About twelve o'clock on the 14th of November, as we were marching, a desperate screaming was suddenly commenced in the forest near us. It began immediately after the report of one of our people's guns, and the first thought with me was that it was the noise of a bear, which some of the company might have attacked; but it was almost instantly perceived to be the voice of a Kauzau woman, who had been left alone at a hunting camp, and had been alarmed at the sight of our company, supposing we might be a party of enemies. Mognain was immediately required to halloo to her, and approach her as fast as possible, to quiet her fears. About an hour after, we were overtaken by a man in a profuse perspiration, who had followed us on foot, out of curiosity, as he appeared to have no business. His fatigue was rewarded by some tobacco. Before we left camp on the 15th of November, several men, women, and children, of the Kauzaus, visited us.

While with the Putawatomes and Ottawas, I had entire control of the company, and from the time I started from Carey, until we separated, we rested on Sundays; and on the morning and evening of that day, the company united in religious services in our camp. These exercises were performed in the Indian language; written discourses and prayers were read, and hymns sung in tunes common to us. Our present company was large, and formed under circumstances that compelled me to yield to the general wish in regard to travelling on the Sabbath. Usually, the traveller, even in the wilderness, may so husband his time, that little, if any thing, is lost by observing the Sabbath. But a company of forty men, anxious to get out of the wilderness, few of whom have any religious regard for the Sabbath, cannot be persuaded to observe this economy of time, or to rest for conscience sake. The company, however, had the polite-

ness, on Sabbath mornings, to invite me to perform religious service before they set out. I usually made a short religious address and prayer, to which every decent attention was given.

Two or three of the members of the southern delegation were professors of Christianity, and a much greater number were intelligent and sensible men. Among the latter was Peter P. Pytchlynn, a Choctaw; though not a professor of religion, he frequently borrowed my small bible to read, which I afterwards presented to him. I had much interesting conversation with him. At one time he inquired how it happened that Christians differed so much in opinion, when each sect appealed to the Scriptures for proof of its doctrines. I endeavoured to account for it satisfactorily to him, by the proneness of man to err. The Scriptures are plain, and are an unerring rule of moral obligations and duty, both towards God and man; but man is averse to that which is right, and under the influence of this aversion, because truth is uncongenial with his evil disposition, he mistakes error for truth, but not necessarily.

On the 17th, we reached the Osage agency; gave notice of our arrival to the Osages, and desired them to meet us in council. On the 20th, we pitched our tents near the village of the Chief called White Hair. A large long fire of logs was made, at which our company was joined in council by about twenty Osage chiefs, and principal men. The usual ceremonies of shaking hands, smoking, and speech making, were entered upon, and continued until night, when all parties agreeing that *peace speeches* ought not to be made *in the dark*, we adjourned till the following day.

That night the coldness of the weather increased to severity. Our encampment was in a narrow streak of timber, with many miles of woodless plain on both sides. The wind was high, with snow falling, and our situation became very uncomfortable. The weather was so severe on the following day, that it was late before the council convened. In the mean time, we were invited to a feast of boiled buffalo meat, in the house of the chief Belle Ouizo. In the absence of chairs, we all became seated on the floor, when bowls of boiled meat were placed before us, and each used his own knife and his own fingers. Immediately on the completion of this, we were taken to the house of the chief, White Hair, to partake of similar hospitality, the eatables being the same in kind and cookery.

This buffalo meat is procured on what are termed their *buffalo hunts*, two of which occur in the summer season of the year, and are attended by the people generally; men, women,

and children, move off in a large body, like an army, leaving none behind excepting invalids. They march in pretty good order, generally in three lines. They keep spies ahead, to look out for enemies; and they usually encamp on an eminence in the open prairies, far from timber, so that the approach of an enemy may be the more easily discovered. The horses are kept close about the encampment, and at night a stake is driven into the earth, and the horse, by a long rope made of a buffalo skin, is tied to the stake, with latitude to feed around in a radius of several yards. I have noticed that, in some of their remote encampments, a little excavation had been made in the earth, for each fire. This, I suppose, was for the double purpose of diminishing the inconvenient effects of the wind on the fire, in the process of cooking, and of concealing the light of the fire from a prowling foe.

On these excursions they have portable tents, of the skins of elk and buffalo. These tents are easily put up for use by being thrown around stakes placed in the earth, so as to form a circle; with their tops brought nearly or quite in contact with each other. Their smoked and black exteriors give the settlement of these fragile houses a gloomy appearance, which, however, is usually overlooked by the observer, on account of the extreme wretchedness of the inmates. In travelling in these vast plains, groves of wood are avoided as much as possible, for fear of a lurking enemy. The poles, therefore, necessary for the construction of their tents are transported from place to place with the rest of their baggage. The method of transportation is to tie one end of the poles to a horse's load, some on each side, while the other end is allowed to trail on the ground.

The vanguard of the host, on discovering a herd of buffalo, which often consists of some hundreds, give notice, and a halt is ordered. The hunters then devise the plan of attack, and, each mounted with a bow and a quiver of arrows, and sometimes with a gun having the barrel shortened to about one-half the usual length, proceed with a good degree of order, and approach their game as near as possible without alarming them. The moment the animals become affrighted, and attempt to escape, the hunters, many of whose horses are well trained to these races, pursue at full speed. The horse, swifter on foot than the buffalo, brings the hunter alongside, who discharges an arrow into a vital part, and repeats it until the animal either falls or is so disabled that others on horses less fleet can overtake him, when he dashes forward to attack another of the herd. The women follow, and flay the animals; after which, the flesh is carefully taken off in unbroken

fleeces, as large as practicable, and thin, so that it resembles a bed cover. This kind of flesh-fleecing is repeated until prevented by the bones. The latter, with the flesh adhering, are applied to immediate use, and the former, without salt, are dried in the open air. When thoroughly dried, it is rolled up like a blanket, or a travelling horseman's cloak, and packed on a horse. This is brought home and preserved for future use. It becomes exceedingly hard, being, when dry, seldom more than the fourth of an inch in thickness. Confined to this food alone, a man with a good appetite, whose jaws have not acquired strength by habit, and with imperfect teeth, will have to use some industry to masticate enough through the day to answer the demands of nature.

It may easily be supposed that among a people who seldom or never apply water to either hands, or face, or clothes, for the purposes of cleanliness, these blankets of buffalo beef are liable to some objection. When the meat has been taken from a lean animal, or when a desire for improved cooking predominates, some tallow, taken from the same animal, is introduced into the mess. This is commonly rancid, and indicates more carelessness in the dressing than the meat, and to the olfactories of a novice in buffalo meat eating, is far from pleasant. Our Osage feast was evidently liable to these objections in a high degree. Nevertheless, a suitable respect for the people who had invited us forbid the indulgence of our scruples.

On account of the severity of the weather, our council was completed in the house of the chief, White Hair. The result was a reciprocity of good feelings and fair speeches. In confirmation of friendship, the southern Indians offered, and the Osages accepted, strings of white porcelain beads, tied to a piece of tobacco. This is termed, "making a white road between the parties, which is to be kept clean."

The Osages had some scalps among them, taken from an enemy. A scalp is taken from the crown of the head, and stretched within a round hoop of wood; the hair remains on it, and the fleshy side is rubbed, so as to appear like buff leather, and it is usually reddened on the flesh side with vermilion.

Through the advice of Mr. Haley, which turned out to be rather unseasonable, the Choctaws intimated a desire to obtain one of these dressed scalps, to carry with them, as a matter of curiosity. With some ceremony, an Osage warrior came forward in council, and presented the principal Choctaw chief, with the scalp of a Pawnee. The acceptance was followed by a brief speech in behalf of the Osage nation, in which the orator

argued that, as the Choctaws had accepted of a scalp at the hands of the former, which they had taken from an enemy, the Choctaws, as a nation, were bound by the customs of Indians to espouse their interests, and that the Osages would henceforward understand that the Choctaws, about to become their neighbours, would also become their allies in war. This turn of the affair was as unwelcome as it was unexpected to the Choctaws, who made no reply. Our Indians requested the Osages to exhibit specimens of some of their dances, which was done, somewhat to the amusement of such as delighted in foolery.

The trading interest, with the Osage nation, had always been in the hands of a few. These had given out to the world that they were an uncommonly fierce, courageous, warlike nation of Indians. On going among them, I was exceedingly astonished to discover the most striking evidence of precisely the contrary character. I had never before seen Indians so obedient to their chiefs and principal men, so subservient to traders, and so easily managed by the United States' Indian agent.

In speech making, they exhibited more native eloquence, and acquitted themselves with much more credit, than our civilized and half civilized Indians. Ours had lost too much of native Indian character to appear to good advantage in an *Indian* council proper. White men, unaccustomed to Indian councils, in which it is necessary to observe Indian forms, usually appear awkward; and the same remark will apply to all cases that I have witnessed, between Indians who have been raised near the whites, when in council with others in their native condition.

In most of our treaties with the Osages, they have been represented as composed of two distinct bands, called "Great" and "Little" Osages. No such distinction, in reality, exists, or ever did exist. The supposition originated in the ignorance and awkwardness of traders among them. They at that time lived on the Missouri river, in two settlements, one of which acquired the name, among themselves, of the Upper settlement, and Upper people; and the other, of the Lower settlement, and the Lower people; each settlement having its chiefs and principal men, as is common among all Indians. The whites, ignorant of these circumstances, and with an imperfect knowledge of the Osage language, fancied that the one was called the tall people, and the other the short or small; and a story was even propagated that, by an arrangement among themselves, they had divided, by placing all the taller men in one class, and all

the shorter in another, and hence originated the name of the Great Osages and the Little Osages. These settlements removed from Missouri long since, but naturally formed different settlements, elsewhere, a few miles apart. By us they still retain the appellatives of Great and Little; their name by themselves is pronounced Wōs-sōsh-e, which has been corrupted to Osage.

From time immemorial, the Osages, like the Kauzaus, have been at war with the Pawnees and other remote tribes. Several skirmishes had occurred the summer preceding our visit, and a party of Osages which had lately returned, said they had seen signs of a Pawnee war party on the upper branches of the Neosho—the waters on which I and our Putawatomie and Ottawa delegations had spent five days the September preceding. The Osages had lost a considerable number of horses, the enemy sometimes approaching near to their villages. In return, they had taken horses and scalps in considerable numbers. I saw a captive Pawnee woman and boy, lately taken, who were at this time in the capacity of slaves.

It had been reported that the Osages did not believe in the existence of *the Great Spirit*. I was astonished that any one who had ever been two days among them, or the Kauzaus, who are in all respects similar, should be so deceived. I had never before seen Indians who gave more undoubted evidence of their belief in God. In their speeches they make the references and appeals to the Great Spirit, common to all Indians on such occasions; and a devotional exercise is observed among them, which I have never heard existed among any others. At the opening of day, the devotee retires a little from his camp or company, and utters a prayer aloud. This may or may not have some allusion to a deceased relative or friend. The voice is usually elevated so as to be heard sometimes half a mile, and their words are uttered in a kind of plaintive, piteous tone, accompanied with weeping, either affected or real, I suppose commonly the former. To English ears, the sound is uncouth, and we would denominate it a kind of howling. Their word for God is, Wōh-kon'-da, (Father of Life.) Their prayer runs in some such words as the following: "Wōh-kon'-da, pity me; I am very poor; give me what I need; give me success against mine enemies, that I may avenge the death of my friends. May I be able to take scalps, and to take horses," &c. These services are performed by the women, also, with language appropriate. Some omit them; but a large portion

of the middle aged and older are punctual in their observance every morning, and with less punctuality in the evening also.

I discovered that they frequently deposited their dead on or near the surface of the earth, and raised over the corpse a heap of stones. In this heap, I saw in a few places a pole planted, to the top of which was suspended a scalp of an enemy. Their notion was, that by taking an enemy, and suspending his scalp over the grave of a deceased friend, the spirit of the former became subjected as a slave to the spirit of the latter, in the world of spirits. Hence, the last and best service that can be performed for a deceased relative is to take the life of an enemy, and apply his scalp as above. This sentiment, it is believed, is among their strongest inducements to take human life. What a happy change upon these people, in this respect, a knowledge of the gospel would effect!

At the time of which I am writing, the Rev. Mr. Pixley, a Presbyterian missionary, with his wife and several children, resided among the Osages. He was a worthy man, and desired much to impart spiritual benefits to that poor people. But he accomplished little, if any thing, of this nature during his labours there. His impatience amidst what he esteemed wrong in those about him sometimes induced him to administer reproof in a manner to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience. He and the United States' Indian agent, Major Hamtramck, at the same place, were widely at variance. Both appealed to the Department of Indian Affairs at Washington, with which Mr. Pixley's story evidently had greatly the advantage of the other. Nevertheless, the obstacles to Mr. Pixley's usefulness so accumulated, that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions desired him to retire. The United States' agent continued in office but a short time.

From the first dawning of the scheme for colonizing the Indians in the West, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, (Pedobaptist,) than which no missionary society in the United States was more respectable or influential, had strenuously opposed it. I was sorry to find that Mr. Pixley, though labouring in the country in which it was proposed to give these poor "scattered and peeled people" a permanent home, was averse to the plan—his feelings beating in unison with those of the society which he served.

Among some of the uncultivated tribes to the north, there are instances, though rare, of men assuming the office of women. They put on women's apparel, and mingle with them, and affect

the manner and appearance of females as much as possible, and continue this folly during life. While I was at the Osage villages, one of these wretches was pointed out to me. He appeared to be about twenty-five years of age, was tall, lean, and of a ghost-like appearance. His presence was so disgusting, and the circumstances of the case so unpleasant, that I spoke not a word to him, and made few inquiries about him. He was said to be in a declining state of health, and certainly his death would not have been lamented.

We left the Osage villages on the 22d of November, 1828, accompanied by Belle Ouizo, a distinguished chief. After supper, at camp, he said he desired to relate a story, which he had once told to an officer of the Government, who did not believe it. "I should like to know," said he, "if you will believe it."

"Some years ago a company of Osages, then resident on the Osage river, made a visit to St. Genevieve, on the Mississippi. One of the company was a young man, in love with a young woman whom he had left behind at his village. In his absence, the girl sickened and died, and was buried. The burial took place just as the people of the village were leaving it, with the view of establishing settlements on the Neosho, [on which river they now chiefly reside.] The young man returned to the village four days after the inhabitants had left it, where he found the young woman alive and alone, and in health. Not having heard of her illness or death, he was not surprised at seeing her. He inquired, 'Why are you here alone?' she replied, 'Our people have all removed, and I remained behind to await your return.' Taking up their little property which they desired to transport, a bundle being assigned to the girl, they immediately set out to overtake their people. They came up with them at a creek about one day's journey below our present encampment, [about one hundred and forty miles from their former villages, from which they had started.] Their people were scattered through the bottom lands, in the act of pitching their tents. He directed the girl to remain on the bank of the creek with her bundle that she had carried, while he would ascertain where their family were halted; and he would then return for her, that they might all encamp together. He found the camp of their friends, and, instead of returning himself, sent one to bring up the woman with her bundle, whom he had left in a place which he pointed out. In the hurry of the occasion, none had inquired what woman it was, nor had he informed them. The messenger found the bundle, but not the woman. Returning with this in-

formation, inquiry was made of him who she was whom he had left there, and on hearing his answer he was informed that that young woman died and was buried before the party left the village. On hearing this, the young man instantly expired."

To this story I replied, that some white people supposed that spirits could occasionally be seen. Most of them did not believe it. I had never seen one. I then related two short *spirit stories*, which had originated with people of my acquaintance, which I told in such a way as to satisfy him that I ascribed all such stories to deception or superstition. This, by the Indian, I knew would be esteemed a respectful method of telling him that I did not believe his narrative.

He said he knew many other short stories which he would like to relate, "but," said he, "you will not believe them; the one I have related is the strongest," [most interesting.] I told him that I should like to hear his stories. The Indians among whom I lived often related to me theirs. "I will not laugh at yours," said I, "unless you tell something with the design of producing laughter." He then mentioned two or three instances, and detailed the circumstances, of Osages having been shot through the body, scalped, and left on the ground for dead, by the Pawnees, who afterwards recovered, and were still living. The correctness of these accounts I did not call in question, but responded by mentioning two or three similar cases which had occurred among the whites.

He proceeded: "I will now relate an affair which is generally believed among the Osages. I know not whether it is true or not. I will tell it as I heard it. The Pawnees took an Osage woman prisoner at the town on the Verdigris river, and conducted her to theirs, which was a distance of thirteen days' journey. After remaining some time with them, the woman escaped from their village. But, being on foot and alone, without the means of making fire or of procuring food, and with a trackless wilderness of thirteen days' journey between her and her people, she was soon reduced to great distress, and had reason to despair of ever seeing her people. In this melancholy condition she was visited by a wolf, which inquired the cause of her distress. On hearing her answer, he admonished her to take courage, and promised to furnish her with a guide and with supplies. He then conducted her to a buffalo. The latter entered into conversation with her, and invited her to follow him, and assured her that he would guide her safely home. As to her eating, she need not be uneasy; his eating would have the mysterious effect of imparting nourishment to her. Grass was

abundant, so that food adapted to his powers of digestion would not be wanting; all this she found to be true. They prosecuted their journey together until one day they arrived at the stump of a tree which had been cut down with an axe. He asked her if she knew that place? She replied in the negative. Said he, 'you cut down that tree yourself.' When she was made to recognise the place, he said, 'now you are near your village—you know the way, and can go alone.' So saying, he departed.

"The woman is now living in one of the Osage villages. Her face is tattooed, after the manner of the Pawnee women.* It is a fact that she was a prisoner, and she says it was by the means stated that she was enabled to return. I know not whether her story is true or false, but we can hardly suppose that she could return so great a distance through a wilderness, in her destitute condition, without assistance."

To the foregoing narrative I made no reply. He then proceeded with another. "The past summer," said he, "a man and a woman encountered, in the wilderness, a violent thunder storm. Each sought a shelter beneath a plum tree, two of which stood near each other. While the man was seated, wrapped in his blanket, which was made to cover his lap, the thunder came down, and struck him on the head, and, passing through the blanket, descended between his knees, and entered the earth. The woman, affrighted, attempted to flee, but had gone a few steps only, when the thunder came down again and killed her. Where the thunder entered the ground between the man's feet, the Osages who attended to the funerals observed a round hole about as large as a tin cup, [which he pointed to, three and a half inches in diameter,] and in this hole was a stone, by the fall of which the hole had been formed. This, they supposed to be a *thunder stone*. They did not touch it, because it was esteemed a sacred thing. Hitherto, our people had supposed that the thunder was like a small bird, and that after the stroke, it instantly flew back to the clouds; hence they never could find it, but now it is known that thunder is a stone."

For his encouragement in talking, and to satisfy him that I

* It is common among many of the uncivilized Indians, both males and females, to make indelible blue marks on the face, arms, or body, as best suits the fancy of the person. The practice prevails to a greater extent in some tribes than in others. The more ignorant of the men among the frontier Canadians and Mexicans often do the same. The figure, line, or spot, is made by pricking the skin, and rubbing therein colouring matter, usually gunpowder, which, becoming deposited beneath the cuticle of the skin, gives it a permanent tinge.

was not so illiberal as to require him to bear the whole burden of conversation, I related the traditionary tale of the Ottawas, respecting the means by which they obtained an iron pot.* I then asked him how the Osages first obtained fire. He readily replied as follows:

“The story is connected with our religion, and when I tell you about our first obtaining fire, I shall also speak of our praying. Our first attempt to procure fire was by the use of a large dry weed, the pith of which was large in proportion to the harder exterior. The weed was laid horizontally on the earth, and a hole made in the side, extending into the dry pith; into this hole the operator inserted a hard dry stick, then taking the upper end of the stick between his two hands, and rubbing them rapidly backward and forward, turned the stick first one way and then the other, constantly praying to God for success. The friction occasioned smoke, but not flame, or fire in a manner that could be kindled. While thus laboriously employed, and nearly in despair, a panther came to him and inquired what he was doing. He said he was trying to make fire. The panther then kindly told him that he would show him a better method of procuring fire. So saying, he instantly ascended an exceedingly rocky hill which rose up from the place, and as he ran up the hill with frantic speed and force, he kicked stone upon stone with such violence that he made the “*fire fly*.” The fire maker now perceived that fire could be produced by percussion, and this led to the use of flint and steel. After obtaining sparks, they laboured considerably before they succeeded in kindling them. This they ultimately effected by means of dry leaves, decayed wood, and the like. For this peculiar favour from the panther, the Osages still cherish great respect for that animal, and often when we pray we wrap ourselves in a panther’s skin. *We* pray and have *our* religion as well as the whites. We have no preachers among us to make us acquainted with your religion, but we worship Wóh-kon’-da [the Father of Life] in our own way. Now,” said he, “I want some information from you, and will ask you a question. How did white people first obtain shoes?”

It may easily be imagined that to give an appropriate answer to this unexpected and singular question, and one that would appear suitably polite, would be attended with some embarrassment. Endeavouring, however, to maintain the gravity which important matters of conversation demand, I made out something of a story—spoke of the reasonableness of applying the

* See page 304.

thick skins of animals to the feet, as that article could not conveniently be used for food; and then I mentioned the improvement made in hides to convert them into leather. Shoes at first only protected the soles of the feet; subsequently, they were improved so as to cover the foot entirely, and these supposed improvements were followed up to extremes, and shoes were made to extend as high as the knee. Experience having taught that shoes had been made too large, they were diminished until they were commonly limited to the foot, or to the foot and lower half of the leg. While making these explanations, I was honoured with sober attention.

Indian traditions, tales, &c., often involve such glaring absurdities, that the reader will be tempted to suppose that we have omitted such parts of the story as would tend to reconcile the inconsistencies. When, for instance, we tell of the first attempts to procure fire, the mind of the reader naturally inquires, where do the Indians suppose other human beings were at that time? How had the Osages previously lived without fire? How did this man know that such a thing as fire could be produced? How do they account for wolves, panthers, and buffalo, entering into conversation with man, &c.? These things they never attempt to account for. When they have told the story, and stated the facts, they suppose that they have done all that is required of them; others may account for all that is uncommon, and at their leisure reconcile the parts of the narrative which appear to be at variance with each other or with common sense.

CHAPTER XIV.

Exploring expedition continued, and terminated on Arkansas. Journey to Washington. Report of the expedition. Valuation of improvements at Carey. Influence of politics upon the subject of Indian colonization. Reprint of remarks on Indian reform. Triennial convention. Memorial to Congress. Missionaries remove to the West. Calumny counteracted.

November the 26th, 1828, our exploring company encamped on the Arkapsas, at the mouth of Verdigris river. We remained in this neighbourhood until the 2d of December. Here our Creek delegation had an opportunity of enjoying the company of about fifteen hundred of their countrymen, who had recently

arrived from the east of the Mississippi. This interview appeared to be pleasant to both parties. These Creek immigrants belonged to what was termed the McIntosh party, and our delegation belonged to the other and larger party. Old General McIntosh, who had headed this smaller party on the east of the Mississippi, had been killed by the others, and some fears were felt lest an existing grudge might mar the future peace of the two parties, if located near each other. It was, therefore, the more pleasant to witness the friendly manner in which the delegation was received by the immigrants. They expressed a desire that their people generally should follow and settle with them; and lest any should be deterred from doing so, by supposing that the immigrants retained angry feelings on account of a former quarrel, they held a council, and prepared a written communication to the other party, affectionately inviting them into their country, under assurances that former grudges were buried.

Here we left our Creek delegation, who, after remaining a few days with their people, would go directly to their home on the east of the Mississippi. I therefore settled accounts with them, gave them funds to take them home, &c. From this place, also, Mograin, who was our interpreter for the Osages and some others, turned back. Here, also, we got rid of our circus man, Papin. We first left him to take care of a few worn-down horses, in the vicinity of Fort Gibson, and he was afterwards induced to remain in the place, for the purpose of amusing the idle by a circus in that wilderness Indian country. I believe that the design was never carried out.

Notwithstanding my great anxiety to return to my family, from whom I had been separated much longer than I had expected, I was desirous that we should see as much of the country designed for Indian settlement as possible. During the earlier part of the excursion, the plea for not going further west from the State of Missouri was, that they desired to employ the time in examining the country between the North Fork and the main Canadian river. We were between these rivers on the 4th of December; but so anxious were the company to terminate the tour, that not a single night was spent there.

We were now in a buffalo country, though but a short distance south of Fort Gibson. On the 5th of December, four of our Indians became separated from us, as they were in pursuit of buffalo, the last of whom did not reach our camp until after dark, when he was conducted to us by a Cherokee, on whose camp he had by chance fallen. On the following day, two buffalo were taken by some of the party.

At camp on the south of the Arkansas, and near the junction of that river and Canadian river, December 7th, our explorations terminated. Here we were to separate. The Choctaws would pass home by way of a few of their people who had settled on Red river, and the Chickasaws would proceed direct to their places east of the Mississippi, while others of us would return to St. Louis. As the principal design of the exploration was to satisfy the Chickasaws, I inquired of them if they were pleased with the country, &c., to which they sent me the following note :

“ Canadian river, December 7th, 1828.

“ FRIEND AND BROTHER : In reply to your request, we have to say to you that, from the situation of affairs at home, we are not able to give you any account of the present tour. When we return home, and find our affairs settled with the General Government satisfactorily to us, we will then make our report to our Great Father, the President of the United States.

“ We are, with great respect, your friends and brothers,

“ LEVI COLBERT,
 “ ISH-TE-MA-TAH-KA,
 “ EMMUBBA,
 “ IM-MA-TAH-ISH-TO,
 “ AH-TO-CO-WAH,
 “ ISH-TA-YAH-TUBBA,
 “ BAH-KAH-TUBBA,
 “ THOS. SEALY,
 “ ISAAC LOVE,
 “ ELAPA-UMBA,
 “ C. COLBERT,
 “ J. MCLISH.

“ *To Mr. McCoy.*”

The other members of the delegation were absent at the time, in quest of buffalo.

I was confident that they had started on the expedition with reluctance. They had avoided an examination of the country only so far as seemed necessary to save appearances, and I had not the least expectation that they would report in favour of coming to it.

On our way back to St. Louis, we passed the Union and Harmony missionary stations, both under the patronage of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, originated in about 1820, for the benefit of the Osages. Harmony was located fifteen miles within the State of Missouri, about

seventy-five miles from the Osage villages, excepting a few houses which were near the station. Union was twenty-five or thirty miles from the nearest Osage village, with the exception of a few who had been induced to form a small settlement nearer; and in the exchanges which had been made of lands, this station had fallen within the Cherokee country. Both stations were designed to operate upon a large scale; many missionaries were connected with them, and in each the system of boarding schools had very properly been introduced. The missionaries were worthy of great praise for their piety, and devotion to the interests of the perishing Indians; and, while in these respects they were well qualified to be useful, it was evident that each station needed a superintendent, qualified to manage men and matters under difficult circumstances. All pious persons are not qualified for missionaries, and there are many who may labour advantageously in spheres congenial to Christian kindness, if associated with one who has talents for management, who, without the latter, would be unsuccessful. These good missionaries became discouraged, and both stations have since been discontinued, and all the missionaries have abandoned the missionary field. They fancied that the condition of the Osages was hopeless, or nearly so, and to this they ascribed their want of success. I was obliged to view the subject differently. The opinion I then formed has been confirmed by my acquaintance with the Osages since—that, among our uncivilized or partially civilized tribes, no opening presented itself so favourable for successful missionary operations as in this tribe. These poor people have been neglected, but, as will be seen hereafter, they have not been wholly abandoned.

Forty miles north of Fort Gibson, it was necessary for us to halt a few minutes at a trading house, near which Monopushe, an Osage chief, with his party, was encamped. The chief sent for me to visit his tent; a son of his had been a while at Union mission, and had learned English enough to serve as our interpreter. He spread a blanket on the earth, and seated me near him, and placed before me a wooden bowl of buffalo meat. He then inquired what chiefs we had seen south of that place, and what *talks* had taken place. He expressed much dissatisfaction with two Osages who had been in our company; said they were bad men, who had lied; they had sold the country in which we then were, and in which his towns were, to the United States, for the benefit of the Cherokees, but he was resolved not to leave it, but would fight for the maintenance of his rights. I endeavoured to satisfy him that we were not concerned in this

matter at all, and that we had been upon other business. He appeared calm when I parted with him, and to promote good feeling I sent him some tobacco.

The Osages and Cherokees had been at war, and lives had been taken from both parties. Now they had become near neighbours, and, in order to make room for the immigrants, the Osages were required to leave towns which they had long inhabited, and retire within a tract which had been reserved for their use by a treaty in 1825. It was not surprising, therefore, that the latter should feel dissatisfied. These Osages remained at their villages within the Cherokee country ten years after the time of which we are speaking.

It was now winter, when grazing for our horses was poor, and almost daily some of them failed. Early on the morning of the 14th of December, we heard the voice of an Osage engaged in his morning orison, though till that time we had not known that an Osage encampment was near ours, nor did we see the people at all. We were at this time living poorly, upon a scanty supply of dried buffalo meat, sour flour, and coffee without sugar. We encamped near White Hair's village on the night of the 14th, and, soon after we stopped, an Osage brought to camp about a gallon of corn, which he kindly presented to me, with which to feed my horse. At the Osage agency, on the following day, we found a comfortable meal, which was a grateful treat, and our horses obtained a feed of corn.

We returned to St. Louis on the evening of the 24th of December. My extreme anxiety to return to my family had induced me to prepare my accounts and all my papers, as far as practicable, on the road, so as not to be long detained in St. Louis. Stopping to close some business in the country, I had desired Dr. Todson to take my letters out of the post office, and have them ready at my arrival, lest it should be after the office had been closed at night. He did, indeed, take the letters from the office, but wandered off where I could not find him. The stage would leave for the East at sunrise on the following day, and the ice was accumulating in the Mississippi, and it was probable that if I did not cross to go with the first stage, I should be detained some days or weeks. My mind was filled with great anxiety. I at length found the Doctor and my papers, and, by working till midnight, prepared to take the stage on the following morning.

At this time my two elder sons, Rice and Josephus, were studying medicine in Lexington, Kentucky. Before I left Carey, we had supposed that it would be proper for my family,

and Mr. Lykins's, to leave the station during the autumn, and spend a few months in the white settlements, while I should be discharging the duties upon which I had entered; and then for both families to go west, with the design of forming missionary settlements in the Indian territory. I did not hear from my family whether this plan had been entered upon, until I reached St. Louis, where I learned that the families were then in Lexington, Kentucky, which place I reached on the 1st of January, 1829, after an absence of six months.

In September, during my absence, Governour Cass and Col. P. Menard, Commissioners on the part of the United States, held a treaty at Carey with the Putawatomes, for the purchase of land. At this treaty Mr. Lykins succeeded in obtaining a stipulation providing an annuity of one thousand dollars for educational purposes, which we fully expected would be applied under the direction of the Baptist board of missions, with which we were connected. Subsequently, to our great disappointment, and not a little to our dissatisfaction, these funds, through an influence of which I did not hesitate to complain, were applied elsewhere. Annuities of two thousand dollars, for the education of Putawatomes and Miamies, to obtain which we had laboured at the treaty of 1826, and which had been promised to us, we had already been deprived of; the loss, therefore, of this last one thousand dollar annuity was to us the more grievous, especially as our support almost wholly depended on the help we obtained from Government, and as we were constantly pressed for the want of means to support our large Indian and missionary family. In order to pay debts which the mission owed, and to enable him to carry out our designs of going west, Mr. Lykins had furnished, at the treaty at our house, some supplies, the product of our farm, which brought some pecuniary relief.

About the 1st of October, Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell returned to Carey, from a visit to their friends in the eastern States, on which they had been absent from the station more than three months. Mr. Lykins and wife, and my family, were in readiness to leave on their arrival; the station, therefore, was left in charge of Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell. We had for some months been preparing to close our labours there, and, consequently, operations were by this time greatly curtailed. We had been taught, by the experience of many years, that it devolved on the missionaries to devise measures, and to procure the means of accomplishing them. The attention of the board being chiefly engrossed by their missions in other countries, which were prose-

cuted with discretion, zeal, and success, they could not be expected to feel that interest in the establishment of missions among the tribes in the West that we did. We did not believe that they would grant us permission, at that time, to go west, and we therefore did not ask it; for it would have been more painful to go *contrary* to direct orders, than to go *without* orders; and, from the views we had taken, we felt that we had already too long delayed to remove. The board was not satisfied with this movement, and rebuked Mr. Lykins for leaving the Carey station before he had obtained permission. Mr. Lykins remained at Lexington with the families until I returned, when he went back to Carey, to render such assistance in business as was necessary. The letter from the board, complaining of precipitancy in our movements, came to hand after Mr. Lykins's departure from Lexington to Carey; the duty of answering it, therefore, devolved on me, and our reasons were candidly stated.

It was necessary for me to be at Washington, to report as soon as practicable; I therefore remained only seventeen days with my family, before I again left them on a four months' tour. I did not remain in Lexington long enough to prepare my accounts, and two days on the steamboat, as I ascended the Ohio river, I wrote faithfully. I arrived at Washington on the 27th of January, but having made exertions beyond my strength, I sickened, and was confined to my room several days, under the care of Dr. Sewall.

According to the division of labour which the Department of Indian Affairs had made between Captain Kennerly and myself, it had become properly *his* business to report the character of the country, the route we had taken, &c., and *mine* to attend to the settlement of accounts. I had reason to suppose that Captain Kennerly would say little more than would be reported by the topographers; and their report, I knew, would necessarily not be such a condensed statement, relative to the suitableness of the country for settlement, as the case demanded. I therefore made a formal report, although it was not really my province to do so. This, I had reason to suppose, was unexpected by some connected with the matter; and Colonel McKenney himself, who was at the head of Indian affairs, intimated that it was informal. I nevertheless felt the necessity of the measure; I was exceedingly desirous that the character of the country should be known to the people of the United States, and that some further action of the Government, relative to the location of Indians there, should be produced as soon as practicable.

The following is an extract from my letter to the Secretary of War, the Hon. P. B. Porter, which accompanied my report :

“ Document No. 1 exhibits in detail the disbursement of the funds confided to my trust. Documents Nos. 2 and 3 furnish vouchers. Document No. 4 contains explanations. Document No. 5 is a map of the country we explored, and extending west to the Rocky mountains, and north beyond what may probably be the limits of the Indian territory. It also exhibits the claims of the several tribes, and the amount of unappropriated lands. Document No. 6 furnishes a brief history of the expedition, a description of the country, and my views relative to the settlement of Indian tribes therein, and the subjects connected therewith which claim the immediate attention of our Government.”

My report having lain in the office of the Department of Indian Affairs nine days, and fearing that it would not appear before Congress in time to produce any effect, the Honourable Wm. McLean, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives, made a call of the House for those documents, which he did with success. The following is an extract from the report of the Committee, of which Mr. McLean was Chairman :

“ The Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred so much of the President’s Message, transmitted to Congress at the commencement of its present session, as has reference to our Indian relations, with the documents from the War Department, accompanying the same, on that subject ; and to whom was also referred the communication from the War Department of the 12th instant, transmitting reports from the commissioners appointed under the act of Congress, passed at the last session, authorizing an exploration of the country west of the Mississippi, report :

“ That, on a review of the subject touching our Indian relations, the committee are confirmed in the belief that the Government of the United States cannot, in justice to this dependant race of human beings, cease to exercise over them a parental guardianship, and that no means should be left unemployed which promise an elevation of their character, and an increase of their happiness and prosperity. This position is so clear as to render unnecessary any reference to the history of our relations with the aborigines of this country to sustain it. A very small portion of this history can be contemplated with pleasure. We have, it is true, legislated, and doubtless with a view to the welfare of the Indians, but our legislation does not

appear to have tended even to ameliorate their condition, much less to elevate them to the level of their more fortunate white brothers. It would seem that our chief business had been to trade and barter with them, not for their interest so much as our own. We give them annuities for their lands, and have occasionally, by some feeble efforts, assisted a few of them to rise from the vices into which they have been led by our example into better life and better hopes; but, in doing this, we have not fulfilled our obligations which grow out of our relations to them.

“Without further reference to the past, the committee will proceed to consider the present condition of the Indians, especially those tribes and parts of tribes whose country is embraced by some of the States and organized Territories.

“It is well known that the condition of the four southern tribes, the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, has become extremely critical. There does appear to have arrived a *crisis* in which the salvation or destruction of those tribes is involved. Some of the States within whose limits they are situated urge their removal, while many of the Indians cling to their soil. Repeated efforts have been made by the General Government to reconcile the parties, and to obtain the consent of the Indians to remove, but some of them still persevere in their refusal to go, and call upon the Federal Government for protection. No force has been employed on either side, but the right of sovereignty in the States is proposed to be exercised over all the Indians within certain of the States, by making them amenable to their laws, and answerable for any violation of them before their courts of jurisprudence. This policy, it is feared, would prove destructive to the Indians:

“The question then recurs, How are they to be preserved? The committee can perceive but one way; and that is, by adopting the policy proposed by the Government for their removal and collocation upon lands without the limits of the States and organized Territories. The policy of urging them to leave their country for another would be deplored, if it were not believed to be the only effectual measure to secure the prosperity and happiness of themselves and their posterity.

“It will be seen by the documents accompanying this report, that the persons appointed by the President, under the act of Congress passed at the last session, authorizing an exploration of the country west of the Mississippi, have performed the duties assigned to them, and furnished satisfactory evidence of the fitness, extent, and even desirableness of the country upon

which it is proposed to locate the Indians, a considerable proportion of which is now possessed by parts of the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, who are anxious to receive their friends from the east.

“ A part of the delegations from the different tribes who accompanied the commissioners have returned, being well pleased with the country, and are desirous to emigrate to it; especially the Creeks, whose application to that effect is appended to this report.

“ It is believed that the great body of the Indians now residing within the States are willing to emigrate, but are deterred from doing so by the fear of their chiefs, who are influenced to oppose the measure by interested traders, who speculate in Indian annuities.

“ The proposed plan for the colonization of the Indians has long since been suggested, and indeed approved and acted on by the Executive and by Congress. In many of our treaties with them, provisions have been introduced for their emigration to the west of the Mississippi, and pledges given to furnish them with the necessary aid in their removal. Those treaties have been sanctioned, and some of them carried into effect by the Congress, and for the fulfilment of the whole of them the faith of the Government is solemnly pledged.

“ The committee recommend that the lands upon which the Indians shall be located be so secured to them, as that, in no future time, they may be dispossessed, or even encroached upon; that they be paid a just compensation for their improvements which they may abandon; that protection be afforded them in their new homes; that, so soon as circumstances shall admit of and require it, they be furnished with all the helps necessary to form for themselves a government of laws suited to their condition, and the means of education in letters and the arts. In a word, that they be, so far as the Government of the United States may have the power, redeemed from the evils of the past, and elevated, so far as possible, into rights and privileges such as we enjoy. To such as shall prefer remaining where they are, and come under the laws of the States, (and doubtless there are some such,) give ample reservations, under proper restrictions. Thus would the parties, even among themselves, be accommodated, and the great object realized, in ridding the States of a population which they feel to be burdensome, and in conferring blessings on the Indians.

“ The plan suggested by the Secretary of War, in his report accompanying the President's message to Congress at the com-

incommencement of the present session, in reference to the Indians, is, that they be encouraged and aided in their removal to the proposed country; and he urges the importance of the colonization plan in the following language: 'If the project of colonization be a wise one, and of this I believe no one entertains a doubt, why not shape all our laws and treaties to the attainment of that object, and impart to them an efficiency that shall be sure to effect it?'

"The President of the United States also approves of, and recommends, the adoption of this course, and, among other reasons by him assigned, is the unanswerable one of the difficulty likely to arise from the formation of independent Governments among the Indians, within the limits of sovereign States, 'claiming to be independent of ours, and rivals of sovereignty within the territories of the members of our Union.' The committee do not perceive that the regulations adopted by the Cherokees, under the forms of a constitution and laws, change in any manner their relations to the United States. But it is easy to see that a conflict must arise out of this state of things, whenever the States, by their laws, take cognizance of the acts of the Indians. It is to avoid the calamities of such a conflict, and to save the Indians from its heavy judgments, that the committee would urge their removal."

The bill for the organization of the Indian territory, which has since twice passed the Senate, described the boundaries of the territory, according to the recommendation contained in my report, and exhibited on the map which accompanied it. I also recommended the appointment of a superintendent of the Indian territory, accompanied by reasons in favour of the measure; and, also, that measures be taken to conciliate the remote tribes, whose intercourse was chiefly with the Spaniards of Mexico, by an expedition among them, for the purpose of making them acquainted with the United States, and inducing them to be peaceable to the immigrant Indians and to our citizens. The closing paragraph of the report was as follows: "It only remains for me to ask leave to express, with much confidence, my opinion that the country under consideration is adequate to the purposes of a permanent and comfortable home for the Indians; and whatever may be the obstacles which at present oppose, they may, nevertheless, be located there without recourse to any measure not in strict accordance with justice and humanity. In such a location only can be found hopes of their future prosperity, and here their prospects would not be shaded by a doubt."

My report was submitted on the 30th of January ; it covered eighteen large pages of print, and was appended to the report of the committee. Besides the number of these documents which Congress ordered for its use, I had one thousand stricken off at my own expense for a wider circulation, in order to direct public attention to the subject.

Through Mr. Lykins, who was at that time attending to matters at Carey and Thomas, I received a communication from some of the Putawatomes, and another from a few Ottawas, which they desired me to submit to the President of the United States, expressing a desire to emigrate to the West, and asking for assistance. Also a similar communication was received from our two Indian medical students, in Vermont.

Through the attention of Mr. Lykins at the treaty at Carey, in October, 1828, who was at that time the only male missionary on the ground, provision had been made by which the Government was to pay for the improvements which had been made, in houses, fields, orchards, &c., whenever the missionaries should remove. I now reported to the Department of Indian Affairs that we were ready to close our operations there, and desired that commissioners be appointed to value the improvements. The Department also allowed me to nominate one of the two commissioners to make the valuation. This measure, a few weeks afterwards, was confirmed by the board, and Mr. Lykins and I directed to be present, if practicable, at the appraisement. I chose Charles Noble, Esq., of Michigan, who was the first special agent that had been sent by the Government to examine and report the condition and prospects of the mission, and the Indian Department chose Mr. Simonson, of Indiana. The appraisement took place in September, 1830.

Through the indulgence of Government, Mr. Lykins and I were allowed, some time after we left the stations of Carey and Thomas, to retain our commissions—the one as teacher for the Ottawas, and the other as teacher for the Putawatomes, and as superintendent of both stations; and this indulgence was extended until we finally settled in the West. We made out our accounts for our salaries; and these salaries were drawn by our brethren Simerwell and Meeker, and by them applied immediately to the support of their respective stations at Carey and Thomas.

About this time the board made a nominal change in the management of the two stations, which would have been proper at a later period, but which was premature, so long as our connection with the Government remained unaltered. The two

stations had always been connected, not only because such was the arrangement of the Government, but because it was necessary that they should mutually assist each other in means and missionaries. The board separated the two, and directed Mr. Meeker and Mr. Slater to manage jointly the affairs of Thomas, and Mr. Simerwell those of Carey. This measure would have led to confusion, and the loss to those stations of the support they received from the salaries of Mr. Lykins and myself, had the arrangements of the board been strictly adhered to. The missionaries, however, harmonized their movements, and went on as before. The schools were at this time less than formerly, but the operations of each station were sustained in a manner creditable to the respective missionaries.

A bill had been introduced into the House of Representatives of Congress, providing an appropriation to carry forward the design of collocating the tribes in the West, which did not pass. My business detained me at Washington some time after the adjournment of Congress. I thought that, in order to promote some favourable action of Government, further examinations of the country ought to be made before the next session, particularly with reference to a judicious location of the tribes, and a small reservation for the seat of Government of the contemplated territory, on which the officers of the territory and Indians of any tribe might locate. I therefore applied to the Secretary of War, the Honourable John H. Eaton, for authority to make a brief tour, with a view to these objects, the cost of which would be but a trifle. He appeared well disposed towards the plan, but said he had no funds which could be applied to that object. I then resolved to make the examination at my own cost, and to bring the subject to the consideration of the Government in an unofficial manner. This design was carried out, as will be seen hereafter.

At this time, J. Everts, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a worthy gentleman and Christian, was in Washington. I was frequently in his company, but was grieved to discover that, in regard to colonizing the Indians in the West, his views and efforts run in a channel opposite to mine. The opposition of that society was not only to be deprecated on account of the delays of the action of Government, which their influence would occasion, but because the acting members of our board of missions, though they acted with dignified independence, were not a little influenced by theirs. This was natural, because both societies were in the same neighbourhood, and both were in a country.

where they heard much more from the pen and the press against locating the Indians in the West, than the few who advocated the measures could find opportunity to say in its favour, and therefore some of the more active members of the Baptist board were made to doubt the eligibility of the plan. The board was composed of thirty-two members, only about seven or nine of whom resided so near the ordinary place of meeting as to attend. These acting members met in Boston, Massachusetts, and honestly drank so deeply the spirit of opposition to the colonizing plan, that, left wholly to their own choice, they would have done nothing in favour of it. But with a majority of the members more remote, different, and, as the missionaries thought, more consistent views of the subject were taken. We therefore kept up a correspondence with these distant members, whose wishes, reaching the acting members, produced decisions in accordance with what were supposed to be the views of a large majority. Among those who exerted a favourable influence in this respect, none was more conspicuous than the Rev. S. H. Cone, of New-York, to whose influence and zealous action may be ascribed much that the board did in favour of the measure under consideration.

In a Government like ours it will always happen that there will be political parties almost equally balanced in power and in influence—the one striving to gain the ascendancy, and the other striving to retain it. The ambition and excitement of the two prominent political parties had, perhaps, never run higher than at this period, and very much to the disadvantage of Indian matters. The subject of colonizing the Indians, which necessarily involved their removal, was seized by those opposed to the administration, as a matter which would be made available for political purposes. The propriety of securing the tribes in the possession of a *home* was in a measure overlooked, and the matter merely of Indian removal was harped upon. In this branch of the subject, no new principle or practice had been introduced. The whites had always controlled the Indians and Indian affairs, and had removed them whenever they chose, or if they permitted them to remain, prescribed the conditions upon which they were allowed the liberty of doing so. Many of the States had got rid of their Indians, and all claimed the right to manage them, excepting a few instances in the southern and western States, where the right to rule them was, to some extent, conceded to the General Government. The policy which Europeans had adopted on their first settlement in this country, and which all had practised up to the time of

which we speak, was evidently wrong—at variance with national honour and justice, and with Christian philanthropy, and fraught with evils under which the tribes had constantly wasted away. Among a people like those of the United States, it was not difficult to elicit strong sympathies in favour of the Indians; and the policy being intrinsically wrong, multitudes did not stop to reflect that the States had all been involved alike in the same error; but fixing their attention upon the southern tribes, the Cherokees especially, exclaimed against the cruelty of compelling them to remove “from the graves of their fathers.”

The Cherokees in the South were more civilized and more numerous than most of the tribes to the North, and on this account they felt most keenly the injurious tendency of the policy of the whites. With these exceptions in regard to numbers, and the advances made in civilization, the policy bore as oppressively upon the northern tribes as upon those of the South; and in years gone by, both before and since the constitution of our Government, its effects had been equally injurious to the Indians; but it happened that in those days the Indians had not intelligence and opportunity to complain, and cause their complaints to be heard. In years past other States had been as anxious to rid themselves of the inconvenience of Indian population as the State of Georgia and some others now were to get rid of theirs; and Georgia was not easily convinced that an exception to the rule universally observed by others should be made to her disadvantage. At the same time, others, no longer feeling the necessity of removing Indians, complained loudly of the cruelty of the State of Georgia.

The two preceding administrations of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams had been consulted by the Baptists, on the propriety of giving to the tribes a permanent home in the West, and both had been understood to be in favour of the measure, though at that time the question of sovereignty had not advanced to a crisis, so as to render some *action* either for or against the measure unavoidable. This was reserved for the administration of General Jackson. While he warmly advocated the benevolent measure of giving to the Indians a permanent resting place, which the generations preceding us had denied them, he was decidedly in favour of allowing to the southern States the advantages of the policy of which the northern States had previously availed themselves. He was, therefore, both by the necessity of the case and by principle, required to *act* in reference to the removal of the Indians. These acts were represented by the opponents of the administration as cruel, and the sympathies

of thousands, who deserved more credit for the piety of their hearts than for the information of their heads, petitioned the Government to "*spare the Indians.*"

In these well meant but misguided efforts of the petitioners, the northern tribes were overlooked, notwithstanding their sufferings from the policy of Government were at that time greater to each individual than the evils that had then come upon the southern tribes. I have no knowledge that among the hundreds of petitions there was one in favour of any except the southern tribes; and even among these, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, were almost wholly overlooked. The burden of the prayer of ten thousand voices was, *Spare the Cherokees!* They who had opportunity and inclination to view the subject on all sides, could not but perceive that this partiality for the Cherokees originated in motives less honourable than those of philanthropy.* They who worked the wires stood behind the political curtain, and adroitly aggravated opposition to the administration.

The northern States had done very much more in missionary matters, both in regard to foreign nations and the aborigines of America, than the southern and western States. Being engaged more largely in works of benevolence, the sympathies of the North were more easily excited than in the South and West; and as a large portion of the benevolence necessary to the success of missions belonged to the North, the wrong direction of sympathy, which caused it to run in an improper channel, was the more extensively injurious to the cause of Indian reform. On these accounts, the tide set strongly against the measure of providing a permanent home for the Indians. Past experience showed, too plainly to be denied, that, should they remain where they were, they would inevitably perish; and no good reason could be assigned why they might not prosper, if located where they could remain undisturbed, and under circumstances that would allow them to acquire self-respect, and a knowledge of their rights, and of the moral means of sustaining them. Still the cry was, "Let them remain where they are." A few reasoned more rationally, and contended that the matter should be left wholly to the choice of the Indians. This seemed plausible, and in itself was right; but those persons either did not understand, or had not fully weighed the fact, that in these cases Indians seldom acted for themselves, but were generally under the influence of persons who regarded their own interests more than those of the Indians.

* See introductory remarks, pp. 38, 39.

Indian affairs, in themselves, constituted a subject of common interest to our country, on which there was no necessity for parties, which had filed off upon other considerations, to divide. If we desired to do the Indians good, we might honestly differ in the choice of means; but we would naturally suppose that this difference of opinion respecting measures would be found in both parties. But it so happened that the same line which divided the two great political parties in the nation was almost identically the same that divided the opinions of men in the matter of colonizing the Indians; that is, the friends of the administration were almost universally in favour of it, and the opponents of the administration were almost unanimously opposed to it.

While there was reason to lament these hinderances to a work on which, perhaps, depended the very existence of the Indians, they seemed at the same time to operate in some degree as a corrective of the general apathy which for two hundred years had prevailed in regard to this suffering race. A few, from time to time, had prayed and laboured for their relief; but ninety-nine hundredths of our citizens neither knew nor cared what was their condition. The violent agitation of the subject brought men to think, to learn more respecting the condition of the Indians, and to indulge more liberal feelings towards them.

Some of us made considerable efforts to enlist in the cause we espoused public prints which had a wide circulation; but some, as might be expected, declined publishing any thing favourable to the plan of removal. Some religious periodicals of the Baptists would occasionally furnish notices respecting the colonizing plan, not in opposition to it, but with studied caution, as if they were afraid they were treading upon enchanted ground. Some of us, however, did at times appear before the public in defence of the scheme, in both political and religious prints, but in the former, commonly, under a fictitious name.

I left Washington on the 4th of April, and proceeded to Boston, to confer with the board of missions. I fully believed that both the political and the religious public laboured under erroneous views on the subject of Indian reform. Most of the advocates of the measures dear to us worked as if they were in the dark; the religious seemed not to understand Indian character, and the true causes of their woes, and how to devise and zealously execute the best measures of relief.

I had revised the pamphlet which I had published in 1827, entitled "Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reform," which I desired to republish with an appendix. These were

submitted to the inspection of the board, with a request that they would print them. A committee was appointed to inspect the work, and to report on the propriety of printing. The committee reported in favour of reprinting the pamphlet, but against publishing the appendix. This to me was a pretty heavy stroke, because I was more anxious to have the appendix go before the public, than the pamphlet. The most formidable objection to the appendix appeared to be, that it contained some sentiments, relative to the management of missions, not in strict accordance with those of the board; and the hope of correcting what I thought to be erroneous views was a prominent reason for placing the work before the public. I then resolved to publish the work at my own expense, if I could possibly obtain the means. My own large family, and Mr. Lykins and wife and child, were, as we considered it, on the way to the West, under circumstances very expensive. Our salaries of four hundred dollars a year each from Government, on account of our connection with the missionary stations on St. Joseph's and Grand river, were given to Mr. Simerwell, Mr. Meeker, and Mr. Slater, for the support of those stations. I had on hand a few hundred dollars, above what I had expended, of my earnings from Government on account of services on the late tour of exploration; I therefore had the pamphlet reprinted, with the appendix, which I distributed gratuitously, again furnishing each member of Congress with a copy. I could not remain to attend to the printing myself, and the Rev. Mr. Cone had the goodness to superintend its publication in the city of New-York.

Between the 29th of April and the 7th of May, the General Triennial Missionary Convention was in session in Philadelphia. I was grieved to discover that while zealous and well devised efforts, honourable to both the heads and the hearts of the members of the General Convention, were put forth in favour of foreign lands, our own was almost wholly overlooked. During the session, a committee was appointed to report on missions generally, and on the best measures for promoting them, &c. In this report, as first made, Indian stations were wholly omitted. Of this I complained, and it was corrected. I complained, also, that, a year before that time, the board had sent to the world an address on missions, in which a similar though not an equal delinquency was manifest in regard to Indian stations. The fact was, so much noise was made in the country about the cruelty of removing the Cherokees, and such mistaken views were formed of the true state of Indian affairs, that many good men seemed almost to despair of the success of missionary efforts

among them. They seemed to be settling down in the opinion which had too widely prevailed, from the time of our first settlement in America, that the aborigines were destined to become extinct, and, therefore, works of benevolence had better be directed to places in which success might be hoped for. The Rev. W. T. Brantley, D. D.—than whom none was more justly esteemed for talents and piety, and who was a member of the Convention, and who was at that time editor of a respectable religious periodical—said to me that there were so many appalling circumstances connected with the business of Indian improvement, that he had a thought of introducing into the Convention a resolution, declaring the belief that their reformation was impracticable. I complained that Indian missions had not been well supported; that there appeared to be less zeal in favour of the conversion of the aborigines at this time, than a few years before, and that their missionaries were too few in number, and were labouring under very many disadvantages, which might be diminished by greater attention on the part of a Christian public. If the Indians were to perish, as many supposed, the missionaries desired to remain with them to the last. They had placed themselves under the patronage of the Convention, in order to obtain assistance in carrying forward their designs of benefiting that almost friendless race; and if this assistance could not be obtained, the connection was unnecessary and undesirable. In private conversation, I suggested to many members of the board the propriety of dissolving the connection between it and the missionaries, and of throwing the latter upon their own resources. I knew, indeed, that in order to secure public attention and public confidence, it was necessary for us to be under the wing of some benevolent society; and this was also necessary, in order to secure the patronage of Government for a missionary station. According to a judicious Government regulation, individuals would not be recognised as justly entitled to Government allowances for Indian civilization; but it was thought that the amount of business relating to foreign missions was as much as the existing board ought to be expected to give attention to, and that a board could be formed, the appropriate business of which would be the promotion of *Indian missions*. In these propositions no reflections were cast upon the existing board; in regard to talents and zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of heathen men, they were second to none. There were reasons why they should feel a deeper interest in foreign missions than in domestic, and these reasons were weighty and many; but those who were favourable to the formation of an

Indian board discovered that men of the proper type could not be found within a convenient distance of any one point. The deficiency which obstructed the selection was not the want of talents, piety, or Christian zeal for the spread of the Gospel, but the discouragements and consequent apathy which surrounded the subject of Indian reform. There was a want of agents to bring the subject more fully to public notice. In benevolent orations, in printed circulars, and in the deliberations of the board, the subject of Indian missions was thrown into the back-ground—it had not been allowed a prominent place, and the public knew comparatively little about it. As evidence of the want of zeal in this department, the Convention was reminded that no charity funds had been applied to the support of the two stations to which I was particularly attached for five years, except a small amount contributed *specially* for the benefit of those stations by individuals or societies.

A series of resolutions was submitted to the consideration of the board, relative to future operations, the more important of which were adopted—certainly more in compliance with my wishes than in accordance with those of the acting members of that body. Among these resolutions were the following :

“*Resolved*, That in order to facilitate the designs of this board, relative to the collocation of the Indians on suitable lands in the West, our missionaries, the Rev. I. McCoy and Mr. J. Lykins, be instructed to repair to the regions west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, or as near thereto as circumstances will permit, and that they procure and submit to this board information respecting the country, and the circumstances connected therewith, as their opportunities will allow; and while they select and report, for the decision of this board, a suitable site for the location of the mission, when necessity shall compel us to relinquish the ground we now occupy in the regions of the lakes, they are required, in all the measures they may propose to the board, to keep steadily in view its designs relative to future operations.

“*Resolved*, That Mr. McCoy and Mr. Lykins are permitted to accept of any appointments from the Government, and to avail themselves of other facilities which may be compatible with the character and designs of the mission.

“*Resolved*, That should their wants actually require it, they will be at liberty to draw on the board for a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, during the year ending March 31, 1830.”

Government made an annual appropriation of \$10,000 for the improvement of the condition of the Indians. This sum

was divided among the various religious denominations which had missions or schools for the benefit of the tribes. At first, the apportionment for each station was made by the Department of Indian Affairs. But at the time of which we speak, the money was distributed to the different societies in charge of the missions, and each authorized to apply its allowance at its own discretion. The appropriation, therefore, of one thousand dollars by the board, as above stated, trenched upon no charity funds which could be applied to any other object than missions among the Indians.

At this meeting of the convention and its board of managers we were much gratified with the correct views and efficient efforts of the Rev. John L. Dagg and Rev. S. H. Cone. The Rev. Lucius Bolles, D. D., corresponding secretary of the board, and Heman Lincoln, Esq., were appointed a committee to accompany me to Washington, for the purpose of presenting to the President of the United States the following petition :

“ Washington, May 9, 1829.

“ SIR: By treaties with the Osage and Kauzau tribes of Indians, lands have been reserved for education purposes, to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States. The Baptist Convention for the United States have authorized me to inform you, that in the application of those lands to their object, they would be glad to be honoured with the trust.

“ Their views relative to the collocation of the tribes west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas perfectly agree with those of the Government, an expression of which they made to Congress, in a memorial, in 1827-'8. Mr. McCoy, who accompanied the late exploring expedition, has, in conjunction with another agent, been appointed by them to revisit that country, to select a suitable situation for the settlement of the fruit of their schools, and for education establishments, and to procure such information relative to the country as may be of service to the next Congress.

“ They beg leave respectfully to submit to your consideration the propriety of establishing within the Indian territory, so called, a superintendency that may tend to the judicious location of the tribes which may be settled there.

“ They would further suggest, with due respect, the probability that, should an expedition be sent the next spring to the Camanches, and others in the West at present at war with the Osages, menacing to emigrating Indians, and mischievous on the Santa Fe road, they would be rendered peaceable.

“For reasons for the above suggestions relative to a superintendency, and to the expedition, they would respectfully refer to pages 19, 20, 21, and 22, of the report to the Secretary of War, of Mr. McCoy, herewith submitted.

“With the highest respect, I am, sir, your obedient servant,
 “LUCIUS BOLLES, *Cor. Sec’y.*”

“*Andrew Jackson, President of the United States.*”

I left Washington on the 11th of May, 1829, and reached my family on the 18th; having been allowed to spend only seventeen days with them within the preceding ten and a half months. Mr. Lykins had returned to Lexington, Kentucky, from the missionary stations in Michigan, and was awaiting my arrival, in readiness to proceed to the West with our families.

God often frustrates our plans, and disappoints our hopes, to teach us our *littleness*, and that He is sovereign. When the missions were in their incipient stages, efforts were made, and in many instances with success, to provide openings for the enlargement of operations, under a supposition that missionaries would not be wanting; in most instances, these hopes were disappointed. Efforts were also made to qualify Indians for missionary labours, and the children of missionaries were educated with a view to their usefulness in the same field, should God sanctify and rightly dispose them. Several deeply affecting instances in our own families, and the miseries of the people around us, had made us to feel keenly the want of medical aid. With a view to future usefulness in this department, two of my sons studied medicine in the Transylvania University, in Lexington, Kentucky; but, as will be seen hereafter, our hopes of help from them were disappointed by their deaths.

They had graduated a few days before my arrival at home, and three days afterwards the elder proceeded to Missouri, to procure a resting place for us on our arrival. On the 1st of June, 1829, Mr. Lykins and I followed with our families, accompanied by my second son. We left Lexington with grateful recollections of the attentions of many worthy friends, among whom Dr. William H. Richardson and lady, and Dr. Best and lady, were prominent. Under her years of toil and anxiety in the wilderness, Mrs. McCoy's health had become such as to make a few months' rest necessary; and this was a reason for quitting Carey at the time she did. She was now going to the far West, with improved health and spirits.

Near the western line of the State of Indiana we left our families, while Mr. Lykins and I, on the 19th of June, set off

to visit our missionary stations in Michigan, in order to aid in placing matters in a situation as favourable as possible, when they should be left solely under the management of our brethren Simerwell, Meeker, and Slater.

After three or four nights, on which we had encamped under disagreeable circumstances, we reached Carey on the 26th of June. Here we found the faithful Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell, whose unostentatious manner evinced that they worked for God, and expected to receive their pay in heaven, patiently prosecuting their labour of love for the salvation of the almost friendless natives. Indian acquaintances flocked to see us, and our mutual satisfaction seemed to be interrupted only by the reflection that we soon must part.

Operations at the station had been narrowed, but not more than might reasonably have been expected. On the 10th of July there were actually on the mission premises thirty-seven Indian youths, well managed by Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell. Necessity compelled them to employ a teacher in the school.

It is much to be regretted that, in years following the period of which we speak, the zeal and self-denial of missionaries have greatly relaxed. *Now*, boarding schools, in many instances, cannot be sustained, because of the labour and anxiety they would occasion to the missionaries. Notwithstanding, in some cases, a missionary, by keeping a school of a dozen scholars, boarded with him, would secure a congregation of five to one to hear him preach, he cannot encounter the privation, and pleads that *preaching* is his appropriate business. The management of three or four children of their own is as much as one pair of missionaries can undertake. But in those days, Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell, with two or three children of their own, could take the trouble of feeding, clothing, lodging, and teaching, *thirty-seven Indian children*, besides such as were occasionally absent, making the whole number in their charge between forty and fifty; and this was a labour only similar to what others had performed before.

Still, in the vicinity of the mission, there were not wanting men so wicked as to seek, by calumny, to rob the missionaries of the honour to which their self-denial entitled them. A man living, at that time, less than two miles from Carey, had published an anonymous communication in an obscure newspaper printed on the frontiers of Indiana, designed to injure the missionaries. The libel carried on its face the evidence of its falsehood, and was badly written, and on these accounts we deemed it unworthy of notice. But Mr. Simerwell had inad-

vertently promised some friends in the vicinity of the press at which the print issued, that it should be answered, and the matter had been postponed until this time. We now regretted exceedingly that Mr. Simerwell had given such a pledge, as, without it, we thought we ought not to stoop so low as to give it a formal printed notice.

Mr. Lykins and I took the printed libel in our hand, and went to see the author, read the piece, and remonstrated against it, stating its inaccuracies, &c., and insisting that, as charity would suggest a hope that he could not be guilty of such an unwarrantable attack upon well earned reputation, without his having been misinformed, we now placed within his reach unquestionable evidence that he had done us injustice, and we considered him bound by the honour of a gentleman to correct the errors into which he had been led. The man seemed to be much mortified, and a few days afterwards, agreeably to promise, forwarded us a communication on the subject, so far qualifying the piece which had appeared in print, that nothing more remained necessary for us to say to the public, than to state a few facts relative to the manner in which we managed our missionary matters. This statement was prepared and sent to the man, that he might see what we had prepared for the public before it went to press. He was so much gratified with this ingenuous and forbearing course, that he returned in writing many thanks and expressions of good wishes for our prosperity, &c.

We believe that the self-denial and disinterestedness of faithful missionaries to the Indians have never failed to excite envy, more or less, among white neighbours, when it has been their misfortune to have them near. There are thousands of men who appear to be utter strangers to disinterested benevolence; always under the influence of selfish motives themselves, they ascribe to others similar motives. Then, again, the hatred of a corrupt heart is provoked by the better conduct of another, especially under circumstances which exhibit clearly the contrast; and, further, they who live near the Indians generally feel little, if any, sympathy for them. It cannot be expected that they who employ all their time and all their lives for the benefit of the Indians, without the slightest pecuniary reward, and the class which has little or no sympathy for these people, and in many instances study to defraud them of the little they possess, will feel cordial friendship towards each other. The missionary stands aloof, as far as possible, from all the perplexing cares of trade, and the bustle of the world in common life. Feeling that he has but one object in view, he is resolved, let others do as they

may, not to lose sight of that, but to apply all his strength, both of mind and body, in promotion of that object. It may be said that, in a sense, he does all his work upon his knees; and especially when he is calumniated he appeals to his God, who knows him altogether, and pleads with Him for defence from the wicked, who would swallow him up. It is a saying with them, "that a faithful missionary never fails to do good;" and with equal confidence it may be asserted, that God never permits the tongue of slander to injure the missionary who appeals to him for protection.

CHAPTER XV.

Baptisms. Condition of Thomas station. Tour of exploration. Sickness. Journey to Washington. Memorial of the Board of Missions to Congress. Other memorials for and against colonization. Stage accident. Proffered resignation of missionaries. Passage of the memorable act of Congress, known as "the law of 1830." Selection of Indian reservations. Sickness and death of Dr. J. McCoy. Discontinuance of the Carey station. Surveying expedition. Origin of mission among the Shawanoes. Origin of missions to Otoes, and Omahas. Councils with Kanzaus, Shawanoes, and Pawnees. First request of an Indian tribe for a land patent. Ancient tumuli. Clouds of dust. Natural curiosity.

Our satisfaction on visiting Carey was greatly enhanced by the circumstance of two converts being in waiting to receive baptism. These were two young white men who had been employed as labourers at the station. They were baptized on the 28th of June, in presence of many Indians, who attended the religious exercises of the day. One of the persons baptized, Daniel French, proposed to become a missionary—a design which Mr. Simerwell had encouraged. He had, some time before, declined labouring for wages, and had interested himself in missionary matters, much to the satisfaction of Mr. Simerwell.

The white settlers in the vicinity had by this time become pretty numerous. Some of them, who wished the Indians to remain in that country as long as they had a dollar to lay out for whiskey, supposing that the circumstances attending our arrival would make an impression on the minds of the Indians

favourable to removal, endeavoured to prevent as many as possible from calling to see us. The 29th of June had been appointed for a general meeting, for the purpose of *shaking hands*, and mutually telling the news, according to custom, after an absence of some time. At this time, intoxicating drink was offered to many; and when they objected that they must not drink, on account of the meeting which they desired to attend, they were furnished with a quantity of cider, which they were told they might drink without fear of intoxication; but it appeared that whiskey had been mixed with it, and they became intoxicated unawares.

From Carey we proceeded to Thomas, (one hundred and twenty miles,) at which we arrived July 2d, 1829. On the way we fell in with our friend Gosa, coming to meet us, who turned back with us. He entreated us to allow him to accompany us to the West, to which we at length consented; for doing which, our principal reason was, that we might improve our knowledge of his language.

A short time before this, a Miss Thompson had united with this station, under an appointment from the board of missions. She was now present, but not long after retired from missionary labours. Mr. Meeker was absent on personal business in the State of Ohio, and the establishment was under the management of Mr. Slater. The condition of the station was at this time such as to occasion grief. The school was discontinued. Only two Indian children were at the establishment, one of whom was the little exile we had found in Missouri, in 1828, who was carried home by her cousin. A farm had been prepared, nearly sufficient to yield bread stuff for the support of the mission; most of this was uncultivated, and the whole establishment appeared in a state of dilapidation.

Formerly the missionaries, in some things, formed views of expediency in management different from those of the board, and, excepting in matters of not much importance, the former claimed the right to exercise their own judgment, provided it should not be done at the responsibility or cost of the latter. Being more deeply interested in the success of their labours than others at a distance could be, and being on the ground in actual view of circumstances, there seemed nothing improper in this assumption. The board yielded to this course, but with less satisfaction than if the *views* of the parties had harmonized as well as their acts. Mr. Slater, from his first arrival at the mission, appeared to possess views similar to those of the board.

When I was about starting on my tour of exploration, in

1828, by free conference among the missionaries, all matters were adjusted at both stations in a manner which it was hoped would work well. It was thought that each understood his appropriate business, and of kind feeling towards each other there was no doubt. By that arrangement, Mr. Meeker was left in charge of affairs at Thomas, though for their good management of that station, Mr. Lykins, by virtue of his commission, was accountable to the Government. Mr. L. was to manage matters at Carey while he remained. This arrangement, Mr. Slater afterwards thought was not the best that could be made, and preferred that he and Mr. Meeker should manage affairs jointly. He visited the board, and it granted him his request, without reflecting, no doubt, on the accountability of Mr. Lykins.

Thus Mr. Slater, in our absence, was afforded an opportunity of managing according to his own judgment. His visit to Boston, and subsequent correspondence with the board, resulted in new modelling the affairs of the station in many important points, and doubtless not for the better.

This station having been brought into existence, and sustained up to the time of our leaving, by the missionaries, without cost to the board, and with much labour and privation, we thought the board had acted without due reflection in new-modelling it without consulting, and in the absence of those who could not but feel a deep interest in its success. We had seen the station prosperously rising above a protracted series of appalling difficulties and discouragements, and it now gave us much pain to see it retrograding. Still it was a great satisfaction to discover that the amount of *religious instruction* imparted to the natives was not diminished. We should have been willing to have resumed our labours there, had it not been for the duties which called us to another country, in language too imperative to be disregarded. Our faces were directed to a field which we believed had been too long neglected, and we could do no more than pray the Lord to take care of his own cause, and not allow all to be pulled down which had cost so much labour to build up.

From Thomas, Mr. Lykins, accompanied by our candidate for missionary labour, Mr. French, went on to Detroit (nearly two hundred miles) to attend to some of our missionary matters, and afterwards joined me at Carey. Gosa accompanied me from Thomas, and brought with him two children of his relations, Ottawas, to leave in charge of Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell. Other Ottawas desired to send children to Carey, but we dissuaded them from it, fearing that that station might be overburdened.

On the 8th of July, Mr. Meeker stopped at Carey, on his way from the State of Ohio to Thomas. He was not a little discouraged on account of the obstacles to their labours there, but we endeavoured to encourage him to hope that he would outlive them.

Four male missionaries being present at Carey, soon to be widely separated, we embraced the opportunity of a consultation in reference to the future. A retrospect of the past reminded us of the means by which our missions had been originated and supported, and taught us that in future, while we would avail ourselves of all the assistance possible, from the counsel, instruction, and patronage of the board, the responsibility devolved upon us to press forward in such measures as we believed would be most for the benefit of the Indians and the glory of God. We would not, without orders, undertake any thing at the cost of the board, but having only a piece of a short life remaining, and in view of our awful accountability, while we would endeavour to learn wisdom from others, we would prosecute in concert the course which to us seemed right.

From the commencement of our labours among the Indians, we had often reiterated our entreaties that the board would send an agent to our station, to see us at home and inspect our affairs, and to form some acquaintance with the character and condition of the people of our charge. We supposed that they would acquire more useful information in the management of their Indian missions, by a week's personal observation, than by a year's correspondence; and by this means our views might be more fully harmonized. The propriety of a visit from a member of the board was particularly pressed at our last interview, and we had been taught to hope that at this time we should have met such an agent at Carey; but we were disappointed, and, excepting a station among the Cherokees, none has yet visited our Indian missions.

We left Carey to return to our families, July 10, with Gosa in company. It was a time when rains had so swollen the small watercourses in the wilderness, that they were difficult to cross. At one time we carried our baggage over a creek on a fallen tree, and made our horses swim through. At other places, with very miry bottom, so much water was running, that the less inconvenient method of crossing was to dismount and wade through, leading or driving our horses, which often got through with great difficulty, after their loads had thus been lightened.

Having rejoined our families, we again took up the line of march for the West, on the 27th of July, 1829. On the 30th,

my son, Josephus, was attacked with fever, and could not proceed. On the 1st of August our youngest child was to human appearance brought near to death by cholera morbus. Our eldest son, who had gone in advance for the purpose, had procured a temporary residence for us in the town of Fayette, Missouri, one hundred and seventy miles west of St. Louis. This place we reached on the 8th of August. In the fore part of September we received information from Mr. Simerwell, that mischievous persons were again endeavouring to remove the smithery from Carey, by which measure they designed to embarrass his operations. I wrote Governour Cass without delay on the subject. About the same time I forwarded for publication in prints in Kentucky, Washington, New-York, and Boston, communications on the subject of our Indian relations, their settlement in the West, &c.

On the 17th of September I set off on a tour of exploration, which had for some time been contemplated, to meet the expense of which an unsuccessful application had been made to the Secretary of War. This I undertook at my own expense. The company consisted of Gosa, one hired white man, and my second son, who had only so far recovered from a second attack of fever as to be able to ride on horseback. Mr. Lykins and our youngest child were at this time very sick.

The objects of this tour were to acquire a more definite knowledge of a portion of the Indian territory, which information might be used at the next session of Congress for promoting some proper action in reference to the permanent location of the Indians; and more particularly to be able to name a suitable region in which to locate the seat of government for the proposed territory. It seemed necessary thus early to keep this matter before the Government, lest the lands in the most suitable place should be ceded to some one particular tribe.

On the 23d of September we reached the Kauzau villages. Here we desired to increase our number; and in order to avail ourselves of the company of General M. G. Clark, United States' Indian agent for the Kauzau, my son assisted him several days in completing writing he had on hand. We left the agency on the 29th, having added to our company General Clark, White Plume, who was the principal Kauzau chief, and Plume's son-in-law Gunville, a Frenchman, who, though he could speak very little English, was our only interpreter. Plume neither spoke nor understood English. We were in all seven persons.

On the third day after we left the Kauzau agency, Gosa and

Gunville went in advance to hunt. A few hours after we saw Gosa at the distance of a mile and a half on the prairie, and a man on horseback making towards him, unperceived, as it appeared, by Gosa. I inquired of Plume, by signs, if the man we saw was Gunville, he, by a similar method, answered in the negative, and said Gunville had gone in a different direction, and moreover he had rode a grey horse, whereas this man appeared to be riding a dark coloured horse. We then feared that it was one of a hostile party creeping upon Gosa with some evil design. Leaving two men to bring on the pack-horses, the other three of us, one of whom was old Plume, examined our guns and hastened towards Gosa, for his protection. We rode a mile or upwards before we had the happiness to discover our mistake, and that the man we feared was Gunville, who, when we first saw him, had occupied a place so nearly between us and the setting sun, that we had not at that great distance recognised him.

On the 2d of October we encamped, after a few miles' ride, for the purpose of making some examinations, and Gunville was sent out on foot to hunt. A few miles from camp he was alarmed on seeing three Indians on horseback, at a considerable distance, approaching him. There was no forest nor unevenness of land to hide him from them, and he discovered that they were resolved to take him. One came rapidly towards him, while the others bore to right and left, with a view of intercepting him with the more ease, should he attempt to escape. Seeing no alternative but to submit to his fate, he examined his gun and awaited their arrival. His joy was equal to what a moment before had been his anxiety, when he ascertained on their near approach that they were Kauzaus. They were disappointed in not finding an enemy, whose scalp could have been easily taken; and whether their disappointment was a matter of joy or grief we did not ascertain. They accompanied Gunville to our camp. Subsequently, on the 7th, five other Kauzaus, having discovered our trail, came to our encampment. The object of the examination of the country being attained, the tour was terminated on the 13th of October.

Mr. Lykins had apparently been at the point of death, but was at this time convalescent. Our dear little son was still sick. It was desirable that Mr. Lykins should at this time return to Carey and Thomas, on business in that country, but his severe indisposition preventing, my son Josephus, who had accompanied me on my late tour, and whose services were all rendered gratuitously, agreed to go for us. He and Gosa set

off for Michigan the 2d day of November, Mr. Lykins intending to follow as soon as his health would allow. One object of this journey was to take a delegation of Putawatomes and Ottawas to Washington, with the view of urging the Government to assist these tribes to remove to the West; the expense of which we proposed to meet out of our own means, which my son was to collect in Michigan. Had this scheme succeeded, much evil, which afterwards befel the Putawatomes and Ottawas on account of being detained in their original place, would have been prevented; but it failed, chiefly on account of the severe indisposition of my son.

November 12th, 1829, I left Fayette, Missouri, for Washington. Many of the Putawatomes and Ottawas desired to go to the West with us, and we were very anxious to effect a general removal about the time of closing affairs at Carey, because we knew that their deterioration would be rapid after the discontinuance of our missionary operations. We were also fully aware that measures would be taken by the whites, who profited by the presence of the Indians, to prevent their emigration; we therefore deemed it of much importance, and the Indians desired it, that a few of their principal men should appear at Washington, to make an arrangement for their removal. No other measure attended by equal expense, we thought, would result in more advantage to the interests of our missionary matters; but, on explaining the circumstances to the board, they viewed the subject in a different light, and declined giving the necessary directions for accomplishing it.

The little property which I owned before I became a missionary had been invested in land in Ohio. As I was not laying by for the use of my family, should they outlive me, any thing from my personal services, I had intended that this little should remain theirs; but it appearing necessary, in order to prevent a distressing relapse in missionary affairs, that some of the Indians should meet me in Washington, and not finding means to meet the expense elsewhere, I directed my son to procure the requisite funds by the sale of this private property. This plan was also disappointed, on account of the sickness of my son, who had left Missouri in poor health, and who, at Carey, was so unwell as to be entirely unable to attend to any business.

The late Convention had directed the board to present to Congress, at the session of 1829-'30, a memorial in favour of giving the Indians a permanent home, &c., in the West, and Mr. H. Lincoln was afterwards appointed the agent of the board to present the memorial. Agreeably to my request, he met me in

Washington in December; but the memorial, of which he was the bearer, was not what had been hoped for; it did not present a prayer in favour of settling the Indians in the West, but merely asked the Government, in event of Indian removal, to provide for them in future. It appeared to me that the tenor of the memorial was such as would produce an impression that we were receding, instead of advancing, in the matter of Indian colonization. Regretted that the board had felt it to be their duty to write so cautiously, and at first contemplated presenting a memorial emanating from another quarter, but refrained, under an impression that our views could be made known to Congress, with a greater prospect of success, in a less conspicuous manner. The memorial of the board was presented to Congress by the Hon. Wilson Lumpkin, on the 4th of January, 1830.

A reason why we were particularly anxious to bring the subject in which we were deeply interested before the Government at this time, in such a manner as might promote the most favourable action, was, it had been discovered that, in the progress of this subject, Congress at this session would probably adopt some effective measures, and it was desirable that these measures should be such as would have a salutary tendency. That we were not mistaken in supposing that this crisis had arrived, will appear a little while hence, in the enactment of what is known by "*the law of 1830.*"

In the changes which the board had made in matters at the Thomas station, they had asked the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to confer on Mr. Slater the appointment of teacher, held by Mr. Lykins. I thought this was indiscreet; but since Mr. Lykins's home had been removed far to the west, so that he could only occasionally visit the Thomas station, and as there existed no reason why he should draw the salary of the teacher in his own name—only that it would afford him an opportunity of giving some direction in its application at the station, which would virtually be the exercise of so much authority in directing the management of its affairs—I had written Governour Cass, intimating our acquiescence in the wishes of the board. Nevertheless, by a letter received from his Excellency the 6th of January, I was informed that he had declined, for the present, to make the change which the board had requested.

In the autumn of 1829, the board very judiciously directed that the boarding school should be resumed at Thomas, which was accordingly done. Mrs. Slater's health was declining, and about this time Mr. Slater intimated to the board a design to leave the missionary field. He went to Detroit to make prepa-

ration for their departure, but this design was afterwards relinquished.

While in Washington on this occasion, I was brought under great obligations to President Jackson, Secretary J. H. Eaton, and numerous members of Congress, for the opportunities afforded me of pleading for such measures, in behalf of the Indians, as appeared proper. Through the politeness of the Hon. John Bell, Chairman, I was allowed to appear on this subject before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives. Gentlemen Lumpkin, McLean, and Hendricks, were conspicuous among those whose willingness to work in promotion of Indian interests is remembered with great satisfaction.

At this time the subject of Indian removal was warmly agitated, and numerous memorials reached Congress, opposed to the collocation of the tribes in the West. To some, it appeared evident that nineteen-twentieths of these memorialists were misled by others; they were actuated by kind feelings towards the Indians, and did not imagine that if their requests should prevail, the Cherokees, for whom alone their sympathies appeared to be elicited, would be driven from the east of the Mississippi, by force of arms, and that all who resisted would become victims to their temerity.

In order that those in Congress who opposed the measure might not have all the argument to be drawn from memorials on their side, I wrote to friends in divers places, setting forth what I deemed to be the true state of the case, and requesting them to forward memorials in *favour* of the plan under consideration. The result was, well written memorials were presented to Congress from various places: one was from the Pennsylvania Baptist Association for missionary purposes, Philadelphia; another from citizens of Philadelphia and vicinity—the latter was lengthy, embracing argument, &c., and was printed; one from Troy, Ohio; one from Salem, Indiana, and one from New-York city.

In order to promote right views in reference to memorializing Congress, and to confer with the board, at its request, I went to Philadelphia, where I remained ten days. I had left Philadelphia but a few miles for New-York, on the 13th of February, 1830, when the stage capsized, and so injured me that for some time my recovery was doubtful. One of my shoulders was much injured, several ribs broken, and my chest was so crushed by a vast weight which fell upon me, that my breast and sides ever after remained much out of natural shape. At the time, I

thought it probable that I should not recover, and made a vigorous effort to reach the residence of my untiring friend, Mr. Cone, in New-York. I was conducted into his hospitable dwelling under circumstances which scarcely admitted a hope that I should leave it with life. Here, with Mr. and Mrs. Cone, and their dear sons, Edward and Wallace, I remained thirty-seven days; and when I left I was barely able to move, being exceedingly sore and in much pain. It was more than two months before I was able to preach. The kindness of these good people, and Miss Price, who was a member of their family, made a deep impression on my sense of gratitude, and that of all my family. To their unremitted attention, and their ardent sympathies, and sensible and consoling conversation, when anxieties respecting my family, the Indians, and the missionaries, were rapidly accumulating, may be attributed in a great degree the agency which a gracious God employed for my restoration. Such people ought to be known to the world; no doubt, such acts of kindness are noticed in heaven. I was so long confined in New-York, that I concluded not to proceed to Boston to see the board, but to return to Washington.

As the views of some of the missionaries respecting the best mode of conducting missions, and in respect to the colonization of the Indians in the West, differed somewhat from those which the acting members of the board honestly and religiously indulged, it was thought by the former that the connection had better be dissolved. It would not be a separation in affection, but one merely of an official character. Accordingly, before I was able to leave my room, I wrote a resignation, including Mr. Lykins's, and mentioned that I believed Mr. Simerwell and Mr. Meeker would also unite in the same. I stated many reasons why we deemed it better for us to retire from the connection, the substance of which was, that the views of the acting board, relative to the most eligible measures for benefiting the Indians, differed in some important particulars from those of the missionaries. The public naturally looked to the board for information on the subject; and with their views, and the onerous charge of other missions resting on them, it was scarcely to be expected that the condition and wants of Indian missions would be fully presented to public view. The object of the missionaries in placing themselves under the patronage of the board was, to obtain assistance in their missionary operations, in means of support, in influence upon public sentiment, in enlisting missionaries, and in devising and executing measures. In these respects, the missionaries believed that the advantages which

they received by the connection were not such as to make its continuance desirable; they believed that it had been a hindrance to their usefulness, and, having consecrated their lives to this work, they desired to be at liberty to prosecute it with energy, and render themselves as useful as possible; therefore, they desired that the connection should be dissolved, so that the missionaries might either form a connection with a society organized with a *special reference to this object*, or, if this could not be done, might bring their cause immediately before the public in their own way.

This communication was shown to Mr. Cone, and some other friends in New-York, who advised that I proceed to Boston to see the board, according to the original design. To their earnest solicitation I yielded, and Mr. Cone, and William Colgate, Esq., a gentleman of distinguished worth, accompanied me. The subject was deliberated upon by the board three days, and resulted in the continuation of our connection. Our desire was, to see Indian missions prosecuted with energy. It was not so much matter *how* the work was performed, as that it be done *some how*. About this time an effort was made to enlist in Indian affairs some talented friend at New-York or Philadelphia, who, through the press, would keep the public properly informed of our proceedings; but the effort was unsuccessful. With some there was a deficiency of zeal, and those who would have cheerfully engaged were prevented by a want of time, or by some other equally imperious circumstance.

On the 7th of April I returned to Washington, where the advocates and opponents of the colonizing plan were warmly debating its merits. Mr. Evarts, the corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was present, and, as on all occasions, manifested untiring vigilance in promoting opposition to the removal of the Cherokees. He not only spoke against the measure, but wrote and published some pieces which had much influence in strengthening the opposition. He frequently urged me to unite the influence which I might have with theirs, in *favour*, as he termed it, of the Cherokees. I took precisely an opposite view of the interests of the Cherokees and of all other Indians, and supposed that he was unconsciously doing them all possible harm. Our interviews were always friendly, but each employed what strength he possessed in opposite directions. The advocates of the plan did not manage their side of the question, either in debate or in public prints, as well as the subject admitted. The truth was,

the matter was agitated chiefly for the purpose of attaining other ends than the welfare of the Indians.

A bill was before Congress, to the decision of which all looked as a test of the strength of the two great political parties upon the subject of Indian colonization. Should this bill pass, one, and the first substantial measure towards settling the policy of colonization would be adopted by the Government. Should it fail, the advocates of the measure would have great reason to doubt their success in any reasonable time in future. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-eight to twenty. In the House of Representatives, upon several of the questions preliminary to the final vote, the House was equally divided. On the 26th of May it passed the House by a vote of one hundred and two to ninety seven. The debates on this bill excited intense interest. Long and strong speeches were made on both sides, and many of them were published in pamphlet form and scattered through the country. Doubtless, much that passed for sound argument at that time will be viewed very differently by the historian who may narrate the whole affair.

This bill, because its adoption was the first efficient step taken by the Government towards settling the policy of colonizing the Indians, became notorious as the "act of May 26, 1830." The first section authorized "the President of the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States west of the river Mississippi, not included in any State or organized territory, and to which the Indian title had been extinguished, as he might judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as might choose to exchange the lands where they then resided, and remove there, and to cause each of said districts to be so described by natural or artificial marks as to be easily distinguished from every other."

Section second authorized him "to exchange such districts with any tribe then residing within the limits of any of the States or Territories."

Section third made it "lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange should be made, that the United States would *forever secure and guaranty to them, and their heirs and successors, the country so exchanged with them*; and if they preferred it, the United States *would cause a patent* to be executed to them for the same." The sum of five hundred thousand dollars was appropriated, to carry into effect the provisions of the bill.

About this time the President informed me that he designed to place the ten thousand dollar annual appropriation for Indian reform in my charge, to apply to the support of schools, &c., in the West. This, indeed, would have been a great favour, had a judicious location of the tribes been made, but it appeared that the measures which required first attention were such as related to a just apportionment of land to each, and the security of the same to them, respectively, and my friends desired that my attention be directed to this matter. I therefore declined accepting the trust of applying the civilization fund, as it was called. I received instructions to survey the lands which had lately been assigned by a treaty to the Delawares. This was undertaking an arduous work, but it was one likely to afford a greater opportunity of applying influence on matters of vital importance to the success of the experiment of colonizing the tribes than any situation which at that time presented itself. It was also a great favour to receive some business by which I could obtain something for the support of my family. My funds had become exhausted, so that, to enable me to leave and to get back to my family, I had been obliged to request Governour Cass to send me a portion of the amount allowed as my annual salary, on account of my connection with Carey, and which I had been applying to the support of that station.

Mr. Lykins, on recovering from his severe sickness, in the autumn of 1829, proceeded to our missionary station in Michigan, agreeably to his original design. A part of his business was to select, by authority from Government, fifty-eight reservations of land, allowed at the treaty of 1826, to the Indian youths who were or had been connected with our schools. He accomplished his work in the early part of 1830. After a separation from my family of nearly seven months, I set out to return to them on the 5th of June.

My son, Dr. Josephus McCoy, who had agreed to labour gratuitously for some time to come, in promotion of our missionary interests, and who had gone to Michigan upon business of the mission in November, had been twice, during the preceding summer and fall, attacked with bilious fever. He was in poor health when he accompanied me on my last tour of exploration, and was not well when he started from Missouri to Michigan. While crossing the extensive prairies in the State of Illinois, the weather became so cold that the mercury sunk below zero. The snow was pretty deep, and travelling on horseback through a wilderness was rendered tedious and uncomfortable. He contracted cold, and was attacked with pleurisy. He lay six days

at Chicago, and on becoming able to sit upon his horse, he resumed his journey, having hired a man, in addition to his Indian, to help him on through the wilderness, the snow remaining deep, and crusted, so that travelling was almost impracticable. He suffered exceedingly from sickness, cold, and fatigue, before he reached Carey, and one of his horses failed on account of fatigue and the scarcity of food, and perished.

He continued unable to attend to business, and remained at Carey until the 29th of April, when Mr. Lykins made an effort to convey him to Missouri in a carriage. In the State of Illinois he became too unwell to travel, and Mr. Lykins sent to Missouri for my eldest son, Dr. Rice McCoy, to come to their assistance. They took a steamboat down the Illinois and Mississippi, to St. Louis, which place they left in a boat on the morning of the 18th of June. I reached that place later in the day, and riding across the country fell in with them at St. Charles, and ascended the Missouri in the boat with them. On the 21st we met Mrs. McCoy and our third son, Calvin. We were in a fragile old boat, which had been a common keel, worked by oars or poles, which was now propelled by steam. The whole voyage was attended with frequent alarms, and once we fastened on a snag in the middle of the river; the boat turned across the stream, and was rapidly capsizing, when, through the mercy of Him who controls the winds and waters, the snag broke and allowed the boat to right again. This was the most anxious moment of my life, rendered more so on account of the presence of Mrs. McCoy and our sick son. Had the snag on which the boat hung remained unbroken two seconds longer, there would have been no apparent possibility of escape from a watery grave. Discovering, as soon as I entered the boat, that it was not seaworthy, I had entreated the captain to purchase a skiff or canoe, at my expense, on account of my sick son. This he promised, but without the design of fulfilling it, and we were now without a small boat to be used in an emergency. After loosing from the snag, the boat was hurried down by a rapid current amidst many snags, and it was with imminent hazard and great difficulty that a landing was effected; in doing it, some of the men had to leap into the water and swim ashore, carrying the end of a rope. Our perilous situation was discovered at a house on the opposite side of the river, and two men in a skiff hastened towards us, but did not reach us till we had fastened to the shore.

We arrived at our residence in Fayette on the 24th of June, and on the 30th our dear Josephus breathed his last. This was

another severe stroke, the weight of which was increased by our peculiar circumstances; but we wiped the tear of grief, in the confident belief that our son had gone to heaven. Our hopes of his future usefulness in a work to which we had devoted our poor lives, had been sanguine, but wisdom had directed otherwise.

Difficulties had so accumulated around Mr. Simerwell at Carey, that when Mr. Lykins left that station in April, he was fully convinced of the propriety of closing operations there as soon as practicable; and on the 27th of July, he, with his wife and child, started again for that country, with the view of effecting this, and of obtaining assistance in commencing missionary labours in the West. He attended the valuation of the improvements at Carey, agreeably to an arrangement we had made with the Secretary of War, which valuation was made on the 1st of September, 1830, by Charles Noble, Esq., of Michigan, and Mr. Simonson, of Indiana. The improvements were appraised at \$5,080, and the growing crop, after reserving enough for the use of Mr. Simerwell, was appraised at \$641 50; in all, \$5,721 50. This sum was paid to the board of missions in Boston, by the Government, to be applied in establishing the mission in the West. The value of the improvements had been greatly enhanced by an orchard of apple and peach trees, to the culture of which early attention had been given, in anticipation of this event. We had previously obtained leave of Government for Mr. Simerwell to occupy a portion of the buildings until he could make arrangements for another temporary residence in that country. It was desirable that he should remain a while in those parts, because the Putawatomes were still there. The school was discontinued, with the exception of seven or eight Indian children, whom Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell kept with them. They remained at Carey a few months, and then located in another place in the same neighbourhood. Mr. Simerwell employed his time in the study of the Putawatome language, and in taking care, as well as he could, of our scattered flock. It was then hoped that he might leave that country in the course of seven or eight months; in this we were also disappointed.

The affairs of the Thomas station had for some time remained nearly stationary, but were not flourishing. Miss Eleanor Richardson, who had joined the mission in 1828, left it in May, 1829, on account of ill health, and returned to Cincinnati. Her health having improved sufficiently to justify returning to the missionary field, Mr. Meeker met her in Cincinnati, where they

united in marriage, in September, 1830, and immediately returned to their missionary station. Miss Susan Thompson joined this mission in 1828, and with poor health left the station in September, 1830. Rev. Mr. Cone, of New York, was a friend who never forgot us, whether we were near or far off, who kept himself informed of our circumstances, and whose generosity was equal to his zeal. About this time we had become so scarce of funds that we were obliged to borrow money to fit out Mr. Lykins for Michigan, and for the support of our families, though I hoped to be able to pay out of my earnings from Government, when I should receive it. Mr. Cone, knowing that we must necessarily be scarce of funds, and that we were in a land of strangers, wrote us, saying that if we were in want we might draw on him. We were happy that by credit in our place we were not under the necessity of availing ourselves of his liberality. Some time afterwards I accepted of a similar offer, and received of him a considerable sum, all of which I was afterwards enabled to return.

The interval between the 24th of June and the 16th of August, I was allowed to spend with my family. While preparing for another long separation from them, I wrote considerably on Indian matters, for publication in a religious paper in Philadelphia, and a political paper in Washington.

From the time of our reaching Fayette, my eldest son had been employed in the practice of medicine, and his prospects were flattering, but he cheerfully consented to gratify my desire to see him labouring in some manner in the Indian country, and took an appointment as assistant surveyor. My third son, though scarcely grown, was taken with me also, and on the 16th of August we set out to make the surveys for the Delawares, as I had been instructed by the Secretary of War. Upon this tour we were absent in the wilderness one hundred and three days; *ninety-six nights in succession* were spent without being sheltered by the roof of a house.

As we passed through the Shawanoe settlements adjoining the line of the State of Missouri, through the politeness of Major John Campbell, United States' Indian agent, acting for the Shawanoes and Delawares, I had an interview in council with upwards of twenty Shawanoes, on the subject of establishing a mission among them. The celebrated Shawanoe prophet, the brother of Tecumseh, who figured in the last war, was present, and, in behalf of the rest, responded to my remarks, professedly approving the proposition, though no doubt he secretly was opposed to every thing like education or religion. They were

desired to reflect on what I had proposed, and to be prepared to answer me, as I would re-pass their place on my way home.

A white man by the name of Fish, who had lived with the Shawanoes from a small boy, and was in all respects identified with them, had become a principal of a clan which had lived many years in the State of Missouri, and which was in a good degree civilized. I took Fish to the house of Captain Anthony Shane, a half breed, and who was the United States' interpreter; and on his informing me that he and his party desired a school for the instruction of their youth, I assured him that he should be furnished with one; and, whatever might be the answer of the rest of the nation to my proposals, *he* might rely upon the establishment of a school for his party. I would immediately begin to make preparation for it, and on my return his wishes should be met with as little delay as possible. Two others of the party at the same time urged me to establish the school.

On the 22d of November I returned to this place, when Captain Cornstalk and Captain William Perry, chiefs, met me, to deliver the decision of the nation, which was favourable to the establishment of the school proposed. These chiefs, however, and most of the Shawanoes, consented to my propositions rather through courtesy, than on account of a desire really to enjoy the advantages of education. Like most Indians, not much advanced in civilization, they felt little desire for schools, and still less to hear preaching. With Fish and his party it was otherwise; they appreciated in a good degree the former, and were favourably inclined to the latter, and through them I had hoped that access could be successfully obtained to the main body of the nation. But unfortunately for my plan, while I had been absent in the wilderness, the Reverend Mr. McAllister and the Reverend Thomas Johnson, of the Methodist denomination, visited the Shawanoes, and made similar propositions. The main body of the Shawanoes objected, "because," they said, "they intended to accept the proposals I had made them." The result, however, was an agreement that the Methodists should establish a school with Fish's party. In this matter I felt a disappointment which I could not remedy; but I was still resolved to carry out the design of establishing a mission in the nation. About the same time I made an arrangement with Major John Dougherty, United States' Indian agent, for the establishment of missions among the Otoes, Omahas, and Pawnees, of his agency, high up the Missouri river. Mr. Cone was informed of this, and requested to bring the matter

to the consideration of the board. The result of these efforts will be subsequently noticed.

Agreeably to a previous arrangement, while we were proceeding to make the Delaware survey, we were joined at the agency by an old Delaware, whose English name was John Quick, who had been appointed by the nation a commissioner to attend the surveying of their lands. As we passed the Shawanoes council house, we found thirty-five Kauzaus about to enter into council with the Shawanoes. The latter invited me to attend, to which I had no objection. I was pleased with the friendship implied in the invitation, and my work leading me near to the Kauzau villages, it was necessary that I should give them some explanations of our designs, in order to save ourselves from injury from them; and this was now a favourable opportunity for making those explanations. We completed our council on the following day. We had to ford the Kauzau river where it was so deep that our baggage could not be kept entirely dry; some of our horses mired in the quicksand, and some of us had to dismount in the river and wade out.

Our business would lead us much further into the wilderness than we had gone in any one of the three exploring tours. For our protection, the Secretary of War had ordered an escort of soldiers to attend us. But, owing to the churlishness of the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth, only fifteen men were ordered to accompany us, most of whom we needed as labourers. We were all armed, and kept up a sentinel at night; but our business compelled us often to separate through the day, so that we were frequently not prepared to defend ourselves. For several years the Pawnees had been troublesome, and not a year passed in which they did not commit robberies on the whites. Being under the necessity of passing near to some of their villages, and of going very far beyond them, it was requisite that we should have an interview before entering their country; therefore, while we were employed at some distance from them, Major Dougherty, the agent, had the goodness to send two men express, and invite their chiefs into council at Fort Leavenworth. He also accompanied us to the Kauzaus, to see them again, and to use his influence to prevent them from robbing or otherwise injuring us. We held a council with them near their villages, on the 2d and 3d days of September. A party had recently stolen from the Pawnees nine horses, which they seemed not inclined to give up, notwithstanding they were demanded by the agent. At that time, two other companies of Kauzaus were

gone to commit depredations on the Pawnees. As much of our work lay between those two tribes, these circumstances increased our danger. We had reason to fear, that if the Kauzaus, in their descent upon the Pawnees, should not come off to their satisfaction, they would undertake to supply the deficiency from our company; and if they should injure the Pawnees, that the latter would follow them, and be led on to us with no better feelings than the Kauzaus. We afterwards frequently met with Kauzaus, but were not molested, though, about the same time, they stole a horse or two from some traders passing through the same neighbourhood.

On the 16th of September three hunters were sent out, two of whom got lost, and, though we set fire to the prairie grass several days in succession, in hopes that they would discover the smoke, were unable to find their way back to us. After wandering some time separately, they, at different periods, reached Fort Leavenworth.

I went into Fort Leavenworth on the 24th of September, 1830, to meet in council one hundred Pawnees, who had come in agreeably to the message sent by express a few weeks before. They were informed that I was surveying the lands of the Delawares, but not that I should pass near their villages, because their knowledge of the latter would have exposed us to danger. We ascertained at what time they would be absent on their autumnal buffalo hunt, and that time we embraced to pass through the part of the country which was near their towns. On this occasion, our Delaware commissioner, John Quick, interchanged peace speeches with them, in behalf of his people who were about to settle in this country.

The treaty which had fixed the boundary of the Delaware country made no provision for reserving to the use of the United States the site of Fort Leavenworth, and to make the survey according to my instructions would have rendered the site ineligible. I therefore assumed the responsibility of making an arrangement with Quick, who acted in behalf of his people, by which a suitable tract was reserved for the use of the garrison. This measure was afterwards approved by the Secretary of War.

While negotiating as above, Quick intrusted to me a communication to the Government, in which, among other things, he requested, in behalf of his people, that their lands in this country, from which they desired never to remove, should be secured to them by the United States Government, by the same instrument by which land was secured to its own citizens. This is supposed to be the first instance of an Indian tribe asking for a

patent for its land, and it may be easily imagined that this Delaware chief was prompted to make the request by persons who desired that here the Indians should have a permanent home. John Quick then left us, and returned to his people.

The ancient artificial mounds and fortifications, so common in the western States, are seen less frequently as we go west from the Mississippi river, and they disappear in the prairie country assigned to the Indians. About a mile west of Fort Leavenworth, on a hill which commands a fine prospect in every direction, we discovered eight mounds near to each other, which, from their relative position and their structure, attracted our particular attention. They were about twenty-five feet in diameter at base, six of them nearly in a direct line, about thirty feet asunder, and the other two were on each side of the line opposite to each other near the centre. They were composed of stones and earth; the former placed in a circle. One of these mounds we excavated, and in the hollow within the circle of stones we found a few human bones, some of which had belonged to adults, and others to children. Excepting the pieces of the skulls, they were so much decayed that, with the assistance of Dr. Rice McCoy, and Dr. Bryant, surgeon of Fort Leavenworth, it was not easy to discover to what part of the human body they belonged. They had been under the action of fire, and were mixed with charcoal, burnt earth, and stones that had been heated with fire. It appeared that after the bodies had been subjected to the action of fire, without being consumed entirely, they were covered with earth.

Some Indians on the Columbia river burn their dead; but whether they ever leave any portion of the bones in the place of burning, I have not been informed. The place where these mounds were erected, and their internal appearance, favoured the conjecture that human sacrifices had there been offered.

On the 18th of October we encountered a storm of wind and sand, and burnt grass, of a character of which I have not heard any one else speak who has been on those vast prairies. Dr. McCoy had gone in advance, with his compass and surveying hands, and my second son and I, with others, were following on their trail with our horses and baggage, when we discovered to the northward an unaccountable appearance, somewhat like an indication of an approaching rain. The clouds seemed to roll along upon the earth, but we had not long to conjecture, before we were enveloped in a black cloud of dust, brought with a violent wind. - During many weeks, scarcely any rain had fallen. We had never witnessed such a severe drought in any

place. The fire, in the course of a very few days, burned up the dry grass on the prairies so completely, that not one acre to a thousand escaped. The ashes, like those of burnt straw, covered the face of the country. This, in connection with the dust and sand from the bare prairies, was raised by the sudden and severe wind, until the day became as dark as twilight. It seemed like suffocating our lungs and blinding our eyes. We soon became as black as colliers, and the frightfulness of our aspects was increased by each rubbing his watery eyes, by which means he washed the dust from a little circle around them. The trail of the surveyors instantly disappeared. It was too dark and dusty to follow a pocket compass, and we felt in great danger of not being able to find the company. We kept close to each other and made towards lower ground, and at length reached a small watercourse along which was a little timber, which afforded a partial alleviation of our troubles. Here we were able to discover where the surveyors had crossed, and about the same time we fell in with one sent to inform us that the company, unable to proceed, had halted about a mile ahead.

Having now regained somewhat the use of my eyes, I noticed particularly the course we should steer. The man with great confidence proposed to pilot us back the way he had come, but in a few yards bore north instead of west. I discovered that he was lost, and directed him to follow me. He was exceedingly loth to do so, fully believing that I was in error. We remained in camp the remainder of the day, and though we had chosen a place where we derived great advantage from rising land around us, and a grove of wood, yet, until near night, we were distressingly annoyed by dust.

On the 5th of November, we encountered a storm of the same kind, but much more severe. We were then more than two hundred miles west of the State of Missouri; the weather exceedingly dry, the day fair and calm, until within two or three hours of sunset. We had reached the extremity of our survey west, and turned back on to a small creek, which we were descending in search of grass for our horses. The Doctor had gone to make some mineralogical examinations on the creek above, when, swift as the wind, a cloud of sand, dust, and ashes, came upon us, so thick that a man could not be distinguished more than thirty or forty yards. The first impressions were fears of suffocation. I had left my second son with the main body of our company, and with two men had proceeded down

the creek, with one man on each side, in search of a place at which we might encamp. My first object was to call the two men to me. The wind blew so hard that a man's voice could be elevated so as to be heard but a very short distance. I was afraid the company might become scattered, and that some of them would get lost; for, in this event, little advantage could be derived from hallooing, or the firing of guns, and the prints of the horses' feet were instantly obliterated, so that a trail could not be followed. Unable to remain on my horse, I alighted, drew a silk handkerchief over my face, and led my horse, against the wind, back towards the company; he could hardly be forced forward by the men in his rear, until we succeeded in finding the larger company. My son, when first overtaken by the storm, had wheeled the horses and company into a low place, where, with the storm on their backs, they awaited my return. The doctor and his men on foot also took shelter beneath the bank of the creek, and afterwards joined us. The wind increased in violence, but the dust was most oppressive during the first hour. It was with great difficulty that we pitched our tents, though we had selected, in a streak of wood on the creek, the lowest ground we could find. Very soon our tent was prostrated by the wind; cooking could not be performed, and the sand and ashes from the prairie found their way into every place which could be reached by the wind. It was with us a dismal night, and no better for our poor horses, of which we had nineteen; for we were in a place where scarcely a particle of grass could be obtained, the prairies on all sides having been burnt off bare. The wind was from the north, and by the following morning it was freezing cold. So much of the sand had become deposited by this time, that the atmosphere was somewhat clear, and travelling was practicable, especially as the wind was not directly in our face.

We were at this time in a buffalo country. In passing a place at which a large body of Indians had encamped, some time before, we noticed a great many buffalo skulls, which had been laid together. The Pawnees, Otoes, Omahas, and some others who hunt the buffalo extensively, believe in charms, by which their huntings are rendered successful. Some of these consist in collecting skulls, and disposing of them in certain modes. Placed in a certain manner, they will bring the buffalo to the company, when likely to suffer from unsuccessful hunting; in some other order, they will produce some other equally desirable effect. The collection of skulls which we saw had, no

doubt, been brought together under some such superstitious notion.

The sand beaches along the Kauzau river and some of its tributaries, and some low grounds in prairies, were, at this time, white with salt, chrystallized by the sun. On the Solomon river, a middle branch of the Kauzau, is a salt spring, which is a great natural curiosity. About one hundred yards from the bank of the river, in an extensive level prairie, is a mound of stone, formed by a deep ravine which surrounds it; it is one hundred and seventy yards in circumference at its base, and it rises above the bottom of the ravine thirty feet, and is level on the top, with a diameter of one hundred and twenty feet. The ravine, on one side, is about forty yards wide, and on the other ten. The summit of the mound is about a foot and a half higher than the adjacent plain. No stone of any kind is seen in the vicinity of the place, except that which composes the mound, which appears to be a secondary, shelly, and porous limestone. The sides of the mound, being stone, form a striking contrast with the outer bank of the ravine, which is only earth. The salt water forms a stagnant pool in the centre of the mound, fifty-five feet in diameter, and rising to a perfect level with the summit, so that a wind from any quarter causes the water to run over the opposite side of the basin. About half-way up one side issues salt water, which runs off in a small rivulet into Solomon river. Along this rivulet, and generally on the sides of the mound, salt is chrystallized in such quantities that it might be collected for use. The pool on the top is deep. Solomon river is, by the Kauzaus, called Nepaholla—meaning, water on the hill—and derives its name from this fountain; but the fountain itself is by them called Ne Wôh'kôn'daga—that is, "Spirit water." The Kauzaus, Pawnees, and other tribes, in passing by this spring, usually throw into it, as a kind of conjuring charm, some small article of value.

The structure of the mound may be accounted for, by supposing that the source of the water at a distance is higher than the plain which immediately surrounds the mound. The quality of the water has produced the rock formation, and the resort of buffalo and other animals, and the descent of rains, have formed the ravine around it.

We have elsewhere expressed the opinion * that a fair comparison of language, and of modes of thinking, would result in favour of the supposition that the tribes had all originally sprung from the same root. In the name given by the Kauzaus, and

* Introductory remarks, page 17.

other tribes indigenous to this country, to this fountain, and their superstitious veneration for it, there is a striking coincidence of thought with the tribes originally resident eastward; the Delawares, for instance, who lived on the shores of the Atlantic, and who were unknown to the Kauzaus until lately. The singularity of this fountain would have induced the Delawares, or any other of the Eastern tribes, to call it "Spirit water." The Putawatomes, for instance, would call it *Mináto-n'beesh*, and, on passing it, would make some offering.

On account of the grass on the prairies being so generally burnt, it was difficult for us to get our horses back into the settlements, one of which was left to perish with hunger. After we turned to come in, we were twenty days in reaching the State of Missouri.

Early in the year 1829, we had made a proposal to the Government to establish a mission among the Kauzau Indians. As we passed towards home, I called on the agent for that tribe, General M. G. Clark, and conferred with him in relation to our designs and plans. Here was, and still is, a favourable opening for usefulness. We could have obtained some help from the Government towards the support of the mission, and perhaps nearly the whole cost; but we have not yet found a missionary to labour there! I returned to my family in Fayette, Missouri, the 28th of November. Mr. and Mrs. Lykins were still absent in the lake country, looking after missionary matters there.

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey to Washington. Origin of missions among the Choc-taws. Station established among the Shawanoes. Difficult journey to Arkansas. Councils with Cherokees and Creeks. Exploration. Severe storm. Alarm given the Osages. Sickness and deaths. Origin of the church among the Creeks. Exploration. Massacre of Delawares. Journey to Missouri. Location among the Shawanoes. Missionaries to Sault de St. Marie. Journey to Washington. Address to the public.

On the 30th of December, 1830, I again left home, and on the 29th of January, 1831, I arrived at Washington. This journey, six or seven hundred miles of which had to be made on horse-

back, was unpleasant. The cold and fatigue were more than a slender constitution could bear, and I was some days confined by indisposition, and under medical treatment. On this, as on former occasions, I was much favoured by men in authority, in being allowed to plead with them in behalf of the Indians, and to employ my pen as well as my tongue. At this session, also, thousands petitioned Congress in favour, as they supposed, of the Indians; but their policy, as others confidently believed, and as facts subsequently manifested, was directly opposite to the interests of the Indians.

I left Washington on the 21st of March, 1831, and returned to my family in Missouri the 8th of April. I reached home barely in time to allow an infant son to die in my arms, whom we buried on the following day. The expenses of this journey, and of the maintenance of my own and Mr. Lykins's family, were paid out of my earnings from Government; but this source of support having failed, by the expiration of my commission, some time since, I found myself in debt beyond my means, while Mr. Lykins was still absent at the stations of Carey and Thomas, and it was uncertain what his necessities would require. Under these circumstances, it was natural to feel uneasy. Not many weeks afterwards, the board made a liberal yearly allowance for the support of Mr. Lykins; and another commission, which would produce a living, was forwarded to me from the Secretary of War.

Our plan was for me to locate in the southern part of the Indian territory, and Mr. Lykins in the northern. The board directed him to bestow such attention upon the matters of the Carey station, and its removal to the West, as circumstances should require, and, as soon as convenient, to locate among the Shawanoes in the Indian territory, agreeably to the arrangement made with them and their agent in 1830.

I was required by the commission to explore the Indian country west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, as far west as it was habitable, with referenee to the permanent settlement of Indians therein; to adjust the boundaries of tribes in some instances, and to cause actual surveys to be made in others. For the performance of the latter, I was at liberty to appoint two assistant surveyors. This commission afforded me an opportunity of exerting a greater influence on such Indian affairs as were of importance in regard to their future prosperity, than any other that could have been given me.

Some time before this, a treaty had been made with the Choc-taws, by which they were entitled to a given amount annually,

for the support of schools in their country, to be under the supervision of the Government of the United States. The Department of Indian Affairs had directed that three of these schools should be of a higher order than common, with a salary to each teacher of \$833 per annum; but nothing had yet been done towards bringing them into operation. While I was at Washington the last time, the Honourable John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, informed me of the design of the Department in relation to them, and offered me a situation in connection with this matter, and assured me that if the salary allowed for the office should be inadequate, there would be special duties assigned me, for the discharge of which I should be paid, so that a competent salary would be ensured. This situation would have afforded me a quiet home in the Indian country, at which I could have enjoyed the society of my family, and have employed all my time in labours comparatively light, and congenial to the desires of a Christian missionary; nevertheless, I felt it to be my duty to decline the appointment. The *first* and *most important* of all matters in relation to Indian reform, at that time, appeared to be the judicious location and permanent settlement of all the tribes, where they could "sit under their own vine and fig tree without fear." Without this, the success of future missionary labours would be rendered precarious; and to promote this permanent location had been a prominent object of our labours for the preceding eight or nine years. I saw none among the benevolent of any denomination willing to take hold of this part of the work of Indian reform; and under these circumstances I could not innocently abandon it. Yet my labours in this department were not in accordance with my natural temperament, nor congenial to my feelings as a Christian. They were, moreover, arduous, and attended with great privation; and withal my appointments were merely temporary, so that I had no *certain* income for support. But I supposed that strength would be proportioned to the work, and that He who fed the fowls of heaven would give us bread. Though I deemed it not expedient to locate in the Choctaw country myself, I made efforts to introduce others. The subject was without delay brought to the consideration of the board, and this was the origin of Baptist missions to that tribe, of which we shall speak hereafter.

Among other acts of the Secretary of War with which I was gratified, was his consent that a tract of suitable dimensions, and in a central situation, should be reserved for the seat of government of the Indian territory, on which individuals of any tribe might reside

My first business led me into the southern part of the Indian country, three hundred miles, through a wilderness, from Fayette. I appointed Mr. John Donelson, nephew of the then recently deceased Mrs. Jackson, of the Hermitage, and my son, Doctor R. McCoy, assistants. The latter accompanied us on our wilderness journey, which we commenced on the 6th of June, 1831. Mr. Lykins had not yet returned from Carey, but to our great joy he overtook us on the morning of the second day. Having halted, and spent the day and night together, arranging matters for future operations, on the following day he left us for the field of his labours. Heavy rains fell, and made our travelling and encamping at night unpleasant and dangerous to health, especially the health of Mrs. McCoy and our little children. Our seventh day's journey brought us to Grand river, which, though usually fordable, was not so at this time. The only method by which we could possibly prosecute our journey, was to make a canoe of a large tree. With all the industry we could employ, we commenced in the afternoon, and by twelve o'clock on the following day we had our canoe in the river. It was, indeed, a clumsy, and not a very safe boat, and we had some narrow escapes from drowning when we were crossing this rapid current. Our stock of horses and cattle, some of which had to be held by the side of our canoe, were made to swim through. In twenty-four hours we had all crossed. On the 15th of June we reached Harmony mission, on the bank of the Osage river. Here we swam our stock across, and procuring a very small canoe, we fastened logs on each side, and constructed a kind of raft, on which, by several passages, we carried over our persons, carriages, and baggage. The missionaries at this station were the Reverend Mr. Jones, Mr. Austin, and Mr. Bright. They were all pious good men, and I was extremely sorry to find them all opposed to the colonization of the Indians. I could not believe that they judged for themselves, but I supposed that their opinions had been prompted by their patrons, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The 16th of June was a day of much rain, and we were compelled to spend the night in the open prairie, where it was difficult to find within reach of us wood sufficient for a small fire, and for poles on which to stretch our tents. The earth was filled, and in many places overflowed with water, and the grass a foot and a half high. Under such circumstances, the prospect, as night approached, of providing comfortable lodgings for a family, was rather gloomy.

At Little Osage river, on the 17th, we again had to construct

a raft, by fastening logs to the side of a small canoe. Ten miles further, at Marmaton river, on the 18th, we met with similar obstructions, which were overcome by the same means. This method of ferrying was extremely troublesome. Our carriages had to be taken to pieces, and only a small weight could be carried across at a time, while the currents of these small rivers, enlarged by rains, were violent. Near the Osage villages we called on the Reverend Mr. Dodge, a missionary, who had not long before come out from the Harmony station, and who had erected here pretty comfortable buildings. He preached by an interpreter; he was a pious good man, but was unsuccessful in this undertaking; and after spending two or three years at that place, abandoned it, and retired from missionary labours.

On account of deep water, it was with some difficulty that we crossed the Neosho river into the principal village of the Osages; men, women, and children, came about us in such crowds, that it was difficult to make our way through them. The poor creatures were constantly importuning for something, but we could not grant their entreaties beyond the distribution of some tobacco, which I had taken with me for such occasions. We employed one of them to accompany us the remainder of the day, to assist in preventing others from purloining. As we moved off from the village, which we did with as little delay as possible, every now and then, an Indian, by a severe race, would overtake us. In order to get rid of him, we would give him a piece of tobacco, and our assistant Indian would employ his powers of reasoning in our favour. As we receded, these unwelcome calls became less frequent; and when our helper was left alone with us, he enjoyed himself well, and was satisfied with the reward we gave him for his services. A heavy rain added nothing to the convenience of encamping, or the comfort of lodging in open prairie.

June 23d, we were obstructed by the deep water of a creek, and were overtaken by a heavy thunder storm, which lasted during the day and the following night. We found it impossible to keep dry; the rain beat through upon us; and though we ditched around our tents, the water, which lay several inches deep, continued to flow in. This was the most distressing time on account of rain that we had ever experienced in our journeyings in the wilderness. On the following day Doctor R. McCoy and one of our hands swam across the creek, and on a raft we had constructed of logs, their saddles, &c., were taken over. They proceeded twelve miles down the river to a trading-house, in the hope of obtaining a canoe, which might be brought up to

our assistance, but were disappointed. After remaining in this unpleasant situation more than two days, we were compelled to turn off into the pathless wilderness, to ascend the creek so near to its source that it might be passed. We found a place which did not quite swim our horses, but the bank was so steep that the carriages had to be unladed and let down with ropes. The men were several hours in the water before we got all across. The exposures of the journey had overcome my strength, and I was about this time a good deal indisposed, and scarcely able to travel.

On the 26th of June we were again stopped by high water, and we had no alternative but to wait until it fell. We made a raft of logs, sufficient to bear a couple of saddles, and the Doctor and one of our hired men again swam across, and proceeded to Fort Gibson, forty miles, to put things in readiness for future operations. We lay at this place two days, and then drove through the creek when the water was so deep that it run into our carriages, the men wading and guiding them, to prevent them from capsizing. Twice afterwards we had to leave the road, to head creeks that were too deep to be forded.

At Union mission establishment we hired a house for the accommodation of the family, and were happy to be in comfortable lodgings again, after an unpleasant journey of twenty-three days. The Reverend Mr. Vail, Reverend Mr. Montgomery, Doctor G. L. Weed, and Mr. Redfield, of this mission, were liberal-minded Christians; and when I was at the place often afforded me the privilege of preaching.

I made a journey of fifty or sixty miles, and on the 6th of June met the agent for the Cherokees, Captain G. Vashon, and twenty-five Cherokee chiefs and principal men, with whom an adjustment was made of an unsettled boundary, and an understanding had that they would send some of their people to attend the surveying of the lines of their country. Having stopped in the woods to prepare our breakfasts, on the morning of the 6th, I was stung on the end of a finger by a scorpion, the first I had seen. I desired my servant to scarify the place with my penknife, which he appearing unwilling to do, it was omitted. I kept my finger wrapped in wet tobacco, and the pain and soreness nearly disappeared in the course of twenty-four hours. Early on the following morning a negro boy was bitten on the great toe by a rattlesnake. In the space of three or four minutes the pain and swelling had extended to the body. His master, a Cherokee, desired me to prescribe. I scarified about the wound, and rubbed so as to bring blood pretty freely; after

which I wrapped it in tobacco kept moist, and bathed it in salt and water for some time, rubbing the member incessantly downwards from the body. In the course of two hours the violence of the symptoms had abated, and the patient suffered very little afterwards.

A few weeks after this, I was stung by a scorpion, near the root of the nail of a great toe. In this case, the application of tobacco to the wound proved too inefficient. In a few minutes after the wound was inflicted, I felt the effects on my lips and the end of my tongue, and became very sick at the stomach. A local application and an internal use was made of the spirits of hartshorn. I lay as quietly as possible about seven hours, when, on attempting to rise, I found that I could not control the joints of my lower limbs. It was two or three days before I recovered.

On the 8th of July I had a council with about fifty Creeks, in the presence of their agent, General John Campbell. On the 9th of July, with the two assistants, Mr. Donelson and Dr. McCoy, I left my family, for a tour in the wilderness. Our second son was sick with ague and fever, and our youngest with bilious fever. I separated from the two assistant surveyors on the 18th of July, at which time Dr. McCoy was so much indisposed that I regretted the necessity of leaving him. He grew worse, and about a week afterwards he started for home, which, in six days, he reached almost exhausted.

With a hired coloured man, and for interpreter a half breed Osage, whose English name was Stephen Van Rensselaer, I proceeded from the camp of the surveyors on a tour of exploration, with the view of ascertaining the suitableness of the country for the location of the Chickasaws, and for other purposes in relation to Indian settlement. The horse-flies are sometimes exceedingly troublesome on the waters of the Arkansas, and on account of them travellers frequently lie by during the day, and travel at night. Never before this time had I felt any fear that flies would really kill horses, as had been reported. Most of our travelling was in prairie, where they were worse than in the woodlands. We fastened vines and small boughs of shrubbery behind and before the saddles, to keep them off, but wherever a part of the poor suffering animal remained uncovered, flies would fasten in swarms.

Two or three hours before night, on the 21st of July, it commenced raining. We turned down a valley, for the purpose of finding timber in which we might encamp for the night, but could reach only a cluster of plum bushes and other shrubbery,

covering about half an acre of land. The small ravine which passed through it had very little water in it, and this was stagnant. We pitched our tent immediately on the bank, and kindled a fire amidst a heavy fall of rain. Refreshed by a warm supper, and somewhat sheltered by our tent, we esteemed our condition comparatively comfortable. Though the rain descended like a torrent, we rested well until about one o'clock in the morning, when I discovered that the water was coming under us. I removed to another side of the tent, but before I could adjust my blankets, I discovered that the little stream, on the bank of which we lay, was rapidly overflowing our sleeping place. I caught up my gun, saddlebags, and other articles of most value, as much as I could carry, and left the place for higher land, directing the other two to follow as fast as possible with what they could carry. It was excessively dark, and the quick flashing lightning was our only lantern. We waded through water half leg deep on to the prairie, where we placed in a heap the articles we had brought. I remained, to endeavour to save them as much as possible from wet, and hurried the men back for other articles, but the water rose so fast that several were lost. Our horses happened to be near, and by the time we could loose the hobbles from their legs and mount them, not even waiting to girth our saddles, the water was again rising around us. The land for some distance was nearly level. Between a fourth and half a mile we found a slight elevation in the open prairie, where we again stacked our baggage, and I seated myself upon it, and required the men to place blankets around me, by which the few articles which were still dry might be preserved from the water, and by which my chilliness might be mitigated. Stephen and the black man wrapped themselves in their blankets, and got on the baggage, to keep out of the water, but by this time we were all thoroughly drenched. The rain continued to pour down in torrents, and the thunder pealed with fearful rapidity.

When day appeared, Stephen and the black man were so benumbed with the wet and cold that it required a considerable effort on my part to arouse them to action. We had lost several articles almost indispensable in travelling in the wilderness, and most of our provisions for food were damaged. Timber was to be seen at a distance, but being invariably on low ground, we were unable to reach it, as the creeks and hollows were now filled with water too deep to be crossed with our horses. On account of the rain from above, and the deep waters we rode through, I frequently alighted to empty the water out of my

boots. Becoming very much chilled by being so long wet, I doubled a piece of flannel which I had contrived to keep dry in my saddlebags, and placing it on my stomach, derived great benefit from the warmth it afforded.

We rode five hours before we could reach timber, where we could make a fire to dry ourselves, and to our grief, when we reached the wood, it was in bottom land, a foot and a half, or deeper, under water; we therefore had to wade in the water for wood, and having lost our axe the previous night, it was not an easy matter to find within our reach dead limbs of trees which we could break with our hands for fuel. We collected some, and retired to an elevation in the prairie, and kindled a fire. The rain had ceased, and we here warmed and refreshed ourselves with food, after which we proceeded a short distance, and were again stopped by a deep creek, which, having slept on the bank during the night, we found fordable on the following morning. By a great effort we reached the house of the missionary, the Rev. Mr. Dodge, in the evening. Here we were allowed to dry our baggage and assort our provision, much of which we had lost.

Sabbath, July 24th, I accompanied Mr. Dodge, and, through his kindness, preached to about forty Osages, Stephen interpreting both the discourse and the prayer. In the afternoon I preached in English at Mr. Dodge's, which was, by him, repeated, through an interpreter, to some Osages present.

July 25th, we replenished our stock of provisions and repaired some other damages which we had sustained by the late freshet, and, at the Osage agency, received an escort from Fort Gibson, sent at my request by General M. Arbuckle, consisting of twenty-five soldiers, commanded by Captain Hawkins, and attended by Dr. Baylor.

We had proceeded from camp only about two miles, on the 28th of July, when we halted, on account of a sick soldier. We had been discovered at a distance by some of the Osages, who foolishly imagined that we might be a war party of Pawnees. We had not stopped an hour with our sick man, when between one and two hundred Osage warriors, naked, and armed for battle, came rushing after us. They took advantage of a rise of land, by which means to approach us as near as possible without being discovered; and when they discovered who we were, they ran to us at full speed, hallooing at the highest pitch of the voice, and seemed overjoyed that they had an opportunity of shaking hands instead of scalping. They crowded thick about us, and inquired for the chief of our party. A

chief instantly told me to require our people to take care of their baggage, lest some of his should steal something. This precaution I had taken as they approached, and had directed my two men to stack our baggage and stand over it. I had previously desired to proceed, and thought the case of the sick soldier was not one that made it really necessary for us to lie by; but I had yielded to the wish of others, who felt less anxious to go forward than I did; but in this matter my mind was soon relieved. A very few minutes after the Indians had mixed up with us, a soldier complained that his rammer had been stolen, another cried out that the cartridges had been taken out of his box which was swung behind him, another complained of the loss of something else, and so on until all appeared as willing to proceed as I had been before the Indians came to us. While the uncouth appearance of these savage warriors attracted the attention of the men, the shrewd rogues improved the opportunity of purloining small articles which could be concealed. I complained to the principal chief that his people were not treating our men well, and desired him to endeavour to recover the stolen property, and to prevent future depredations. This he did, and several articles of small value, though of much use to our party, were restored.

On the 6th of August we turned towards Fort Gibson. On the 10th, my coloured man sickened, and it was with some difficulty that I took him into our home. He was frequently compelled to lie down on the earth and rest. On the 12th, we halted at an Osage village, the French name of the principal chief of which was Cleremont. Here we had a brief council, and I distributed some tobacco. The Osage huts are crowded closely together in their villages, and the filth in and about their towns is exceedingly unpleasant, especially in warm weather. My horses had failed, and Stephen had been obliged to walk a part of the time. Tired of this mode of travelling, though he had not previously complained, he remained with his people at the village.

Near midnight of the same day I entered my own door, and to my grief was informed that our dear little Charles, whom I had left sick, had expired on the 21st of July. I was not at home when he came into the world, and I was absent when he left it. He was four years old, and was the sixth child that had deceased since we had been missionaries, four of whom had died in my absence. Of Mrs. McCoy's trials, none can so well judge as a bereaved *mother*; and then the peculiar circumstances under which those bereavements occurred should be

considered. Dr. McCoy had been exceedingly low, and was still confined to his bed. The health of our second son had improved.

Mr. Lykins, after we separated from him in Missouri, took his family to the Shawanoe settlements, and procured for them a temporary residence in the house of the sub-agent, Major Campbell. On account of the time consumed in corresponding with the board at so great a distance, an appropriation to enable him to erect buildings was delayed until circumstances compelled him to find quarters of his own. A serious hinderance was also found in the tardiness of the movements of the Shawanoes, especially in a matter in which they, in reality, felt little interest. No alternative appeared left him but to purchase a small tract of United States' land, immediately on the line of the State of Missouri, and put up buildings at his own cost. This was immediately adjoining the Shawanoe settlements.

About this time the small-pox appeared among the Shawanoes and Delawares, and Mr. Lykins was enabled to afford great relief by vaccination. He had not graduated as a physician, but his reading, and the practice which necessity had urged upon him in our remote residences, had given him a respectable reputation as a physician.

It appeared to us, at this time, that uncommonly favourable opportunities were offered to the Baptist denomination to extend its usefulness, by missionary operations among the Indians; but the subject did not attract the notice, or elicit the interest, that we had a right to expect. *Indian* missions were invariably thrown into the shade, in all benevolent operations. It was a favourable time, because, by a kind of common consent, a home was about being given to the Indians, where the labours of the missionary would not be interrupted by the scattering of his flock. They who from office were required to take part in the affairs of Government, felt that the policy of the whites bore hard upon the natives, and had denied them the rights to which the original inhabitants of our country had been entitled. The Indians had a right to complain of the past, from the time of their first acquaintance with white men—to feel that their removal to the West was a great hardship, and to distrust the propositions of the Government in future. On these accounts, Government would have favoured any plans of benevolence by which the feelings of these unfortunate people would have been soothed, and that which was painful to them rendered easy. The Baptists had been placed prominently and favourably before the Government, in relation to the colonizing of the Indians;

so that, for the sake of carrying out its plans, the Government would have given them a full share of its patronage in support of benevolent operations. The board, it was true, had been prevailed upon to propose to the Government the establishment of a mission among every tribe then within what we denominated the Indian territory; but this they had done more through acquiescence in the wishes of others, than from the impulse of their own desires. There appeared favourable openings for doing good in most of the tribes, and, in relation to many of them, we could have obtained from the Government all, or nearly all, the support needed for the missionaries; so that, in support of missions, which we desired to multiply, the benevolence of individuals and societies would have been but lightly taxed. But so little was said by the board, respecting those points which would produce effect on the public mind, that comparatively little was known and felt in favour of Indian missions, within the sphere of the influence of the board, and few candidates for missionary labours came forward and offered for this service. Of this backwardness of the board, some of us often complained. The answers of influential members of the acting board were, in substance, that "they were unwilling to commit themselves upon the great and disputed subject of Indian emigration." They were told that they had already committed themselves, and that some of us had, from the first, been avowed *advocates* of the measure; but we could more easily get the better of the argument, than produce a different practice, and one favourable to the cause of Indian reform. The board did not hesitate to publish general remarks about the Indians, or the story of a missionary relative to his local operations in teaching, &c.; but the points which would have borne with weight upon the minds of such as desired to enter a missionary field were not prominently stated.

The impression was lamentably extensive, that a mal-administration of public affairs had introduced some new system of cruelty towards the Indians, and that, while the latter were greatly to be pitied, they could not be helped; "their council fires were expiring," and the people perishing; hence, candidates for missionary labours were inclined to seek fields which promised a more fruitful harvest.

The Secretary of War, the Hon. John H. Eaton, had kindly consented to make himself pretty thoroughly acquainted with our wishes in regard to benevolent labours for the Indians, &c., and cherished what we esteemed to be correct views upon the subject of Indian reform, and was influenced by a praiseworthy

disposition to promote proper measures. About this time, however, he resigned his secretaryship, and was succeeded in office by his Excellency Lewis Cass, late Governour of Michigan Territory. On his coming into office, no time was lost in laying before him our plans and wishes; in doing which, copies of communications made to his predecessor were brought to his notice. Governour Cass had a kind heart in relation to Indian reform, but a doubting head. He was willing the experiment should be made, because it was the offspring of benevolence; but he believed that, after all that could be done, the Indians would ultimately *perish*.

Dr. McCoy was still confined by sickness, when, on the 5th of September, 1831, his brother, who had taken his place as assistant surveyor, and Mr. Donelson, again set out on a surveying tour, on which I accompanied them. We were also accompanied by a Cherokee, whose English name was Little John, who had been commissioned by the nation to attend the running of some of their boundary lines.

On the first night I was taken sick in camp, and we were compelled to lie by the following day and night. We had much rain upon us, which occasioned great exposure of health. On the second day one of our hands sickened, and was sent back to our house. Several others at divers times became so unwell as to require the use of physic. September the 11th, Little John, the Cherokee commissioner, sickened. About the time of the attack, he had exposed himself much by remaining long in a river engaged in fishing, chiefly for his amusement. In the afternoon of the 16th, he died in our camp, and on the following day we buried him in the wilderness. With some inconvenience we were able to excavate the earth, and instead of a coffin we split timber, and placed it around and over the corpse, after which we heaped stones upon the grave. A good deal of sympathy was manifested by our men on this occasion, and each seemed to desire the privilege of contributing something towards dressing the dead.

In my absence, Dr. McCoy had so far recovered his health as to start in a carriage to the State of Missouri, three hundred miles through a wilderness. My then youngest son had narrowly escaped the loss of life by a fall from a tree, by which he broke an arm, which has ever since been partially crippled. At this time Mr. William Requa and Mr. George Requa, both worthy men, were occupying a missionary station, which was an appendage of the Union mission, and a few miles from it. They very properly made it a prominent object to teach the *Osages*

habits of industry. In the month of September, I applied to the Secretary of War in their behalf, and desired that they might be appointed agriculturists for the Osages, by virtue of an existing treaty. Neither the success of this application, nor the success of their labours, equalled the merit of those pious Presbyterians; and both subsequently retired from missionary labours.

Some of the Creeks expressed a desire that a Mr. Redfield, who was a member of the Union mission, should reside among them and teach a school; it was also hoped that some religious benefits would result from his labours. The United States' agent for the Creeks, for reasons not distinctly understood, was averse to the location of Mr. Redfield in the Creek country, unless he would disconnect himself from the Union mission—a requisition with which it was not convenient for Mr. R. to comply. The design was about being defeated, when, with more success than had attended my good will towards the gentlemen Reguas, I interposed, and to the agent remonstrated against his unreasonable demands. The result was the establishment of Mr. Redfield in the Creek school. It was, however, not long before he retired, and was succeeded by Doctor Weed, a worthy man, also from Union mission. He was for a year or two physician for the Creeks, when he retired from missionary labours, and was succeeded by the Reverend Mr. Fleming, who, some time after, abandoned the station altogether.

John Davis was a full blooded Muscogee, (Creek,) who had become a pious member of a Baptist church, on the east of the Mississippi, and had there commenced exhortation and preaching. He had emigrated with his people to the Arkansas, in 1829. In December, 1830, the Baptist board of missions took him under its patronage, and gave him a small salary of two hundred dollars a year, to aid him in doing good to his people. On coming into the Arkansas country we found him preaching to his people, and piously labouring to teach them the way to heaven, though he had not yet even been licensed by a Baptist church to preach the gospel. There were some five or six Baptists in that country, all of whom, excepting Mr. Davis, and perhaps one other, were coloured slaves belonging to the Creeks. They had not been congregated into a church, and no Baptist minister was near enough to afford them assistance. There were also among the Creeks a few Methodists and Presbyterians, chiefly slaves. In the absence of Methodist and Baptist preachers, all of those belonging to these two denominations, excepting Mr. Davis, united with the Presbyterians in

a little church, organized by the Reverend Mr. Vaill and Reverend Mr. Montgomery. He remained alone in respect to church membership. He spent a good deal of his time at Union mission, and those Pædo-Baptist brethren treated him with much kindness, and were ever ready to afford him all the instruction in their power. He commonly attended and took part in public exercises which they performed in the Creek country, and sometimes served them as interpreter. Mr. Davis's labours were not unsuccessful; but all the fruit was necessarily gathered into the Presbyterian church. In 1831 he married a pious Creek woman, who had been educated at Union mission, and whose improvement reflected great credit on the institution. After his marriage he settled permanently among his people, where his good sense and piety, and devotion to the welfare of his people, entitled him to great respect. He was labouring under many discouragements, and I felt myself particularly favoured in being allowed to afford him some assistance and encouragement. His salary was inadequate, and at my particular request the board generously enlarged it. It was not long after this, as will be seen hereafter, that a Baptist church was organized among the Creeks.

On the 21st of October, escorted by Lieutenant Dawson and eight soldiers, and taking for my assistance a white man and two Indians, I again started on an exploring tour. On the next day, among a few straggling Delawares encamped on the Arkansas, we saw a woman of that tribe who had, with some difficulty, escaped a massacre by the Pawnees. Two men and women and one child, had been attacked in a hunting camp by Pawnees, and three of them instantly killed. This woman, with her child, happened at the time of attack to be a little distance from camp, and escaped. She travelled six days through a pathless wilderness barefooted, and subsisted herself and child on grapes and berries.

The 24th of October was a day of cold rain, and in the evening snow fell, and adhered so much to the herbage and shrubbery, that it was exceedingly uncomfortable. We encamped on the bank of the Arkansas, and near dark heard the report of a gun on the opposite side. Supposing it to be a signal to ascertain whether we were a war party or not, we instantly answered by the discharge of a gun. Presently three Osage men and one woman waded the Arkansas river, and remained at our camp during the night. We loaned to each a small article, to assist in keeping them from the wet earth, with which, and with a piece of a poor blanket wrapped around the naked body of

each, these poor creatures slept soundly around our fire, notwithstanding rain and sometimes snow were moderately falling on them through the night; and the time was so cold that I could scarcely keep warm in my tent, under two blankets and a cloak. In order to prevent them from being troublesome to one of my surveying parties, which would pass that way in the course of a few days, I desired them to give notice to the rest of their company, that my son, with a few men, would ere long pass up the river, and that as they were on business of the Government, and were not hunting, they would be glad to receive some provisions from the Osage encampment. They took pains to see the party, but instead of offering them food as I had requested, informed my son that his father had been there, and had left orders for him to divide with them his eatables; and it was with a good deal of decision and some risk that he got rid of them without being robbed of his supplies.

Doctor McCoy, who, in poor health, had gone into the State of Missouri for us in the month of September, had become so sick as to be unable to return. Not knowing fully his situation, and hoping that I might be able to bring him home, and also urged by other business, I started to the State of Missouri on the 16th of November, 1831. Our way was mostly through open prairie, and the season becoming exceedingly cold, I was made to fear perishing. I had a young man to attend me, who was much hardier than I was, with whose assistance I wrapped about me as I sat on my horse four blankets, which were put over my cloak and ordinary preparations for riding in the cold; and thus bundled up I could neither get on nor off my horse without help. The Doctor was unable to return with me, and was left at Mr. Lykins's, among the Shawanoes. I remained there only one day, when, with one of my daughters, who, with her sister, had just arrived from Lexington, Kentucky, where they had been at school, I started back to Arkansas in a carriage. We had in company five men, three of whom we had employed to re-enforce our surveying parties.

November 25th, the snow fell so fast in the prairies that we could not perceive the character of the country around us, and we lost our way. I felt some uneasiness for our situation on the bleak prairies. The men in company soon became so bewildered, that they knew not in what direction we ought to steer, and had they been left to themselves, they would have proceeded in a direction opposite to that which was right. We lost half a day by this misfortune. On the 27th, one of the men had to go into the water to help one of our carriages out of the Osage

river. The day was very cold, and to prevent him from perishing I had him divested of his wet clothes as soon as possible, and taking him into a carriage, wrapped him in blankets. Our lodgings at night were necessarily on the earth, which was now covered several inches deep with snow. We reached our place on Arkansas the 2d of December.

The alarming indisposition of Doctor McCoy interrupted the plans we had devised relative to our residence on Arkansas; and it being necessary for me about this time to visit Washington, we resolved that Mrs. McCoy, and the rest of the family with her, should repair to Mr. Lykins's station at the Shawanoe settlements, and remain with our afflicted son, while I would make the tour to Washington. While preparing for this journey, we were visited by Mr. J. Meeker, late of Thomas station, in Michigan. A few months before this time I had received a letter from him, in which he informed me that he had retired from missionary labours, and had resumed the business of printing, in Cincinnati, Ohio; and he desired me to procure and send him a letter of dismission from our church, to enable him to join a church in Cincinnati, which place he now considered as his home. The reason he assigned for adopting this course was, that his mother looked to him for her support, and also greatly desired to enjoy his society; and, under the strong influence which these causes might be expected to produce, had requested her son to return to her, in terms which could not be disregarded. He had despaired of success at the Thomas station, and had some time before abandoned it, intending to establish himself elsewhere in the Indian country; and with this design was on his way to obtain a personal interview with the board, when he met the letters from his mother, alluded to above, and which induced him to retire from the missionary field altogether.

Instead of sending him a letter of dismission from the church, as he had desired, I reminded him of the want of missionaries in the Arkansas country, and the favourable openings which now invited faithful missionaries to come forward, which they might do in the Indian territory with the prospect of affording the Indians substantial benefit, and urged him to resume his missionary labours. In order to obviate the difficulty which was connected with the comfort of his mother, I took the liberty of suggesting the means by which she might be comfortably provided for. The result was a change of Mr. Meeker's design. He broke up housekeeping in Cincinnati, and leaving Mrs. Meeker and his mother at a comfortable place, came on to us

on Arkansas, a distance, by water, of more than one thousand miles. The last twenty-five miles he had made on foot, almost wholly through open prairie. The day was exceedingly cold, and the wind in his face. On the way he met a stranger who informed him that his face was freezing—a circumstance which, till then, Mr. Meeker had not apprehended. Fortunately for him, the stranger was able to direct him to a fire in a grove, which some other sufferer had kindled. He reached us on the 18th of December.

The plan arranged for Mr. Meeker was, for him to spend some two or three months on Arkansas, chiefly in company of Mr. Davis, our Creek missionary, and then return and bring on his family. To meet present necessities I became responsible, and, for the future, Mrs. McCoy and I assured him that we would divide our support with him and his family as long as they should need it. In the mean time I was to make an effort at Washington to procure the means of putting a printing press in operation among the Cherokees of Arkansas, under the management of Mr. Meeker, and another person who we would endeavour to associate with him. Our design was to issue a periodical, which we believed would exert a happy influence upon our missionary operations. By it, the true condition of the Indians could be made known to the people of the United States—something could be contributed towards giving a healthful tone to public sentiment, eliciting sympathy, and enlisting missionaries.

Mr. Meeker did not bring his family to the Indian country as soon as was then expected, and the design of establishing the printing press in the Cherokee country and of issuing a periodical failed. This failure, the cause of which could not be attributed to necessity, but to the apathy of the Baptist denomination in the support of missions to the Indians, we deeply regretted.

It would seem that Mr. Meeker had not at that time fully appreciated the favourable changes in relation to Indian improvement which were connected with their permanent location in a country of their own. He had acquired a pretty correct knowledge of the Ottawa language, which is virtually the same as the Chippewa and Putawatomie, and therefore, after returning to Cincinnati, he yielded to a desire to labour among a people with whom he could converse. Some of us, who hoped for the completion of the colonizing plan, of course anticipated the location within the Indian territory, of the Ottawas, Putawatomies, and a portion of the Chippewas; but much less was

said in favour of this plan in the regions of Cincinnati and Ohio, than was felt by a few within the Indian territory. Moreover, the location of these three tribes within the territory was opposed by many, and perhaps by all men holding offices connected with Indian affairs in the country in which these tribes resided.

Mr. Meeker, therefore, instead of coming direct to the Indian territory, as had been expected, concluded to ascend the lakes and labour among the Chippewas. The board approved of the design, and afforded its patronage. In the autumn of 1832, he set off, with Mrs. Meeker, for Sault de St. Marie, between Lakes Huron and Superior. At Detroit he was joined in company by the Rev. Moses Merrill and Mrs. Merrill, of the State of Maine, who, under the patronage of the board, were proceeding to a similar enterprise in the same region. They respectively entered upon missionary labours, in conjunction with Mr. Bingham, at Sault de St. Marie, where, for the present, we leave them, and return to Arkansas. We had been animated with the prospect of Mr. Meeker's labouring in the Indian territory, and felt much disappointed by his change of views, and could not but deeply regret a measure which we fully believed to be injudicious.

December 19th, 1831, I started with my family from Arkansas, for the Shawanoe missionary station. The two assistant surveyors accompanied us, with some of their hands. We were in all seventeen persons. This was another unpleasant journey of three hundred miles, at an inclement season, when on part of the road we had to encamp on the snow. In proportion to our inconveniences were our efforts to get beyond them. We reached the Shawanoe station on the 29th of December, where we were kindly received into the house of Mr. Lykins, in which lay our afflicted son.

Pretty soon after our arrival, several of us sickened, apparently with colds; Mrs. McCoy, two daughters, a son, a servant, and myself, were all sick. Mr. and Mrs. Lykins were also afflicted. On the 1st of February I had become able to ride on horseback, and, my business compelling me, I left for Washington leaving some of our family still indisposed, and particularly Dr. McCoy, who was evidently declining. I reached Washington on the 2d of March, which was the completion of a journey, reckoning from Arkansas, of more than two thousand miles.

At this time the Delawares expressed a desire to have schools located among them; and the Weas and Peorias not only expressed a similar desire, but wished *us* to furnish them, be-

cause, as they said, they had been acquainted with us when our mission embraced their tribe (the Miamies) at Fort Wayne, many years before. In view of the extended and still widening field for missionary efforts, Mr. Lykins had with more zeal than success sought for more missionaries. Two ministers in the State of Missouri were addressed on the subject, but without effect.

I took with me to Washington, and published, the following address :

“ *Address to philanthropists in the United States generally, and to Christians in particular, on the condition and prospects of the American Indians.*

“ The day for *cold speculations*, and *tedious theories*, respecting the fate of the aborigines of America, has gone by. It is our fortune to live in a time of *doing* in reference to them. Most of the tribes are changing places, and are concentrating in one territory, where the relation which they are to sustain to one another, and to the United States, is to be new. Under these changes we apprehend *a crisis in their condition* is approaching, and speedily it is to be made either better or worse. The design of this address is to develop some facts which, it is believed, prefer strong claims upon our philanthropy and our prayers.

“ It is unnecessary to consume time in discussing the merits of questions which relate to the settlement of the Indians in the country west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas. It is sufficient for our present purpose to announce the fact that *the work is actually in progress.*

“ It has been many years since different statesmen of distinction avowed themselves in favour of the scheme of forming the Indians into a civil community ; and more than eight years since many Christians, *actually engaged in the work of Indian improvement*, have not only laboured to promote the design, but have declared their preference for the place which has been chosen for its ultimate execution ; and it has been more than six years since the Government of the United States entered upon the plan of collocating the tribes in the country in which I am writing.

“ In a retrospect of three centuries, we perceive little else in the history of American Indians, than their decline and misery. In this state of things, *their destruction being inevitable*, it has been deemed expedient to change the policy in relation to

them, notwithstanding the new state of things might be a mere experiment.

“Early in the progress of this business, a question arose as to the most eligible location for the settlement. Under the administration of Mr. Monroe, the territory between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river was spoken of as a suitable place for, at least, a portion of the tribes. Since that time, the choice of public authority has become undivided, and has settled down upon the region west of Arkansas Territory and west of the State of Missouri, as far north as the Missouri river, and upward on the southwest of that river, embracing a country of about six hundred miles from south to north, and two hundred miles in width.

“In the favourable portions of the last four years much has been done towards the examination of this region, with a view to ascertaining its real character. While those who have explored it have reported defects which they believed existed, (having never seen a country without defects,) they have been, nevertheless, fully persuaded that it was adequate to the purposes designed. While the evidences of the frailty of human judgment admonish us of the possibility of mistake, we are consoled by the reflection that the country is here, open to inspection, and at all times ready to speak for itself.

“All Indian tribes which now reside or ever have resided east of the Mississippi, are, or have been, within the claims of some State or Territory of the United States. *Here* no such claim exists. Hitherto the several tribes have not been united to one another, nor to the United States. *Here* they are to be united in one common bond of civil community, and constituted an integral part of the United States. Consequently, in the absence of all claims, excepting those of the United States, their rights to the soil can be made as secure as are those of other citizens within the United States and Territories; for they may hold their lands by the same tenure. This course of things has recently been commenced. The Choctaw and the Seneca tribes, which have each received an assignment of land in the Indian Territory, *are to hold the same by patent.*

“Last spring orders were issued, through the Secretary of War, for the examination of the country more thoroughly, and for carrying on the actual survey of the lands of the several tribes, so that each might be judiciously located. The propriety of this course is too obvious to need remark.

“Here, then, we have before us the country, with fourteen

tribes, or parts of tribes, already in it. The remaining tribes, or parts of tribes, are, some of them, emigrating, and others preparing to emigrate; and, notwithstanding the present objections of some, it is believed that emigration will continue until few, if any, will be left within the United States.

“Few of the original inhabitants have made any advances in civilization. The Osages are, by circumstances, prepared to exchange their precarious mode of obtaining subsistence, for one more certain. Among them, among the Kauzaus, and among the Omahas and Otoes, schools, and other operations for the benefit of both body and soul, might be instituted with ease, and under prospects of great usefulness. The *dreadful evil of intemperance* has, as yet, made little progress among them, and the Kauzaus and Osages are the most humble and manageable wild Indians that I have ever seen.

“The Delawares, Shawanoes, Weas, and Peorias, have all requested schools, and other aids. The Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws, are in condition similar to that of their kindred severally on the east of Mississippi, making the necessary allowance for the newness of their settlement. Their readiness to improve by schools, preaching, and the like, may also be considered equal to that of their relations, with an honourable exception in favour of the Creeks, who have evinced a greater desire to profit by these things than the portion of their tribe east of the Mississippi ever did.

“The *Presbyterians* have two missionary stations among the Osages, four among the Cherokees, and one among the Creeks. The *Methodists* have one station among the Shawanoes, and they have determined to extend their labours to others as soon and as extensively as practicable. The *Baptists* have one station among the Shawanoes, and one among the Creeks, besides a missionary whose labours are not stationary, but who has been between three and four years employed generally in preparing the way for multiplying and extending missionary operations among the Indians. They have undertaken to establish missions among all the tribes within the territory, excepting the Senecas.

“I repeat it, *the Indians are concentrating in this country*, and circumstances which I need not here detail will, without doubt, occasion emigration to continue until, with slight exceptions, they will all be here, whether Government afford them aid or not. Their emigration cannot be restrained without the intervention of an armed force. No one ever imagined that the mere location of them in this country would rescue them from

ruin. Hopes for their deliverance from degradation and wretchedness have been predicated upon the supposition, that *here* they would be placed under circumstances which would allow ample scope to the influence of means which should be employed for their improvement ; that *here* they might be brought to feel such incentives to virtue, industry, and enterprise, as in all ages have been necessary to save frail man from deterioration and misery.

“ Unhappy differences of opinion upon this subject have already retarded the operations of Government, to the great inconvenience of some of these unfortunate people. Circumstances, therefore, require us to answer, under an awful responsibility, to the inquiries, *shall we aid* in supplying these poor people with the means necessary for the improvement of their condition, and endeavour to promote the plans of Government, which are obviously necessary to the attainment of this end ? Or, *shall we do nothing* towards improving the favourable opportunities for doing them good in the new state of things ; or, what would be still worse, *will we clog the measures of Government* which are calculated to promote their present and future welfare ?

“ It seems difficult for us to divest ourselves of our original opinions respecting the character and disposition of the Indians, however erroneous these opinions may be. We have always overrated their passion for war, and their attachment to their institutions. These have been among our mistaken notions of the principal obstacles to their improvement. I notice this subject here, in order to obviate difficulties which present themselves to our imagination, and to prevent mistakes in the application of means for their improvement.

“ The Indians have been frequently engaged in war, because they have not had an opportunity of accustoming themselves to better pursuits. Many tribes have become more and more warlike, by the example and the repeated aggressions of white men. The history of the early settlements of the Spaniards, and of all other Europeans, in this country, shows that they were not a warlike people. The Osages, Kauzaus, Pawnees, Camanches, Kiawas, and others in these western wilds, are perpetually engaged in predatory warfare ; nevertheless, few lives are lost. The condition of their villages and hunting parties is generally such that, were the stronger party resolute and fierce, they could at once exterminate the weaker. But this does not happen, notwithstanding that, in the course of the same year, different tribes may occupy the same hunting ground. United

States' troops may be necessary to prevent impositions upon them by lawless persons from among ourselves, and to defend their frontiers against occasional injuries by war parties from remote tribes; but not to preserve peace among those who are, or shall be, located within the territory. *Here* it will be their interest to be at peace among themselves. *United in one community*, war among themselves would be as unnatural as war between so many counties of one of our States. Here arrest and punishment for violence to each other's persons, or deprivations upon their property, can be exercised with the same salutary effects as in our States and Territories.

“Man is naturally a religious being, and consequently forms some notions of futurity, and adopts some ceremonies of devotion. With the Indians, these are as few and as flexible as human nature admits. I have never met with any dogma in their superstition against which I thought it necessary to preach, but I have deemed it sufficient to teach them the plain unsophisticated doctrines of Christianity. No uncommon aversion to these truths has been manifested by them, and so far as they have been brought to bear upon them, their own religious ceremonies have appeared to them unreasonable and futile. A serious Putawatomie once asked me if it would be improper to attend an Indian dance and festival? I replied, that these customs of the Indians were like the amusements of children. I did not respect them, because the Bible had taught me to *put away childish things*, and such would be the natural consequence with all who should be brought under the influence of Christianity. This reply had its desired effect. From their fondness of war, the influence of their superstition, or their attachment to any of their institutions, no formidable obstacle to their improvement should be anticipated.

“Government is dividing this country among them, and providing measures to place them completely within the influence of religious, literary, and other instructions; and philanthropists, especially those who are Christians, are called upon to *perform their part in this noble enterprise*. This is a new era in Indian affairs. None of the natives have heretofore been placed under circumstances similar to these. Missionaries among the several bands scattered through the States and Territories have the discouragement to find the people of their charge annoyed with vexatious evils, originating in the proximity of a population of different interest, the influence of which will here scarcely be felt. *There* they find their people diminishing in numbers;

here their numbers are augmenting. *There* they know not whither to direct, upon the completion of their courses, those whom they have instructed in letters, labour, and religion; *here* the dilemma is obviated. Have any of the pupils of Indian schools been taught to perform the service of day labourers upon the farm? *Here* they may find immediate and profitable employment. I could point them to places in the neighbourhood in which I write, where *Indians* would give them good wages for such service; or, *here* they may make their own farm, and possess it without fear of molestation. Are any of them blacksmiths? many such are needed here. Are they millwrights? *Indians* are here actually engaged in the erection of mills. Are they carpenters? *here* they would receive abundant employment. I know an Indian in this neighbourhood who has sent two hundred and eighty miles to hire hands to assist him in his labours. All who have acquired a knowledge of the more useful arts would here find employment, and the demand for their services will increase. Are any of them qualified to attend a store? *Here* are *Indian merchants*, with shops of goods assorted to suit their customers, and prosecuting their business with success. Have any been taught the healing art? *Here* they are greatly needed. Among the Cherokees, one of their own tribe, who has been favoured with a regular medical education, has at this time an extensive practice. The Creeks last year voluntarily paid nearly one thousand dollars to a white physician who practised among them. Have any acquired some knowledge of the science of civil government? *Here* are the rudiments of a community which already presents flattering prospects to a few, and which will shortly require the services of many, in its various departments. The Cherokees and Creeks earnestly seek information upon these subjects, from all white men who pass among them, from whom they can hope to obtain it. They are endeavouring to assimilate all their laws and institutions to those of the United States.

“We cannot overlook the fact, that not a single tribe, or part of a tribe, at this time exists in any of the States or Territories, under easy, improving, or promising circumstances. *Here* the circumstances of the case are as favourable as could be hoped for in this incipient state of the subject. *Here* new settlements are forming, the number of inhabitants increasing, and the state of society either improving, or susceptible of improvement, much the same as occurs in new settlements of our white citizens upon our frontiers. Let me entreat you, as friends of

man—as friends of the souls of men—to lend your attention to this subject, which, in the sacred names of justice and humanity, appeals to your praying hearts and helping hands.

“In speaking of this country, and the people within it, I do not rely upon report. *This* has been the field of my labours since July, 1828. These people cannot present themselves before you; I am now among them, in sight of their wants, and witnessing their readiness to avail themselves of offered assistance. I could not innocently hold my peace. I entreat you, by all that may be dreaded in destruction, and by all which may be hoped for in prosperity, to come forward to the aid of these people.

“In presenting this subject to your consideration, I beg leave to refer you to their probable number before they saw the face of white men, and to the probable number of them now. Is it a small matter that the once numerous aborigines of America should perish from off the face of the earth? and can that be a work of little interest which is designed to rescue these remnants from ruin, and to place them upon an equality with the most favoured people upon earth? *The philanthropist and the Christian* need only to be pointed to suffering humanity—the doctrines which give them name will elicit their help.

“It may be inquired, what can be done? I answer, every citizen of the United States may contribute to the prosperity of these people. All, as citizens, by their favourable countenance, may foster judicious measures of Government in regard to their location; and all may, in like manner, encourage the adoption of salutary Government measures among them when located; while such of the benevolent as would approach nearer to them should send among them their teachers of religion, of literature, and of mechanic arts. May we not hope that there are many pious men who would esteem it their highest privilege to be allowed to employ their labours and their lives in this country, for the benefit of the Indians?—and dare we doubt that with equal readiness the requisite means, beyond that which Government would supply, would be furnished by those who find pleasure in pitying the poor and helping the needy?

“It is our peculiar felicity to feel assured that, in regard to civil government, we are the most favoured people that have ever inhabited the earth. We admire the policy of not leaving the improvement of the condition of the Indians merely to the operation of political measures, but of applying appropriations of Government for schools, &c., in conjunction with funds and labours of benevolent societies, so that the almoners of Govern-

ment funds for these purposes may be accountable, not only to the Government itself, but also to the several churches and benevolent associations under the special authority of which they labour.

“The plan of collecting the tribes into one body, and placing them in this country under the circumstances embraced in the scheme of the Government, is precisely what has been prayed for and sought, by numerous Christians, for many years. It is a mistake, which some prints have, it would seem, unintentionally fallen into, that it is a measure deprecated by all Christians, as fraught with mischief to that unhappy race. Different views of expediency have existed upon this, as upon all subjects of interest; but it is a fact, which there can be no motive for concealing, that deliberative bodies of Christians, of more than one denomination, have at different times recorded their predilection in favour of the plan under consideration. Memorials have been presented to Congress, praying for its speedy adoption, and one of them as early as the year 1827.

“While the adoption of this plan by our Government meets the deliberate wishes of some Christians, it is my happiness to hope that those who have heretofore entertained different views in relation to the emigration of the Indians will, since emigration is actually going on, and cannot be arrested, cordially unite in improving the condition of this people when here. Upon the propriety of helping them here, one would suppose there could be no difference of opinion among us. Are we what we profess to be—THE FRIENDS OF THE INDIANS? Then let us manifest our faith by our works.

“On taking my leave for the present, permit me, with reverence for the commands of Him whom we profess to serve, to remind you of the probability of our again being in conference. I allude to the time when the people who are the subjects of this appeal will be present, not to solicit your assistance, but to meet their destiny. How shall we then bear the reproaches of that neglected people, or hope for pardon from our God, if now we refuse to do them good?—if now we should allow political partialities, and sectional prejudices, to stop our ears, and should refuse to listen to the importunities of suffering humanity? Rather let us strengthen the feeble, bind up the broken-hearted, and wipe away the tear of wo. Conscience will approve the deed, and Heaven will confer a full reward.

“Your fellow-citizen, and your brother,

“ISAAC MCCOY.

*“Surveyors’ Camp, Neosho river, }
Indian Territory, Dec. 1, 1831.” }*

Of the foregoing address a pretty large edition was printed, and distributed gratuitously among members of Congress and heads of Departments at Washington, and to others throughout the United States.

My report to the Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, of February 1st, 1832, was, by a resolution of Congress, called for and ordered to be printed, of which I had seven hundred extra copies printed at my own expense, for gratuitous distribution. The report covered fourteen large pages. Besides stating the amount of work done under my instructions, it embraced a description of the country in general, and particularly in relation to the claims of each tribe; a brief statement of the condition and prospects of each, and a confirmation of the opinion that the country was fully adequate, in extent and resources, to the purposes contemplated in Indian settlements. It was also accompanied by a large map. The recommendation was reiterated, that the remote tribes, particularly the Camanches, whose war parties hovered about the settlements of the immigrants within the Territory, should be visited, and such an acquaintance formed with them as would render them peaceable. This, it was fully believed, could be done without bloodshed. An adjustment of the boundaries of the Otoes, Pawnees, and Omahas, by a treaty with them, by which other tribes would be more suitably provided for, was a second time recommended. It was also again recommended that a suitable tract for the seat of Government of the Indian territory should be reserved from cession to any particular tribe, and which should be open for the occupancy of individuals of any tribe. The importance of a general council of the tribes, for the purpose of making them acquainted with the relation which they would here sustain towards one another, and towards the United States, was again brought to view, and in connection with this, the establishment of such a superintendency as would virtually amount to an organization of the territory was again earnestly urged, and a modification of the agency system, and measures to prevent destruction by small-pox, were recommended. The Osages were a poor, neglected, and suffering people, many of whom were at this time not on their own lands. It was recommended that they should be located upon their own lands, and assistance given them in the making of fields, and in furnishing live stock, by virtue of a treaty provision of 1825, a portion of which had been expended without benefit to the tribe.

CHAPTER XVII.

Creek treaty. Small-pox intentionally communicated. Cherokee difficulties. Triennial convention. Appointment of two missionaries. Death of Dr. R. McCoy. Settlement near the Shawanoes. Journey to Arkansas. Muscogee Baptist church constituted. Baptisms. School opened among the Shawanoes. Additional baptisms among the Creeks. Report to commissioners. Location of a missionary among the Choctaws. Baptism at Shawanoe. Proposed mission to the Kickapoos. Kickapoo prophet. Missionary appointed to the Choctaws. Arrival of missionaries at the Shawanoe station.

At this time, (March, 1832,) a delegation of Creeks from the east of the Mississippi was at Washington, negotiating with reference to their removal west, to join their kindred on the Arkansas. While these negotiations were pending, I addressed the following letter to the President and to the Secretary of War, the latter being the commissioner to negotiate on the part of the United States :

“ Washington, March 20, 1832.

“ SIR: I know that the McIntosh party of the Creeks now on Arkansas are anxious to have schools established among them, as I stated in my late report. No Government provision has been made to help them in this matter; they need encouragement. While other tribes have been assisted in matters of education, they have hoped that some arrangement would also be made for extending to them the hand of help. They have looked forward to the time when the portion of their tribe on the east would negotiate for removal, as favourable for the adoption of such regulations.

“ May I be allowed respectfully to request, which I do sincerely and most fervently, that the subject receive your favourable notice. It is not an ordinary case. Schools could be located advantageously in many settlements. There is a full Creek, who is a Baptist minister, now preaching to them, a man of unblemished character, who receives a small salary from the Baptist Board of Missions, who desires to connect a school with his other labours. The Baptists have resolved to extend their missionary operations among them, and among the whole tribe, when those on the east of the Mississippi shall have arrived.

“We earnestly hope that the subject of providing for the education of the Creek youth, embracing those of both sides of the Mississippi, will receive the countenance of those who may negotiate with the eastern party for their removal.

“Respectfully, your humble servant,

“ISAAC McCoy.

“General ANDREW JACKSON,

“*President of the United States.*”

Whether the foregoing letter had any influence or not, it could not be otherwise than gratifying to find the following stipulation in the treaty which was at that time concluded, viz: “three thousand dollars [per annum,] to be expended as the President may direct, shall be allowed for the term of twenty years, for teaching their children.”

From the commencement of the trade from the State of Missouri to Santa Fe, within the Spanish dominions, and which was carried on by means of large caravans across more than a thousand miles of almost one continued woodless prairie, the Pawnees, Camanches, and other remote tribes, had been very troublesome. The respective companies were obliged to be constantly prepared for defence. With all possible vigilance many lives were lost, and a vast amount of property in mules and horses taken from them. Companies of Rocky mountain trappers suffered in a similar manner. The consequence was, a hatred of those remote Indians, equal to the dread of death and depredation which they occasioned.

In 1831, some of the white men belonging to one of these caravans, under the influence of a disposition which it would seem had its origin in a worse world than ours, conceived the design of communicating the small-pox to those remote tribes! I have in my possession the certificate of a young man who was employed as one of the company, and whom, having since become well acquainted with him, I know to be a man of veracity, in which he states that he heard it declared by several of the company, that such was their design; that they had brought with them from the white settlements the virus of small pox; that they designed to communicate it on a present of tobacco to Indians whom they might fall in with; or, if such an opportunity should not offer, an infected article of clothing should be left on the prairies, in a situation to be found by an Indian. They did fall in with Indians, who were admitted into camp, and it was said afterwards that the contagion of small-pox had been communicated to them according to the design previously

conceived. Not long after this the Pawnees on the Great Platt river were most dreadfully afflicted with small-pox, and they said that the disease had been contracted by some of their people on an excursion in the south; their report corresponding with the account of the plan stated in the certificate in my possession.

It was on the 23d of March, 1832, that I received information from Mr. Lykins, of the dreadful havoc making among the Pawnees by this grievous scourge of man. He informed me that an official statement of the distress had been made by Major Dougherty, the United States' agent for the Pawnees, on the 29th of the preceding October, and which I was sorry now to learn had produced no action of Government for relief. The following are extracts from the letter of the agent :

“Cantonment Leavenworth, October 29, 1831.

“SIR : I have the honour to inform you that I have returned from a visit to the four Pawnee villages, all of whom I found in a most deplorable condition ; indeed, their misery defies all description. I am fully persuaded that one-half of the whole number will be carried off by this frightful distemper. They told me that not one under thirty years of age escaped, it having been that length of time since it visited them before.

“They were dying so fast, and taken down at once in such large numbers, that they had ceased to bury their dead, whose bodies were to be seen in every direction—lying in the river, lodged on the sand-bars, in the weeds around the villages, and in their old corn caches, [excavations in the earth in which corn had been housed.] Others again were dragged off by the hungry dogs into the prairie, where they were torn to pieces by the more hungry wolves and buzzards.

“I am, very respectfully, &c.,

“JOHN DOUGHERTY, *Indian Agent.*

“General WM. CLARK,

“*Supt. Indian Affairs.*”

On hearing of these calamities among the Pawnees, I immediately addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, of which the following is an extract :

“Washington, March 23, 1832.

“SIR : The claims of humanity, in a case *peculiarly affecting*, compel me to ask leave to trouble you with this. I have this moment received information from Mr. Lykins, near Kauzau river, dated February 25, that the Indian agent believed that

among the Pawnees, Omahas, Otoes, and Puncaks, over four thousand persons had died of the small-pox. Of the three latter tribes only about one hundred and sixty had died, when the progress of the disease was somewhat checked by vaccination. There is reason to fear that the mountain tribes, as well as the Sioux and other northern Indians, will contract the disease, unless measures speedily be adopted to prevent it.

“ May I entreat your early consideration of this subject. I would respectfully suggest the inquiry, whether measures could not *speedily* be adopted to arrest this destroying plague by vaccination? Those Indians would submit to the operation, and if the necessary protection of Government could be afforded, men would be found who would penetrate the forests in search of every horde of these despairing sufferers, for no higher reward than the satisfaction derived from the circumstance of having rescued thousands of men, and women, and children, from this awful calamity.

“ I am, most respectfully, &c.,

“ ISAAC MCCOY.

“ HON. LEWIS CASS, *Secretary of War.*”

On the 27th of March I addressed another letter to the Secretary of War, respecting the prevalence of the small-pox, of which I had just been informed, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river. The Secretary of War recommended the subject to the consideration of Congress. A scheme for carrying out the design was draughted; and, in order to hasten the action of Congress, many influential members were waited upon, and assured that it was a case which preferred strong claims upon humanity. A law was passed authorizing the Executive to extend the benefit of vaccination to the Indian tribes, and making an appropriation to meet the expense. But it was the misfortune of this matter, that the Secretary of War felt it to be his duty to make a kind of general distribution of the benefits of the law among the various Indian tribes around our borders. The consequence was, that the appropriation was exhausted, without doing as much as was requisite in any one place. Nevertheless, it was a salutary measure, and the law was so framed that it authorized vaccination on subsequent occasions, as will be hereafter noticed.

About this time the Supreme Court of the United States made a decision which favoured the claims of the Cherokees to the right to exercise the functions of civil government. By this decision, the Cherokee question, as it was called, assumed an

aspect which seemed to threaten the tranquillity of the union of the States, and which was exceedingly perplexing to the Administration. The decision involved the questions of Indian sovereignty, State rights, and State sovereignty, the authority of the Federal Government, and the powers belonging to the Supreme Court. If the doctrine of the Supreme Court should be carried out and applied to all other tribes as well as to the Cherokees, more than twenty independent, sovereign governments would be formed *within* the Government of the United States. Still worse; if the right of sovereignty should, at this late day, be conceded to the Cherokees, and, as a consequence, to all other tribes, each tribe, or remnant of a tribe, would have an unquestionable claim upon all the lands, not only of what they now occupy, but all that their ancestors had claimed; because it could not be made to appear that such claims as these under consideration had, perhaps, in one single instance, been liquidated by a fair bargain, made by parties meeting upon such an equality as to render it binding. The white man had held treaties with the Indian, which bore a slight resemblance to a bargain; but every body knew that the white man invariably controlled the terms of the contract. He was resolved to have the land, whether the Indian consented or not; and while he offered the terms of a contract with one hand, he held in the other the sword to enforce a compliance, should the Indian hesitate. A bargain made under such circumstances, could not possibly be lawfully binding. Therefore, admit that the Indians were the real owners of the soil, nothing would remain to the United States. The Delawares, for instance, at present about one thousand in number, would appear to be the rightful owners of a vast territory along the Potomac, including Washington, Baltimore, &c. But, supposing that the matter would not operate retrospectively; what is to be done? was, at the time of which I speak, a serious question.

Must Georgia lose part of her territory within her chartered limits? Must the Cherokee and every other tribe be admitted to be each an independent sovereignty, each surrounded by the citizens of the United States, each making its own laws, to which a citizen of the United States would become subject the moment he set his foot within the line of one of these small independent governments. Will the State of Georgia acquiesce in the decision of the Supreme Court? If not, will she be compelled to do so by force of arms? If so, who will go there to contend with the Georgians in favour of the friendless Indians? If Georgia should not be coerced into measures, but should be

allowed to *nullify* the decision of the Supreme Court, will not other similar acts of nullification occur, until the Supreme Court itself shall become a nullity? &c.

All these were momentous questions, which at this time appeared to be particularly embarrassing; but if, while they were pending, the Cherokees could be induced to remove peaceably, the answer would be found for them all; for, notwithstanding similar oppressions bore with equal weight upon other tribes, in proportion to their numbers, yet none seemed to care for them. When the cry of "cruelty to the Indians" was reiterated, the meaning was, "*cruelty to the Cherokees.*" It therefore became so exceedingly desirable that they should consent to remove, that the Government was prepared to extend to them uncommon liberality in a treaty. This being known, sundry members of Congress, most conspicuous in opposing emigration, were reminded of the fact, and that the present was the time for the Cherokees to make the *best bargain*; and, as all knew that whatever might be the existing views of justice or injustice, of cruelty or kindness, in relation to the subject, their removal at no distant day was *inevitable*, they were entreated to advise the Cherokees, whose confidence they possessed, to remove. A delegation of Cherokees, from the main body of the nation, was at this time in Washington.

About the same time it was understood, by a few, that the Cherokee delegation would consent that their nation should come into a treaty with the United States; provided a certain gentleman, who was extensively known among both the Cherokees and in the United States to be a man of sterling worth, should be one of the commissioners. What the result of such a treaty would be was uncertain, but it was hoped that, with this gentleman connected with the commission, the terms would be such as to quiet the disturbed state of public feeling. Such a treaty promised, at that time, great advantages to both the Cherokees and the United States, particularly the former; and somewhat in proportion to its supposed importance were the desires of some to consummate it. The gentleman, whose presence in the commission would be a *sine qua non* with the Cherokees, was consulted, and consented to serve. The Cherokee delegation was encouraged to confer with him. The second person to be connected with the commission was named, and, thus far, there appeared just grounds to expect a favourable issue. But sanguine as were the hopes indulged, obstacles to the appointment of a commissioner presented themselves, which,

notwithstanding the efforts made to remove them, proved insurmountable, and the design failed.

In 1830, Mr. Lykins opened a correspondence with the Rev. A. Evans, of the State of Indiana, relative to his enlisting as a missionary to the Indians. Subsequently, a similar correspondence took place with Mr. Daniel French, of Ohio, who, on becoming religious at the Carey missionary station, had proposed to enlist as a missionary. Up to April, 1832, the board had not made an appropriation to enable Mr. Lykins to erect missionary buildings among the Shawanoes; and while in Washington I received a letter upon these subjects, of which the following is an extract:

“Boston, April 16, 1832.

“SIR: We had this morning a meeting of the board, when your communications were presented. I take much pleasure in informing you that your propositions were unanimously agreed to. Mr. Evans and Mr. French were appointed missionaries, and an order was passed authorizing the erection of buildings by Mr. Lykins, as you had suggested.

“I am, my dear friend and brother, most truly yours,

“H. LINCOLN.

“*Rev. I. McCoy.*”

Under date of one day later than the foregoing letter, the Rev. Dr. Bolles, Corresponding Secretary, wrote me as follows:

“I hope you may be able to procure [from the Government] the place for a school teacher among the Choctaws. We should certainly try to furnish a good minister for the situation,” &c.

Between the 24th of April and the 4th of May, I attended a meeting of the Baptist Triennial Convention in the city of New-York, and a meeting of its board of managers. The Rev. Charles E. Wilson and the Rev. D. Lewis were appointed missionaries, the latter to labour among the Choctaws, though he afterwards located among the Creeks; and the former to enter the Indian territory among the Shawanoes, and afterwards to labour as circumstances should direct.

Owing to the peculiar condition of the Indians, missions among them are liable to be affected by politics. The Government of the United States controls the affairs of the Indians, and in proportion as the benevolent feel interested in their welfare, is the facility with which political parties can make hobbies of Indian questions. About this time, political excitement was at an alarming height; the parties were preparing themselves

for a vigorous contest at the Presidential election, which was to take place the ensuing autumn. With politics it was not my business to meddle, and hence I approached the members of both political parties with the same confidence in reference to measures, and urged with equal freedom the reasons which induced me to think that they were right or wrong; but, for the reasons alluded to, it was difficult to produce any right *action*, either of the Government or of benevolent associations.

The board of missions at this Convention submitted a report, agreeably to custom, and in this report they spoke of the affairs of all their Indian missions, excepting those within the Indian territory. The same omission had occurred in their annual report of the preceding year. This omission was deeply regretted by some, because, the tribes in the territory were finding permanent homes, in lieu of those which were precarious—a country in which every man would be on an equality with his neighbours, and where they could cultivate the arts and sciences under circumstances affording facilities similar to those enjoyed in new settled countries of white people; and especially, because that here the missionary could keep his flock together, and enjoy the satisfaction of seeing its numbers increase with his years. It therefore appeared proper for the board to tell the story to the public plainly, and encourage missionaries to enter this inviting field.

Mr. Cone, who was President of the Convention, and second to none in promoting Indian missions, made a judicious selection of a Committee on Indian missions. It consisted of the Rev. Gentlemen J. L. Dagg, Chairman, Elon Galusha, David Jones, Adiel Sherwood, and L. Farwell, Esq. This committee made an able report, which set the affairs of the Indian territory in a clearer light than any thing of the kind which had previously appeared.* As might be expected, this report was not acceptable to the acting members of their board, who resided in Massachusetts and Rhode-Island. It was objected to by a very small minority, who were too tenacious of their views to cheerfully acquiesce in the judgment of the majority. They first pleaded for amendments, and, through the forbearance of a large majority, whittled down the report, greatly to its disadvantage. At length, every sentence having been examined, and every thing being in apparent readiness to take the final vote upon its adoption, it was proposed to substitute a few lines, written in *general* terms. The advocates of the original report now stood forth manfully in its defence, and made some noble

* See this rejected report in the Appendix.

speeches in favour of placing Indian affairs fully before the public, and enforcing the claims of the Indians on the benevolent attention of the Convention. Among those who distinguished themselves were the Rev. Messrs. J. L. Dagg, Elon Galusha, Luther Rice, David Jones, and Stephen Chapin, D. D. A very small minority, indeed, appeared on the side of the substitute, one of whom moved the indefinite postponement of the subject, and argued that it could do no harm, should the Convention make no report on Indian affairs. The result was, the majority, by a stretch of lenity more consistent with Christian courtesy than with the interests of the Indians, yielded to the admission of an invalid report. The substance of the plea of the minority was, that to report the condition and prospects of the Indians in their territory, would be construed to be a political measure. But for these fears there appeared no just ground; because the Convention would appear before the public as it had for many years, in favour of giving to the tribes a permanent and prosperous home. On the contrary, its silence would appear like changing its ground, and, with plausibility, might be ascribed to the influence of the political party which opposed the settlement of the Indians in the West.

Still hoping that we should find missionaries to enable us to extend our operations among the Indians, we had, at various times, proposed to the proper authorities of Government the establishing of missions in divers places, and asked for help from certain funds provided for educational purposes. The scheme was fully explained to the board, who resolved to second the efforts which had previously been made, and accordingly addressed a communication to the Secretary of War, and transmitted it by Thomas Stocks, Esq., and Rev. Adiel Sherwood, both of the State of Georgia.

Believing, as some of us had done for several years, that it would be for the advantage of our Indian missions for them to be placed under the patronage of a board of managers appointed specially for Indian affairs, I resolved on a third attempt to sever the existing connection between the missionaries and the present board, and prepared a resolution to that effect, to be submitted to the consideration of the Convention; but after conference with some friends, in whom I placed great confidence, the communication was withheld, because it was feared that a competent number, sufficiently interested in Indian affairs, could not be found within a convenient distance for the transaction of business.

Under date of May 21, 1832, additional instructions were

given me by the Secretary of War, in reference to the examination of the Indian country, and the adjustment of Indian boundaries, &c. In the discharge of these duties I was authorized to appoint an assistant, and I employed John Donelson, Esq., who had previously been one of my assistant surveyors. A bill was at this time under consideration in Congress, providing for the appointment of three commissioners to attend to matters in the Indian territory for the two subsequent years. I was instructed to report all my proceedings to these commissioners, on their arrival.

I was now animated with the prospect of speedily terminating a most painful separation from my family. I had left my son, Doctor McCoy, sick on the 1st of February, when there was reason to fear that I should see him no more. Intelligence after received from home assured me that those fears were too well founded; still a faint hope remained that I might be allowed to attend his dying moments. I left Washington on the 21st of May. In Cincinnati, Ohio, I met a letter from Mrs. McCoy, which left no hope of seeing my son again. My slender constitution now sunk somewhat, under incessant anxiety and toil. My health became not a little impaired, and was not restored for several months. At St. Louis, by a letter from my afflicted wife, I was informed that our dear Rice had died five days previously. A note in my journal reads: "I reached Mr. Lykins's, the place of my afflicted family, June 8th. This was a meeting never to be forgotten. For some time scarcely a word was spoken, while every face was suffused with tears, and every bosom heaved with sighs. O, what distress sin has introduced into the world!" This was the seventh child of which we had been bereaved, all of whom died after we had become missionaries, the decease of five of whom my wife had attended in my absence. This circumstance added poignancy to the pain of bereavement. My pain was greatly augmented in this last case, by the great anxiety which our son had expressed to see me before he died. Moreover, I was not quite satisfied that I had done right in leaving my wife to bear alone this additional affliction. True, I had not left home on any of those afflictive occasions, without her approbation; and we had concluded that when the interests of our missions demanded my separation from my family, it would be most safe to go, and leave the result with God, trusting that that which seemed mysterious in Providence now, would be joyously revealed in a better world. We felt these afflictions the more keenly, too, because we had long been separated very much from society, and we often felt that our

circumstances, in regard to the friendship of others, too nearly resembled those of the people to whose relief we had consecrated our lives, and whose *sympathizing friends were few*. But God had ever been with us in our deepest afflictions. He was present when our late son died. As he took his leave of his sisters and brothers, and mother, the latter exclaimed, "O, that his father were present!" He calmly replied, for her consolation, "My *heavenly Father* will take care of me." Such had been the state of his mind for some time, that no room was left to doubt that his soul went to heaven, and we recorded on our hearts and in our journal, "This is worth ten thousand worlds; 'O death where is thy sting! O grave where is thy victory!'" How often infinite wisdom sees fit to disappoint us! Now, two sons, from whom we had hoped to obtain much assistance in the arduous work of Indian reform, and whose qualifications were doubtless of superior order, were gone.

Soon after my return home, the Shawanoes were informed by Mr. Lykins and myself, that the former had been put in possession of the means of erecting missionary buildings. Mr. Evans had arrived, who would teach a school, &c. The site was selected, and Mr. Lykins proceeded to erect buildings.

At this time my family was without any settled place of residence. My business extended widely over the Indian territory, and sometimes to the eastern parts of the United States, and, all things considered, it was thought best to purchase a small piece of land, worth only fifty dollars, near the line of the State of Missouri, and adjoining the Shawanoes, and on it to erect dwellings. In order to facilitate the work, we pitched our tent in the wilderness, on the ground we had chosen for our buildings. We employed a considerable number of labourers, and, in the space of four weeks, we exchanged our tents for the roofs of log dwellings; they were ordinary, it is true, but in *this place* they were esteemed comfortable. As in the case of Samson's riddle, nourishment is sometimes derived from an unexpected source. The spirits and health of both Mrs. McCoy and myself had for some time, apparently, been sinking under protracted anxieties. The circumstances of spending four weeks in a tent, and of building us a house, while managing our missionary matters, furnished a variety, in scenery, in thought, and in act, promotive of both health and spirits.

In the latter part of July and fore part of August, I made a tour of a few days in the wilderness, for the purpose of selecting lands for the Ottawas, and of giving directions to the surveyor.

On the 10th of August, 1832, the Rev. Charles E. Wilson,

who had been appointed by the board of missions the preceding spring, arrived. On the 27th I left home on business on the Arkansas, (three hundred miles.) The Rev. Mr. Dodge and the Rev. Cephas Washburn, the latter from Dwight mission, among the Cherokees, were holding religious meetings among the Osages, as I passed their villages, and very affectionately invited me to take part in the exercises. Probably two hundred Osages attended public worship on the forenoon of the 2d of September; in the afternoon there were fewer. It was in the hearts of these good Presbyterians to do them good; but the success of labours for that people, if it be proper to employ the term success in relation to them, was small.

Mr. Lewis, whose appointment to missionary labours had been made by the board the previous spring, was designed at the time to locate among the Choctaws. But the board had left the matter of location to me, and to attend to this was a prominent reason for making this tour. I found him among the Creeks, near Mr. Davis, the Creek missionary; and here it was ultimately decided that he should locate. The necessary permission from the United States' agent, General Campbell, was obtained for him, a site selected for his location, and a workman engaged to erect buildings for his residence and a school. He was without funds, and so remote from the board, that remittances to him were often attended with unavoidable delay. I advanced to him what money I could spare, and afterwards remitted to him at different times, all which was afterwards repaid to me. Mr. Lewis was expected to open a school for the instruction of Creek youth; and as soon as practicable it was designed to employ another school teacher, so that he as well as Mr. Davis, might give themselves to ministerial labours. On the 9th of September, I constituted the Muscogee Baptist Church, consisting of Mr. Lewis and wife, Mr. Davis, and three black men, who were slaves to the Creeks. In the afternoon we worshipped in another place in the neighbourhood. On both occasions the exercises were interesting, and few, if any, appeared to leave the places of worship without feeling that it was good to have been there.

This was the first Baptist church formed in the Indian territory, and I felt thankful to God that he had allowed me the satisfaction of witnessing the constitution of one church in this land, towards which some of us had long looked with such deep solicitude.

The first act of the church, after organizing, was to order a written license, as a preacher, to be given to Mr. Davis, the

Creek missionary, and I was directed to prepare the same. Mr. Davis was interpreter for others in preaching, and also preached and exhorted himself, in his mother tongue.

On the 16th of September two Indian men were baptized. After which, the Lord's supper was administered, and we retired under a happy impression that another meeting of two days had been profitable to many.

Christians of all denominations are prone to open too widely the doors of their churches for the admission of members, and take into fellowship the unregenerate. Missionaries to the heathen are more liable to fall into this error than Christians in civilized countries. They feel uncommon anxiety for the conversion of the people of their charge, which is opposed by uncommon obstacles. Rules of discipline must be more lenient towards heathen, whose habits have been unrestrained, and whose minds are uncultivated; than is indispensable in countries denominated Christian. In the ardour of the missionary, he is too liable to endeavour to persuade himself and others that they are Christians when they are not. This is an evil from which, I think, no denomination of Christians is free. When we hear of conversions in revivals of religion in our own country, or of the conversion of the heathen, a fear that many of those who have put on Christ, by profession, are still "in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity," is a heavy drawback upon the happiness which such intelligence would otherwise impart. I might quote many cases in the Indian country, confirmatory of the reasonableness of these fears; but the following shall suffice.

Among the Creeks were a few members of a respectable denomination who gave evidence of genuine piety. Not many weeks before my present visit to that country, a camp meeting was held in the Creek settlement by that denomination. But little of the public services were interpreted to the Indians, and few understood English. In the progress of the exercises, public notice was given that they were ready to receive members into the church. The religious males were directed to take all the males who desired to join the church, and stand upon one side of the congregation, and the pious females were requested to do likewise with all the females who desired to become members. This done, the minister went around among them and took the name of each on paper, and on the following day they came to the Lord's table!

Another denomination, not less respectable than the first, had increased the number of its members among the Creeks to about sixty. At our late Baptist meetings, many of these,

chiefly coloured slaves, came forward and offered their membership, and desired to be immersed, and, much to our grief, few of them could give any thing like a satisfactory account of a work of grace upon their souls. Ten persons who offered themselves at one time were turned away, and many others appearing to be waiting for an opportunity to come forward for a similar purpose, the meeting was dismissed, but not without advice to them all respecting repentance.

On all suitable occasions I entreated Mr. Lewis and Mr. Davis not to admit to fellowship in the Baptist church any who could not give satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God. This was enforced by arguments based upon the *awful responsibility* that rested upon us when dealing in matters relating to the souls of our fellow-men, especially the souls of the heathen, who acknowledged their ignorance and placed confidence in our judgment. I urged these considerations until I was ashamed to repeat them. Notwithstanding all which, I had too much reason to fear that Mr. Lewis indulged this awful error.

Among the Cherokees east of the Mississippi the Baptist board of missions patronised the Rev. Evan Jones and the Rev. Duncan O'Bryant. In the summer of 1832, the latter removed to the Cherokee country, within the Indian territory, in company of some Indian members of his church. On hearing of his arrival, I opened a correspondence with him, and requested him to attend an association of missionaries, which we hoped might be had the following January. Such meetings were desirable, in order to consult the best measures for missionary operations, and to harmonize our views, and at which also we might encourage each others' hearts, and strengthen each others' hands; but this design was not perfected.

I returned to my family on the 24th of September. By this time matters under the management of Mr. Lykins had so far advanced, that public religious exercises were held in the mission buildings, for the benefit of the Shawanoes, and a small school of Indian children attended, to receive instruction from Mr. Evans. We had inclined to the opinion that Mr. Wilson ought to commence a mission among the Osages, but about this time he located among the Delawares.

Some of the Weas had requested us to establish a mission among them, and the opening for usefulness appeared favourable. About this time a treaty was being held with them in St. Louis. Also, a treaty was about to be held with the Putawatomes of Indiana. Both these treaties Mr. Lykins had desired to attend, in order to encourage the adoption of stipulations in

favour of education, but he found it impracticable. He wrote, however, respectfully requesting that provision should be made for educational purposes, which effort of his was seconded by letters, on my return from Arkansas; but no such provision was made in either treaty.

I was allowed only eleven days to remain with my family, when it became necessary for me to make another tour to Arkansas, in order to report to the three commissioners on Indian affairs, who had recently been appointed, viz: Messrs. H. L. Ellsworth, M. Stokes, and J. F. Schermerhorn. Under excessive fatigue, an injury which a lower limb had received, by the fall of my horse four years before, was aggravated, and subjected me to much inconvenience for upwards of a year.

On the 14th of October thirty-seven persons were baptized at a meeting of the Muscogee Baptist Church, eight or ten of whom were Creeks, and the rest, excepting one, coloured persons, and all slaves. On the 10th of November nine were baptized, three of whom were Indians. On the same day a Sunday-school was commenced under auspicious circumstances. At this period missionary matters at this station were truly prosperous.

I urged Mr. Davis to submit to ordination. He was a man of respectable talents, but such was his modest diffidence that he lacked confidence in himself, and for a while hesitated. He was, however, ordained to the work of the ministry not long after.

Previous to this time, Mr. Donelson, who had been associated with me in Indian affairs, resigned. I made a report to the commissioners of the affairs in the Indian territory, so far as I had knowledge of them, and recommended such measures as I thought ought to be adopted. After which I left Arkansas for my home on the 14th of November, having with me a hired black man. On the 17th it rained on us all day. The following was the Sabbath, which we spent with Mr. Dodge, among the Osages. The storm had been increasing in severity, and on Monday morning the snow was deep, the weather cold, and the wind high. As the cold had increased, the rains which were falling, froze, until every spear of grass was literally braced up by a coating of ice, and every twig of a tree or shrub, half an inch in circumference, was increased to the size of a man's finger. Our whole day's journey lay through open prairie, excepting two or three small groves of timber, of a few hundred yards each. I was afraid to set out with no more assistance than my coloured man, and employed a hardy young white man

to accompany us. I rode in a small two horse wagon. We had not proceeded more than five miles before we regretted that we had left a shelter. The wind blew the light snow off the prairies until we were so enveloped as scarcely to be able to perceive which way to proceed. In places it was drifted until it was very deep. The waters had been swollen by the rains with which the storm had commenced, and were now covered with ice. The wind being upon our backs, to turn and retrace our steps would require us to face it, which we were afraid to do, lest we should freeze before we could reach the house of Mr. Dodge which we had left. We therefore went forward, and halted in the first grove. By this time the coloured man, who had been riding on horseback, was much chilled, and fancied himself so nearly dead, that it was with difficulty that I could induce him to stir on his feet. Every thing combustible was covered with ice, so that the prospect of making a fire appeared to us all very gloomy, but most so to the poor negro. Anticipating our dangers from cold and the difficulty of procuring fire, I had prepared for the contingency by bringing in our little wagon some dry hay and wood. We found a place where part of a large fallen tree was a little elevated above the ground, under which there was less ice and snow than elsewhere, and where we succeeded in making a fire, by the side of which we pitched our tent, and remained through the day and the following night. In most of our wilderness journeyings, it is our custom to prepare and eat breakfast before or at the opening of day. We reached home on the 23d of November, 1832.

On the departure of some of us from Carey, in 1828, our church had become so much scattered, that its meetings were unavoidably omitted. Its first meeting had taken place in my late absence, at the Shawanoe mission house. Mr. D. French, who, some months previously, had been appointed a missionary by the board, had by this time arrived. Mr. Lewis, who was originally designed to occupy a station among the Choctaws, having located among the Creeks, it was now decided that Mr. Wilson, who had lately gone among the Delawares, should repair to the Choctaws; and he accordingly left the Delawares on the 13th of December.

We resolved, however, not to abandon the Delawares, but to afford them such assistance as our opportunities would allow. It was the 23d of February, 1833, when Mr. Lykins, accompanied by Mr. French, made a visit of three days among them, with a view of instituting preaching regularly, and of establishing a school. He wrote the board, proposing to employ a

school teacher, and to hire an Indian family, with which he had formed an acquaintance, to prepare a little food once a day for such scholars as should attend from their homes. A young man, Mr. I. D. Blanchard, though not a member of our church, had gone among the Delawares from benevolent motives, and was studying the Delaware language with the view of being useful to them. Him Mr. Lykins designed to employ as teacher. We also sought and obtained the necessary permission from the Government. These movements were submitted to the consideration of the board, and approved. On the 21st of April Mr. Blanchard was baptized.

We attached much importance to the establishment of a printing press in the Indian territory. Mr. Cone, of New-York, was addressed, and inquiry made of him, whether an association could be formed with a view of sustaining a press by contribution, if it could not be made to support itself. I wrote also to Cincinnati, Ohio, and elsewhere, on the same subject, and also at different times pressed its consideration on the board.

While our mission at Carey, Michigan, was in successful operation, a Kickapoo, denominated "the Prophet," sent us a request, by one of our former Indian pupils and a white trader, that we would furnish his party with a school, &c. The party was then on the Illinois river, some one hundred miles from Carey, and we could not at that time comply with their request. Subsequently, the Kickapoos removed to the Indian territory, and among them came the Prophet and his party, who passed my house about the middle of May, 1833.

Of the religious opinions, forms, and ceremonies of the Prophet and his party, we knew very little; but the circumstance of his once having requested us to favour his party with a mission, and the report that they abstained from the use of ardent spirits, induced us to make an effort to do that for them at this time which they formerly requested. We had already commenced preparations for a mission to each of the earlier emigrant tribes, and help from Government, applicable to the support of a school for the Kickapoos, by virtue of a treaty stipulation, had been asked for, and we had proposed that Mr. French should labour among them.

On the arrival of the Prophet and his party, Mr. Lykins visited them, and made known to them our design to help them; and I being at the time confined to my bed by indisposition, the Prophet was brought to my house. For a few weeks, it was hoped that the religious disposition of the party would facilitate our labours among the tribe generally, but in this we soon dis-

covered that we had been mistaken. The Prophet's religion, as they denominated it, appeared to be a step from savage blindness into greater absurdity. Mr. French spent a short time among the Kickapoos, when, from the smallness of their number, and the design of the Methodists to establish a mission among them, we concluded that Mr. French could be more useful elsewhere, and the place was abandoned.

Kenekuk, the Prophet, claimed the honour of being the founder of his own sect, which he had been enabled to do by divine inspiration. His adherents were about four hundred souls, about half of whom were Putawatomes. He professed to receive all that he taught immediately from the Great Spirit, by a supernatural agency. He taught abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, the observance of the Sabbath, and some other good morals, though, in point of practice, the morals of the party were scarcely, if any better than those of their dissolute kindred.

The religious opinions of Indians who have received no impressions from other people are remarkably uniform, excluding the absurdity of idol worship, and embracing the fundamental truths of the existence of God and his overruling providence, man's accountability, the immortality of the soul, future rewards and punishments, a consciousness of guilt for offences against God, &c. Their external ceremonies embrace sacrifices for the purpose of propitiating the Deity, and festivals, accompanied with music, dancing, speeches, unmeaning noises, &c.

The formula of the Prophet had evidently not been framed from ideas purely *Indian*, and they more nearly resembled those of the Catholics than any other sect. Congregational worship was performed among them, and the exercises lasted from one to three hours. They heard speeches from the Prophet, and all united in articulating a kind of prayer, expressed in broken sentences often repeated, in a monotonous sing-song tone, equalling in length about two measures of a common psalm tune. All in unison engaged in this; and, in order to preserve harmony in words, each held in his or her hand a small board, about an inch and a half broad and about ten inches long, upon which was engraved arbitrary characters, which they followed up with their finger until the last character admonished them that they had completed the prayer. These characters were five in number. The first represented the heart; the second, the heart, affections, and flesh; the third, the life; the fourth, names; the fifth, kindred. During the service these characters were gone over several times; the first time, the per-

son spoke as if he supposed himself on earth ; the second, as if he were approaching the door of the house of God ; then at the door, &c. Putting their finger to the lowest character, they would say, " O, our Father, think of our hearts as thou dost think about the door of thy house, &c. O, our Father, bless our heart and its clothing, [the body,] make it like thine, as strong as thine, &c. Make it like thy house, like the door of thy house, like the ground about thy house, like thy staff, &c. O, our Father, put our name with thy name, think of it as thou dost of thy house, the door, the ground about thy house, thy staff," &c. The repetitions were exceedingly frequent, almost the same words of a short sentence being repeated many times, and all apparently unmeaning. Certain persons were appointed to use the rod, for the purpose of maintaining order in religious worship. The application of the rod to offenders, by these whippers, was used as a kind of discipline in all cases of offences. The offender, whose crime might be known only to himself, was taught that it was his duty to apply to one of the four or five whippers, and state that he had committed an offence, for the punishment of which he desired that so many stripes might be inflicted upon his bare back. Having received the flagellation, which often brought blood, the penitent would shake hands with the executioner, and others near, returning thanks for the favour done him, and declaring that he felt relieved of a heavy burden.

The Prophet had two or three wives ; and other vices, such as gambling, &c., were not punishable. The party became connected in some way, not distinctly understood, with the Methodists, and nearly four hundred of them received baptism (by sprinkling) from the Methodist missionaries, in the course of two or three days, and the Prophet was licensed to preach. But while little, if any, improvement has been made in the morals of the party, excepting in the respects already noticed, the Prophet's influence has made them more industrious than they formerly were. They are now improving in comfort, and consequently are getting into circumstances more favourable for receiving religious instructions.

In the pamphlet entitled " Remarks on Indian Reform," published in 1827, and afterwards reprinted, it was proposed, as an improved course, that instead of the usual mode of our Government taking Indian lands and allowing them annuities, the value of which was trifling, compared with the worth of the lands, and which annuities often proved injurious to the Indians, rather than beneficial, the lands should be surveyed and sold as

United States' lands usually are, and, after defraying all the cost of survey and sale, the nett proceeds should belong to the Indians. This, it would seem, they were justly entitled to; and if they had not received ample justice upon any former occasion, they were entitled to even more than this. This rule for paying Indians for their lands would secure to some tribes greater sums than they could usefully apply at the times of payment. It was proposed, therefore, that a moiety above their immediate wants should be invested in productive stock, for their use.

Similar views of propriety, in cases of extinguishment of Indian title to land, were not manifested by the Government until March 1st, 1833, at which time a treaty, then recently made with the Chickasaws, was ratified by the Senate of the United States, in which the price of lands ceded by the Chickasaws was to be paid precisely according to the above plan, and also investments made. By this mode of taking pay, the Chickasaws have become immensely wealthy. The same principles have since been adopted in several other cases.

On reporting to the three Commissioners on Indian Affairs, in the autumn of 1832, my services under Government terminated. In respect to pecuniary matters, I was then barely even with the world. I was constantly employed in missionary affairs, but had no income to meet the expenses of my family. During eight months I realized not a little anxiety; I durst not indulge a thought of entering upon any business unconnected with the welfare of the Indians, and, by attention to them without income, a debt was accumulating upon me that was well calculated to occasion uneasiness. Having applied all my extra earnings from the Government, which had been considerable, to the support of a cause ostensibly under the patronage of the board of missions, and as I was employing all my time in support of the same cause still, I might have preferred a just claim upon the board for support; but this I declined. My necessities, however, became so great, that I took measures to remind them of our wants, and I did it in the hope that some relief would be offered to us; but the result was not what we had hoped for. Our embarrassed circumstances occasioned more toil than we were well able to bear, and we had to labour sometimes with our own hands harder than our strength justified. It also added to our difficulties, that, within the period of anxiety of which I write, I was twice confined for a considerable time to my bed by sickness.

About this time another circumstance occurred which was far from adding to my happiness. The annual report of the

Baptist Board of Missions for April, 1833, through a mistake, the cause of which I did not understand, stated that I was "not in the service of the board." This statement, though from its connection with expressions of approbation of my labours was not liable to be imputed to unkind feelings, was calculated to do me substantial injury. Some would be liable to suppose that I had departed from the work of a missionary—a thought favourable to which I have never indulged since I became one; and in the Indian country it was probable that the supposition that I was unconnected with any society, and with the missionaries, would abridge my opportunities for doing good. On discovering the report, I immediately wrote Dr. Bolles, the corresponding secretary of the board, inquiring when my services had terminated, and on what account?—and how the fact happened to be published to the world before any intimation of it had been given to me? The acceptance of my late commission from Government could not have affected the relation between us, because they had directed me to do so, believing that I could work more efficiently in the cause of missions with such a commission, than without it; and, moreover, I had almost constantly held a commission of some kind under Government, ever since I had been a missionary, to the advantages of which, in the support of their missions, the comfort of my fellow missionaries bore ample testimony. Charity required me to attribute the statement to an oversight, and, if I was correct, I desired that the mis-statement should be corrected, which was done in a subsequent number of the Baptist Magazine, the print in which it had appeared.

The importance which I attach to the character of a missionary has induced me to be thus particular in noticing this matter, lest the error in the report might fall into the hands of some who might not notice that my connection with the board, with the missionaries, and with the entire subject of missions, has not been changed, excepting that for many years I have met the expenses of support for myself and family, still adhering to the pledge given in the "Mission Family Rules," in the application of money or property coming into my hands.*

On the retiring of Mr. Lykins and myself from Michigan to the Indian territory, the Catholics, who with jealous eye had watched every step we had taken, with a view to embarrass our labours, introduced a priest and some nuns into the neighbourhood of our late establishment at Carey. It was known that our desire was, that those Indians should remove, as soon as

* See page 170.

possible, from that land in which they were now rapidly perishing, to what we hoped would prove a permanent and prosperous home. The Catholics desired them to remain where they were, on some small tracts of land which they had not yet sold to the United States. After the exploration of the delegations of Putawatomes and Ottawas, in 1828, many of those tribes desired to emigrate, provided we should establish ourselves in the Indian territory. In order, therefore, to promote an unwillingness among the Indians to follow us, calumny was resorted to. A worthless fellow, not a Catholic, whose tongue, as far as he was personally known, could not injure any body, was prompted to publish a pamphlet, complaining of mismanagement of affairs at Carey during its existence. This poor creature had, no doubt, been encouraged to hope that he could sell his pamphlets, so as to realize some moneyed "reward of iniquity," in which he doubtless was disappointed. The style of the book was wretchedly bad, and the story contained its own refutation; and we could not, therefore, notice it by a reply. About the same time, a scurrilous piece appeared in "The Catholic Telegraph," published in Cincinnati, Ohio, embracing a communication from the author of the pamphlet. The source whence this emanated was such as admitted of notice, but the malignity of the writers had evidently got the ascendancy of their discretion, and led them to do themselves an injury by an effort to cast blame upon others where no ground of blame existed. It was not deemed expedient for either Mr. Lykins or myself to enter upon a newspaper controversy, merely for the sake of exposing the spirit which had induced a publication that could do us no harm. Mr. French, however, who had lived long at Carey before he became a missionary, and whose opportunities had furnished him with an extensive knowledge of its management, forwarded a communication for the public, in reference to the calumny, to be published in the Baptist Journal of Cincinnati; but some friends of missions in that place, upon consultation, deeming the Catholic piece unworthy of notice by any one, advised that Mr. French's reply should not be published.

Mr. Evans, who, with his family, arrived at the Shawanoe mission house about a year before the time of which we speak, took the thought into his head that he could be more useful among the Choctaws than among the Shawanoes. The board referred the matter pretty much to the opinion of his fellow missionaries. The latter perceived no good reason for his changing places, but many strong reasons for his remaining where he was. He, however, adhered to his own plans, and

upon his own responsibility left the Shawanoe station, with his family, on the 18th of June, 1833. He barely entered the Choctaw country, when he became discouraged, and turned off into the white settlements of Arkansas, from which place he wrote Mr. Lykins, expressing a wish to return, and desiring to know whether he could be cordially received by the missionaries. While the latter pitied the weakness which had prompted the late injudicious movement, they felt much sympathy for Mr. and Mrs. Evans, and instantly wrote him a letter congenial to his wishes. He, however, anticipated the communication, and reached the Shawanoe station a few days after his own letter. The board also kindly yielded to the entreaties of the missionaries that Mr. Evans might be reinstated.

There was a Choctaw educated in Kentucky, who was there baptized, and by a Baptist church ordained to the work of the Gospel ministry, who opened a correspondence with me in the spring of 1833, and whom we encouraged to return to his people within the Indian territory, and preach to them the Gospel of God. On the 8th of July, 1833, he arrived at our house, on his way to the Choctaw nation on the Arkansas and Red rivers. I advanced him funds to enable him to prosecute his designs as a missionary. He remained about two months with us, and then proceeded to the field of labour pointed out to him. In the mean time the board was written to in his behalf, and its patronage obtained.

The board had appointed the Rev. Moses Merrill and Mrs. Merrill missionaries to the Chippewas of Lake Superior, in 1832. In August of that year, they left the State of Maine, and, accompanied by Miss Brown, who had also been appointed a missionary by the board, arrived at Sault de St. Marie the October following, in which place they designed to spend the winter in labouring with Messrs. Bingham and Meeker, and, on the following summer, to ascend the lakes further, and establish a station near the northwestern extremity of Lake Superior. With similar designs, Mr. and Mrs. Meeker, as we have already seen, reached Sault de St. Marie at the same time. Early in the spring of 1833, the board justly conceived that it would be better to extend its operations in the Indian territory, than to be wasting life, labour, and money, on Indians unsettled, and instructed Mr. Merrill and Mr. Meeker to abandon the mission to Lake Superior, and to proceed immediately to the Indian territory. Mr. and Mrs. Merrill left Sault de St. Marie in May, 1833, and arrived at the Shawanoe mission house on the 13th of the following July.

On the 16th of July, I received orders from Government to make some further surveys for Indian tribes within the territory. I employed an assistant, and was glad to have an opportunity to earn something to enable me to pay debts which I had been obliged to contract for the support of my family, and something towards future support. Left as we had been to provide for our own support, and in the midst of great necessity, He who feeds the sparrows responded to his own gracious inquiry—"Children, have you any food?" and relieved us for the present from painful anxieties, which had brooded over us eight months.

Between the 28th of July and the 17th of August I was on a tour in the wilderness. Nevertheless, I sometimes employed my pen at camp in promotion of missionary matters elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Baptisms. Tour in the wilderness. Arrival of missionaries. Mission established among the Otoes. Arrival of other missionaries. Journey to Arkansas. A missionary retires from labour. Baptisms. Tour in the wilderness. Journey to Washington. Enlistment of missionaries. Printing press. New system of writing. Baptism. Tour in the wilderness. Resignation of a missionary. Publication of the Annual Register. Death. Apostacy of a missionary. Arrival of missionaries at the Creek station. Death of two missionaries. Arrival of missionaries among the Choctaws. Newspaper in Shawanoe. Books in Creek and Choctaw. Baptism and missionary appointment.

On the 11th of August, 1833, two Delawares were baptized, and on the 24th another; all of whom gave satisfactory evidence of genuine piety. Our scattered church, which once met at Carey, was now able to assemble fifteen members at the Shawanoe mission house, and the sixteenth was added by the baptism of a Delaware female on the 25th of August. The missionaries held regular meetings for religious worship among the Delawares, and at the Shawanoe mission house. Besides which, preaching was frequent at different houses among the Shawanoes, religious visits were extended to the Indians, and a small school kept at the mission house, the pupils of which were almost entirely supported by the mission. About this time we enjoyed

some very comfortable religious meetings, which seemed the more gratifying because they followed the desolations which unavoidably attended emigration from Michigan.

From the 13th of September to the 17th of October, I was on another surveying tour in the wilderness. Among other privations attending these wilderness excursions, was the loss of Christian society. We rested and had some religious exercises on the Sabbath in our camp. Nevertheless, those days seemed long and lonesome. Our tour extended so far west that, to prevent injury from marauding bands of hostile Indians, we were all well armed.* This was our invariable practice when our business led us far into the wilderness, and in proportion to our supposed danger was our vigilance in posting out sentinels at night, and in sleeping with our clothes on, and our guns, &c., at our sides. Resting on the 6th of October, which was Sunday, occasioned us to occupy the same encampment two nights in succession, and this delay afforded an opportunity for an increasing number of neighbouring wolves to become acquainted with our sleeping place. On the second night they approached quite to our tent. A young man, on awaking, noticed one standing near us, and shot him, so that he fell dead within fifteen feet of our fire. In the morning we discovered that they had had possession of one of the men's hats; and, whether for food or from fancy we could not ascertain, they had made some important alterations in its fashion, which the owner was unwilling to admit were improvements. Some unwelcome depredations had also been committed upon ropes and other materials used in tying meat and other articles on the pack horses, and which had thereby become oiled.

In my absence, Mr. and Mrs. Meeker, and Miss C. Brown, arrived. Mr. Meeker, on leaving Sault de St. Marie for the Indian territory, passed Cleveland, in Ohio; at which place Mrs. Meeker remained, while her husband proceeded to Boston, to confer with the board of missions. Before they finally left Cleveland, they buried at that place an infant daughter. It was now resolved that Mr. and Mrs. Merrill should locate among the Otoes, on the Great Platte River, and commence a mission, the preliminaries of which we had entered upon three years before, for the benefit of Otoes, Pawnees, and Omahas. We afterwards made application to the Government, and obtain-

* Marauding war parties on those prairies seldom attack a company of white men who they discover are prepared for defence, but commonly approach them peaceably. Therefore, to appear in their country unarmed would be inviting them to murder us.

ed for Mr. Merrill the appointment of school teacher, according to a provision of a treaty. In consequence of this commission, Mr. Merrill received from Government a salary of nearly five hundred dollars per annum, which enabled him to support himself without further cost to the board. Miss Brown accompanied them, and they left the Shawanoe station on the 25th of October, 1833. The distance to their station was about two hundred miles, and the journey was performed in twenty-four days. The nights were, of course, spent in the open air, without the roof of a house, and the journey was attended with the usual hardships and privations of such tours in the wilderness.

The missionaries found buildings for their accommodation at a place which had previously been occupied as a trading post, where they remained about a year and a half. At this place resided a few Frenchmen with Indian families, and one family not related to the Indians. From these families the missionaries collected a small school. They had also a Sabbath school and a Bible class, and at the same time public religious exercises were duly attended to. Early in 1834, favourable religious impressions were manifestly made on the minds of some of the pupils, and in April of that year Mr. Merrill baptized one of the white children, about twelve years of age.

The village of the Otoes was, at that time, about thirty miles from the station, but a smithery, for their benefit, having been established at the latter, many were attracted thither; so that the missionaries were favoured with opportunities of imparting religious instruction. They very properly directed their attention, as far as practicable, to the acquisition of the Otoe language, and having prepared some Scripture lessons, by the help of an interpreter, Mr. Merrill, in May, 1834, visited their village, and read to them at suitable opportunities. In speaking of this visit, Mr. Merrill says, "On my arrival at the village, I was directed to the lodge of the first chief, where his wives, of whom he had five, immediately took care of my horse and baggage. After the salutation of shaking hands, I was seated on the ground by the side of the chief. It was not long before a wooden bowl, containing a kind of bread of pounded maize and beans, was placed before me, and in less than an hour I was invited to a meal of buffalo meat, at the lodge of the second chief."

This village consisted of about fifty houses, of earth, which were circular, and from twenty-five to forty feet in diameter. The wall narrows to a point at the top, and presents the form of a cone, and is sustained by wooden posts and poles within.

The smoke escapes through an aperture in the top, which answers the double purpose of window and chimney. Within them is neither chair, table, nor bedstead.

In the summer of 1835, the mission was removed a few miles to a more eligible site, and buildings were there erected by the board for a permanent station, near to which the Otoes located in the following year. At their new residence Mr. and Mrs. Merrill collected a school of Otoe youths, most of whom had reached maturity, and taught them in their own language, upon the new system. They had thirty-six in attendance, though not regularly; first in their village, and afterwards at the mission house. These people were not prepared to appreciate the advantages of education, and supposed that a favour was conferred on the missionaries by their attendance to receive instruction. For their encouragement, the missionaries gave them a dinner once a week, of which the chiefs were also invited to partake. These people were about half the year absent on their buffalo hunts, which was greatly to their disadvantage in reference to the labours of the missionaries. Notwithstanding the many obstacles to their improvement, those who could be prevailed upon to feel somewhat interested in learning, have read all the prints that have yet been made in the Otoe language. These consist of two small school books, some hymns, and a part of the New Testament, equal to about one-half of the gospel by John. These have been prepared by Mr. Merrill, and printed at the Shawanoe mission.

In February, 1839, the missionaries collected at their house a school of Otoe children, whom they instructed in English, and both Mr. and Mrs. Merrill being in poor health, and compelled to attend too much to labours necessary for their personal comfort, on account of the inconvenience of hiring help at their remote place, they could not, as previously, attend to teaching native adults in their own language. They made a school of fifteen Otoe children, from eight to twelve years of age, who belonged to the families of chiefs and other principal men. These children were furnished at the mission house with one meal a day, and their improvement would have been further promoted by supporting them at the station, had the missionaries possessed the means of doing so.

At first, religious instruction was imparted by reading portions of Scripture in the Otoe language, written, as before stated, upon the new system, and sometimes through the medium of an interpreter. In 1838, Mr. Merrill commenced preaching to his people in their own language, without the help of an inter-

preter. In 1839, he baptized a black woman, who resided in his family.

The board had directed Mr. Lykins to exercise a kind of general superintendence over missionary matters in the Indian territory, and, as a measure that would facilitate his usefulness, the following was obtained for him from the Secretary of War:

“Permission is hereby granted to Mr. Johnston Lykins to visit the Indian country west of the Mississippi, under the authority of the Baptist Board of Missions, with a view to collect and report information interesting to that board in carrying into effect their views in the selection of sites for missionary establishments and schools in that region. He is recommended to the attention of all officers of the Government, and they are desired to communicate to him such information as may be useful in the discharge of his trust.

“Given under my hand and the seal of the War Department, at Washington, this tenth day of September, A. D. 1833.

“LEWIS CASS.”

About this time, Mr. Ellsworth, one of the Commissioners on Indian affairs, held important treaties with the Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas, in which provisions favourable for education were made. Upon these subjects Mr. Lykins enjoyed the privilege of bestowing some attention, which we had the satisfaction of knowing was successful.

November 13th, 1833, Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell arrived. After leaving Michigan, they had sickened on the road, and had been compelled to lie by several weeks. Their sufferings on the way had been considerable, and we all felt grateful to Him who had accompanied them with his gracious care.

Mr. Wilson, on going to Arkansas, entered a field of labour, among the Choctaws, which we deemed uncommonly promising. But he was alone, and on some account, not well understood, his spirits and courage failed. He was a worthy young man, of respectable talents; but he seemed to lose confidence in himself, and to be unable to hope for success. We wrote him, for his encouragement, but without success.

In December, 1833, a letter reached us from Mr. Lewis, among the Creeks. He also had become discouraged, and desired to leave the country. He and his family, at the time, were suffering much by sickness. He had been exceedingly imprudent in his secular affairs, and had gone in debt beyond his means of paying. He had spent money unnecessarily, and drawn on the board for funds without authority, to pay debts

foolishly created. Finding that he had been some time running into these evils, I had urged him, by the most pressing entreaties, to a different course. He now desired me to lay his case before the board, and ask them for money to pay his debts, and to enable him to leave the country.

These and other matters, affecting the interests of our missions, induced Mr. Lykins to set off, on the 25th of December, 1833, on a tour to Arkansas, and it being inconvenient for one man to pass through the wilderness alone, Mr. French accompanied him. Mrs. Lewis was at this time exceedingly sick, and died while he was in that country. Mr. Lewis and his son were not yet in good health. Notwithstanding the difficulties which surrounded the station, it appeared that the opportunities for doing good among the Creeks were altogether favourable. Mr. Davis was a substantial man, who was doing well. Mr. Lykins advised him to locate on the Canadian River, which he did some time afterwards. Notwithstanding the indiscretion of Mr. Lewis, it was hoped that he would be useful. At Mr. Lykins's request, I united with him in desiring the board to continue him in their employ, to which he had consented, and in expressing the opinion that, notwithstanding his bad management would make him an expensive missionary, yet he had better be continued, in the hope that he would do good. The board generously extended to him its indulgence.

Mr. Lykins found Mr. Wilson labouring under great discouragement, when the prospects of usefulness around him were well calculated to animate the missionary; but he left the country soon afterwards, and retired from missionary labours. Mr. Lykins also visited Mr. O'Bryant's station, among the Cherokees, and had the satisfaction of contributing not a little to the promotion of his operations.

While clouds hung around our affairs, occasionally beams of light gladdened our hearts. On the 8th of December, an Osage woman, married to a Delaware, was baptized, and on the 15th of the same month another Delaware female was baptized. Public religious meetings were at this time held regularly in two places among the Delawares.

From the 18th of December, 1833, to the 9th of January, I was, most of the time, on a surveying expedition in the wilderness. We usually avoided, as much as possible, long excursions in the wilderness in winter, on account of the cold. Necessity required us to encounter no little inconvenience of this character on this occasion. Our business lay along the Missouri river. In order to subsist our horses, we sought

for bottom lands of rushes, which, remaining green all winter, afforded a nutritious, though sometimes an unhealthy food. When rushes could not be found, we sometimes cut down the cotton wood, upon the bark of which horses would feed, and which was moderately nutritious.

The 1st of January, 1834, was a dismal day. It snowed on us incessantly, with a pretty high wind. The trail of the surveyors could not be followed by the pack-horses which I was in charge of, and on account of the difficulty of proceeding in the snow in the bottom lands, and being separated from the surveyors, there appeared, for some time, reason to fear that some of one or of both parties would perish with cold. We had the good fortune, however, to get all together by dark, and to reach a place where we could make a large fire of logs. One of the men was somewhat frostbitten. On account of the severity of the weather, we remained in our camp two days, and then, in a pretty deep snow, set off for home. On the following morning, January 5th, the mercury sunk twenty-five degrees below zero. I submitted it to the choice of the company, either to remain in camp, or to travel. They had become so weary of the uncomfotableness of a camp in such severe weather that they chose to risk the frost in travelling. Two men were sent about half a mile to bring in some horses. Before they returned we became much alarmed lest they had become lost and would perish. One of them was somewhat frostbitten.

I shall never forget that on that dreadful day we met a Putawomie Indian and his wife, each on horseback, passing on through a pathless wilderness, to a place at which they hoped to catch some game, and obtain food, both of whom appeared to be cheerful, and under no apprehensions of perishing. Those nights were so severe, that upon the frozen earth, with our means, the most hardy of our company were exposed to much suffering. My constitution was naturally slender, and had become much impaired by various means, and I suffered most. A person who has never realized a lodging under such circumstances cannot easily conceive the difficulty of effectually fencing against a cold wind. On this occasion I could not keep myself sufficiently warm to allow of sleep, but by wrapping myself in my blankets, and then having them secured in that position by tying all up with a cord.

On the 9th of January, 1834, I received the following from the board:

“ Boston, December 5, 1833.

“ DEAR SIR: At the suggestion of our mutual friend, the Rev. S. H. Cone, the board, at its late meeting, took into consideration the expediency of your spending some time this winter at Washington, and resolved to request you to do so. They suppose that the interests of the Indians, and views of the board as to their civilization, may be promoted by your counsels and exertions. Knowing so well as you do the best time to be at the seat of Government, we shall leave it to your discretion. The necessary expenses of the journey we shall expect to meet. Please to advise us as to the time you will be at Washington.

“ Most affectionately, yours,

“ L. BOLLES.

“ *Rev. Isaac McCoy.*”

I left home, for Washington, on the 11th of February, 1834. I was one month in making the journey. Exposure had impaired my health, and for some time after my arrival in Washington I could scarcely stir abroad.

The three commissioners on Indian affairs who had been appointed in 1832, held their offices two years. It was expected that a lengthy report, respecting measures in future, would be made by them to the present session of Congress. In making my report to them in 1832, I had been full in recommending future measures, together with the reasons why I conceived them proper, &c. Anxious that these statements should be known, in the hope of their exerting some influence, whether the commissioners should report in accordance with them or not, I had forwarded a copy of the report unofficially to the Secretary of War. Up to the middle of March, the commissioners had not reported. But a judicious plan relative to the organization of the Indian territory had been submitted to the consideration of Congress by the Secretary of War, Mr. Cass. His annual report had also highly recommended the organization of the territory, as the only feasible plan of saving the Indian race from extinction. The favour which the design received from the Secretary of War was the more gratifying, because the time had been when even his pen had been employed, not in blaming the kindness which prompted the experiment, but in exposing and urging its supposed impracticability. He had been heard to say that “the tribes never would be colonized. The nature of their relation to our Government was such that the Government could not be induced to adopt and carry out

such a measure. It was a scheme of Mr. —, which could not be accomplished," &c. These things are not mentioned to the discredit of the Secretary of War, but as a specimen of sentiments which prevailed extensively among the wisest and best men of the nation. No man had so much influence on the subject of Indian affairs as the then Secretary of War. Hence, any thing from him, which appeared to favour measures to which we attached infinite importance, was as gratifying as the reverse was alarming.

About the 20th of March, I set off on a hasty visit to New-York, for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview with our substantial friend, the Rev. S. H. Cone, in relation to our operations. In conference with the excellent Mr. Dagg, of Philadelphia, he spoke of some in his city, who, he thought, might be enlisted as missionaries. We were particularly anxious to find one to fill the place of Mr. Wilson, among the Choc-taws, and we also needed others to fill at least four other favourable openings for missionary labours which presented themselves within that interesting tribe of Indians. Mr. Dagg and I visited two persons, one of whom I felt inclined to advise not to embark in missionary labours; but the other, who was the Rev. Mr. Smedley, with Mrs. Smedley, we encouraged to enlist.

Some Presbyterian missionaries, under the patronage of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, had found some difficulty in the establishment of a mission among the Iowas. Through Mr. Lykins their wishes were communicated to me. On the 1st of April I obtained from the agent for that tribe, who was then in Washington, the requisite recommendation in favour of forming the establishment, after which I obtained the authority to do so from Mr. Herring, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This mission is now in successful operation.

I returned to my family on the 10th of May. Mr. Meeker had brought with him, to the Indian territory, a printing press and types, according to the directions of the board, which were put into operation among the Shawanoes instead of the Cherokees, as had been originally designed. By the 10th of May, a small book in Shawanoe, and another in Delaware, had been printed, according to the new system of writing and reading; and instruction upon this plan had been introduced with a prospect of success. Several adults as well as youths had become capable of reading in their own language a few weeks after they had been furnished with books, and with little attention from instructors.

This system deserves greater attention than it has yet re-

ceived. One learns to read his own language with so much ease upon this plan, that it ought to be introduced among all nations destitute of a written language. The simplicity of this method of writing and reading, or, in other words, the facility with which the learner acquires a knowledge of these, has been the principal reason why it has not attracted greater notice. We are slaves to habit. We have acquired a knowledge of the art of printing our thoughts on paper, so that they could be understood by others, by the tedious process of *spelling*, and hence we are ready to ridicule the idea of a system which *wholly excludes* spelling, and which enables the learner to paint his thoughts on paper, with precision, as soon as he acquires a knowledge of a number of characters about equal to the English alphabet.

“To each Indian language, and to each dialect of language, belong peculiar sounds, which cannot be obtained by the use of the English alphabet. To designate syllables which could not be spelt, or sounds which could not be obtained by the ordinary use of letters, writers who would write intelligibly have been compelled to introduce arbitrary characters, each according to his fancy. It can easily be conceived that serious inconvenience attended this course of things.

“Mr. Guess, a Cherokee, had discovered that the language of his tribe could be written with about eighty syllabic characters. Guess’s plan was tried in relation to some other languages, and found to be inapplicable, because characters would be multiplied beyond the bounds of convenience.

“To remedy the evils which attended the ordinary methods of writing Indian, and the complexity which would attend the universal application of Guess’s system, the idea suggested itself to Mr. Meeker, then at Sault de St. Marie, of using characters not to designate syllables, but certain positions of the organs of speech. His first writing was rather a combination of this new principle with the syllabic system and the system of spelling.”

When the press was put into operation at the Shawanoe mission house, the missionaries among the Shawanoes and Delawares took up the new principle of Mr. Meeker, and reduced it to a system, excluding entirely the syllabic or hieroglyphic system, and also that of spelling.

By spelling, we mean that process by which the learner is required to familiarize the memory with certain names of characters, [letters] and then, after combining these in a certain order, a sound [syllable] must be uttered—not one produced by the combination, but altogether arbitrary. This sound, unmean-

ing in itself, must be borne in mind until, by a similar process, a second, third, or fourth, be obtained; and, lastly, these sounds must be combined, in order to form a *word*.

Upon the new system, every un-compounded sound which can be distinguished by the ear is indicated by a character. These sounds, in Indian languages, usually amount to about eight or ten, the greater part of which, but not all, are what in the system of spelling would be denominated vowel sounds; other sounds are such, for instance, as the hissing sound of the letter *s*, in which consists its real value, the sound obtained by *ch*, as in church, &c. The other characters, usually in number about twelve or fourteen, merely indicate the positions of the organs of speech preceding or following the sounds, by which the beginning or ending of sounds is modified; thus, this character, *p*, would require the lips to be pressed together with a slight pressure within; this, *o*, would indicate a sound which could be heard by the ear—say the short sound of *o*; this, *t*, would require the end of the tongue to be pressed hard to the roof of the mouth. Now, if the sound of *o* intervenes between the pressure of the lips and the pressure of the tongue, as above indicated, the word *pot* is necessarily pronounced; transpose the characters, and adhere to the same rule, and the word *top* is unavoidably pronounced.

Hence, as soon as the learner acquires a knowledge of the uses of the characters, more than twenty-three of which have not yet been found necessary in writing any Indian language, he is capable of reading; because, by placing the organs of speech, or uttering a sound, as is indicated by each character as it occurs, *he is actually reading*.

The uses of the characters are never varied, and they can be learned about as soon as the names of so many letters of the alphabet. If men speak alike, they will upon this system write alike; because each character denotes invariably either a simple sound heard by the ear, or the position of the organs of speech by which that sound is modified; hence, what would appear as bad spelling cannot occur. This system is the simple painting of speech upon paper. It differs from the system of orthography, because, by that, words are obtained *arbitrarily*; by this, they are obtained *necessarily*. For example, the learner would never of himself conceive that, after repeating the names of the letters *t o p*, he ought to articulate the word *top*. After he has been told the names of the letters, he must be taught the word; and hence one name for a letter would be nearly equal to another. Upon the new system, the learner is taught merely the

uses of the characters, and in using these he *unavoidably* pronounces the word designed by the order in which they are placed. This system differs from the hieroglyphic, because, in that, the characters indicate combinations of sounds, or modified sounds: either a sentence, a word, or a syllable, is indicated by the character. In this, the characters denote the mechanical operations of the organs of speech, and which operations as certainly produce words, as the mechanical operations of the hand holding the pencil produce figures.

For characters the English types are used, because they answer as well as characters of any other shape, and by so doing the expense of making new types is avoided; and, further, because the English scholar can more easily learn to read with these than with newly invented characters. If a *key* of about twenty lines accompany a book in an Indian language, explaining the uses of the characters, an English scholar with an hour's study will be enabled to read, understandingly, to those acquainted with the language, whether he understands it or not; and he can, without any knowledge of the language himself, teach others to read it.

The system is applicable to any language—the least so to the English of any in which a trial has been made, because the English embraces more sounds, and modifications of sounds, than other languages. If a language consisted of so small a number of words that each could be represented by a hieroglyphic, without swelling the number beyond the strength of memory, this, of all others, would be the most convenient method; or, if the number of syllables in a language could be represented by a convenient number of hieroglyphics, it would be a great convenience. This, however, is not the case; the Cherokee is the only language to which it is known that the system of Guess will apply, and this is written with about eighty characters. Experiments made in other Indian languages have demonstrated that the number would be increased so much as to render the application impracticable.

If a nation is in possession of a written language, it had better continue its method of writing, though it be not the most convenient, because the innovation of introducing the new system would be attended with many serious inconveniences. All who can read books written in any language, upon the principles of orthography, can read books written upon the new system; but they who understand only the latter cannot read the former. But any people destitute of a written language, and consequently without books, ought to adopt the new system, because,

1st, they would write with the greater accuracy. There are sounds and modulations of the voice peculiar to each unwritten language, which cannot be obtained by the orthographical use of letters, as they are employed in any existing written language. This remark will be well understood by every one who has attempted to write an Indian language; and if the Karens in Burmah, or other Asiatic nations destitute of books, speak a language radically different from their neighbours who have books, it will be understood by all who attempt to write those previously unwritten languages. 2d, The new system should be adopted, because a knowledge of reading can be acquired in a few days—say, within the time required to learn the English alphabet. The facility with which a knowledge of reading can be acquired would bring instructive books within the reach of thousands, and tens of thousands, who otherwise would never be able to read a sentence. Many of the Shawanoes, and others near them, have learned to read without any regular instruction from any one. They have occasionally fallen in company with some of their people who could read, and from them have received some instruction relative to the uses of the characters, and soon became readers themselves. 3d, This system should be introduced, because it would rapidly widen the door to the introduction of religious tracts and other useful prints among unlettered nations, by means of missionaries. Among most of the aborigines of America, and among some nations of other countries, tracts cannot be introduced, because the people cannot read them, and only one in a hundred, or in ten hundred, may be in a situation to learn to read, even in his mother tongue, by the tedious process of spelling; almost all adults must be excluded from this privilege. But, upon the new system, the missionary who would accompany a band of Indians on a buffalo hunt of three months, for the sake of improving himself in a knowledge of their language, could carry with him his tracts, and teach scores to read them, as they would be occasionally resting in their encampments. 4th, Writing upon the new system covers a great deal less space than upon the principles of orthography, because all redundancies are excluded, and many advantages would obviously result from this fact. Evidently, incalculable benefits would result from the general adoption of this system among the tribes of American aborigines, and among other nations destitute of books; nevertheless, we have, with much pain, witnessed a backwardness, on the part of our fellow-labourers for the benefit of the heathen, to avail themselves of

the facilities which this unexpected favour in Providence offers them.

Pretty soon after we had issued a few prints upon the new system, from the press at the Shawanoe mission house, two influential Presbyterian missionaries from among the Choctaws visited us. They had published a few books in the Choctaw language, written upon the principles of orthography. Peculiar sounds could not be obtained by the use of the English, or any other alphabet, and to remedy this evil they had invented new characters, and procured new types to print them. The superiority of our cheap, and expeditious, and *correct* system, over their worse than old-fashioned plan, was so obvious to us, that we hoped for their ready and hearty co-operation in introducing it into common use in the Indian country. In this we were grievously disappointed; and, to add to our mortification, they zealously urged us to reject our system, as futile. No reason, however, was offered, only that they had written a little in Choctaw, and all our prints ought to be uniform. They seemed to overlook the fact that the Cherokees by their side wrote by syllabic hieroglyphics, and that we could not, even with the use of the new characters introduced by them in order to obtain peculiar sounds in Choctaw, write in Delaware, Shawanoe, &c., without introducing others to represent sounds *peculiar* to these languages respectively.

A Presbyterian missionary among the Weas compiled a small book, which was printed upon our press. He knew it would be rejected by the Indians, as unnecessarily obscure, if he wrote wholly upon the plan of spelling, yet, so tenacious was he of what had appeared right to his brethren from the Choctaw country, that he introduced some of their new formed characters; and as we neither possessed nor desired to possess such types, having no use for them, he furnished them himself. He therefore approached so nearly to the new system as to make his book acceptable to the Indians, and yet departed so far that it was not fully the same.

About the same time we invited our Presbyterian and Methodist missionary brethren to meet with us at the Shawanoe mission house, for the purpose of religious exercises, and for the consideration of the most eligible measures by which we could work most harmoniously and successfully, hoping by such meetings to encourage each others' hearts and strengthen each others' hands.

At this meeting a careful examination of the new system was

requested, in the hope that a favourable expression of the meeting might be obtained, to encourage its adoption by other missionaries. But our Methodist brethren were not disposed to show it any public countenance. This was indeed the more surprising to us, because they had adopted it themselves. This, however, they had not done so much from inclination, as from the necessity of gratifying a popular desire of the Shawanoes. Hymns, and some other prints, prepared by the Baptist missionaries, were used advantageously by Shawanoes, Delawares, Peorias, and Weas, in the Methodist connection.

But if we have reason to grieve on account of the little favour which has been shown to the new system by the Presbyterians and Methodists, we have still greater cause of grief on account of the indifference of our own (Baptist) denomination to this important matter. The board, it is true, has allowed its missionaries to write books and teach upon this plan, but in its prints it has never brought the subject before the public in a favourable point of view. It would seem from these prints that little, if any, interest has been felt by the members of the board in the subject. We are not aware that any member of the board has taken so much interest in it as to make himself sufficiently acquainted with it to enable him to give an explanation to an inquirer. Some of the missionaries have repeatedly employed in its favour both the tongue and the pen; but as the patrons of these missionaries seem not to regard it as a matter of importance, it is natural that others should feel indifferent.

There is a pride in human nature that makes a man averse to innovations on established customs, unless the proposed change emanates from a source which would make its adoption honourable. If a proposed improvement in writing were to emanate from a *college* of celebrity, it would receive attention in the world. Men would make themselves acquainted with the subject, and the arguments for and against it. But the public would as soon expect some "good thing to come out of Nazareth," as for an improvement in the art of reading to be originated among missionaries to the Indians. Moreover, the simplicity of the plan they propose is, in common estimation, to its discredit. To tell of a system which excludes orthography, and on which adult savages, whose age requires them to use spectacles, and who never knew a letter or understood the principle by which, as they would say, "a paper had been made to talk," could learn to read a book in his mother tongue by a few days' study, must, they think, be an error originating in a want of scientific discrimination. The system, however, will,

we are confident, outlive its misfortunes; and many good men, both white and red, in our own country, and good men in some others, will regret that its introduction among unlettered nations had not received earlier attention. The number of Indian languages into which this system has been introduced, the number of books printed, &c., will be noticed hereafter.

Mr. Evans, of whose unnecessary journey of three hundred miles, to Arkansas and back, mention has already been made, worked pretty well for a while after his return; and, trusting that experience had taught him some useful lessons, we hoped that he might become the instrument of "turning many to righteousness." But his wild fancies again acquired the ascendancy over his better judgment in the management of his missionary labours, and the board dismissed him on the 1st of May, 1834, and he left the Indian country.

There were mingling with the Kickapoos, on Missouri, about forty miles from the Shawanoe station, four or five hundred Putawatomes; and other immigrants of the same tribe subsequently stopped, and remained some months near the same place. While Mr. Simerwell kept his family at the Shawanoe station and in the vicinity, he frequently visited these Putawatomes, and often remained among them several days at a time, for the purpose of imparting religious instruction, and of teaching a few to read in their own language. He compiled, and had printed, a small book in Putawatomie. About the commencement of his labours I had an opportunity of affording him some assistance, by introducing him personally to some white men at and near Fort Leavenworth, whose attentions would be of service to him. I was at the time on a tour of surveying, which occasioned a month's absence in the wilderness, during which we found much difficulty, on account of high waters. Wolf river was so narrow that a large fallen tree, which lay across it, served as a bridge, over which we transported our baggage; but the water was swimming deep, and the banks so steep and muddy that it was exceedingly difficult to get our horses across. We placed some men on each side, and then tied a long rope to the horse's bridle, the end of which was held by the men on the opposite bank; the horse was then forced down a steep bank into the water, which was rather an alarming plunge to the poor animal. When he commenced swimming, the men who held the rope commenced pulling him to the only place where it was possible for him to get out. Having reached the opposite shore, it required long and repeated efforts of the horse, and the no less violent efforts of the men who were pulling at

the ropes, to get him up the bank ; this proved to be a laborious task before we got all across.

The following is from a note in my journal for June 20th, 1834. " On reaching a mound in the prairie to-day, which we erected in 1830, when my dear deceased son, Rice, was my assistant surveyor, and my son Calvin the manager of my camp, I realized feelings of deep solemnity. O, what scenes of sorrow and of joy, toils and privations, hopes and fears, have I passed through since I was here four years ago ! My son, who then directed the erection of this mound, is now in eternity—I trust in heaven. I reached the place when my company were not in sight of me, and when I was not embarrassed by the presence of any human being in the indulgence of the feelings peculiar to the occasion. I fell upon my knees, and returned thanks to God for all his mercies, among which, the greatest appeared to be that I had good reason to believe my dear son was in heaven. Heaven seemed to be near. I entreated that I and mine might continue to be objects of his gracious care the little time we severally had to spend upon earth ; that we might be prepared for heaven, and in the end rest with our Redeemer."

During this summer, missionary operations progressed with increasing interest, both among the Shawanoes and Delawares. Many among both tribes learned to read in their own languages, and the publishing and distribution among them of small books, which many had become able to read, promised a happy result.

Still anxious to issue a print from the Indian territory, to be circulated through the United States, for the purpose of eliciting sympathy for the Indians, and promoting just views respecting measures for their improvement, I issued, in August, proposals for publishing a semi-monthly periodical, to be entitled " The Indian Advocate." It appeared that the press at Shawanoe would be so thronged with printing Indian books, that the work could not issue regularly from it ; I therefore endeavoured to get a printer and press specially for this new publication. I had hoped that a printer could be found who, from kindness to the Indians, would make his terms of compensation easy. I opened extensive correspondences, with the view of employing such an one, but without success. Among subscribers for the work were some of the first men in the country ; nevertheless, the subscription list was too small to meet the expense of publication, and the design was necessarily postponed, but not abandoned.

In the summer of 1834, Mr. French made a visit to Ohio, to

look after some of his personal matters, and while there resigned his situation as a missionary. His resignation was a loss which we regretted. He was a pious young man, and he was in a field where he might have been useful. He had no good reason for resigning, but, like Mr. Wilson, he suffered himself to become discouraged without cause. Missions to the Indians are unpopular things, and he who does not possess resources within himself to work alone, or with few associates, to sow much and reap little, to work hard without the reward of worldly honour or money, to remain poor all his life for the sake of making the almost friendless Indians rich, and to wait for his pay until he shall get to heaven, had better not enter upon a mission to the Indians.

In November, 1834, I put in circulation, for the purpose of obtaining petitioners, a memorial to Congress, praying for a mail route through the Indian territory, from the northern to the southern extremity. To this considerable attention was afterwards given, as a measure that would be convenient and useful to all in the Indian territory, both white men and red. At one time we thought we had made sure the accomplishment of our object, but the member of Congress to whose charge we had intrusted the business, through partiality for the white settlements, laid the route within the State of Missouri, and in a zigzag course, in order to accommodate frontier villages, so that our petition was turned to the benefit of others, and little, if any, to the advantage of those in favour of the original design. I was at this time not in the employment of Government; nevertheless, my correspondence with some acquaintances, who were in authority, afforded an opportunity of promoting what were esteemed necessary measures, nearly the same as if I had been in a situation to do it officially.

“Bread” may be “cast upon the waters,” (or seed sown,) and “seen many days” after the work of sowing has been forgotten as unsuccessful. Evidence of the truth of this appeared in a small matter in relation to the establishing of the station among the Delawares. Operations were commenced there upon a very moderate scale, but not long afterwards four or five Delawares were baptized. This circumstance evidently gave uneasiness to some old Delawares, who were tenacious of what they called “the Indians’ religion;” and some of their influential men gave us to understand, that although they would consent to have a school among them for the education of their youth, they would prefer that we should take no measures to make proselytes to Christianity. Jealousies, also, unexpectedly appeared

among some white men, who had some influence among the Indians, and who felt less interest in *Baptist* missions than we did. In consequence of these rather intangible obstacles, it was between two and three years before we could fully settle the preliminaries to full and unembarrassed operations of a school, and of preaching, &c. In a conference with some Delaware chiefs on this subject, on the 20th of November, 1834, the chief Ketchum recollected my former visits to their tribe, then in the State of Indiana, and spoke particularly of some attentions which I had bestowed upon three Delawares, when confined in prison in Vincennes;* on which occasion he said he was present; but of this fact I was not aware until he informed me. He manifested a lively sense of gratitude, and entire confidence in the proposals I was making for their benefit. Being justly entitled to great respect among his people, it is believed that the confidence with which he was inspired in favour of the Baptist missionaries, operated not a little to promote the success of their designs.

Unable to get a printing press in operation, either in the Cherokee or Shawanoe country, from which we could publish a semi-monthly periodical, I resolved to supply its place, as far as possible, by an annual publication, entitled "The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian Territory." The first number of this work was published in the fore part of January, 1835. The first number was something less than those that succeeded. The fourth embraces ninety-six large pages.

The first number was prepared under circumstances extremely disadvantageous. I was at the time attending the death-bed of a daughter, and could seldom find as much time as an hour without interruption, to prepare my materials or to write; and, moreover, most of the work was performed in the midst of company. The anxieties occasioned by our deep afflictions, and the difficulties which attended writing, were sometimes exceedingly discouraging, and at one time I had almost concluded to relinquish the undertaking. But believing that the interests of our missions, and of the work of Indian reform generally, imperiously required such a work, it was prepared. I published it at my own cost, and circulated it gratuitously. One was sent to each member of Congress, and to each principal man in the executive departments of Government.

I requested the board to allow it to be printed on their press, and published without cost to me, upon the same principle upon

* See page 55.

which they printed other missionary matters prepared by other missionaries; but this they declined. I therefore purchased the paper, and paid Mr. Meeker for printing. It is but just, however, to state that the charges were more reasonable by about twenty dollars, in the whole, than if the work had been performed at another printing office. But had it been otherwise, I should have preferred publishing at this, on account of its location being in the *Indian territory*, and the partiality which also grew out of the agency which it had been my happiness to employ in its establishment, and without which, it was probable, a printing press would not have been in operation in the Indian country. Nevertheless, finding it difficult at times to support my family from what I earned, when in the employment of Government, it would have been gratifying if the cost of this and of some other printing I had done about the same time, all of course on Indian matters, had not devolved upon myself. This, too, was a time of poverty, with us, particularly oppressive. My commission under Government had expired about the 1st of August, 1834, and from that time until the 1st of October, 1835, more than one year, I had no public business by which I earned any thing, and before the printing of the Register, my funds were nearly exhausted.

I constantly kept an account of my receipts and expenditures, and on the 19th of December, 1834, at my particular request, the missionaries made themselves acquainted with our pecuniary affairs. After an examination to their satisfaction, at a meeting convened for the purpose, they certified that they found in my hands only one hundred and sixty-two dollars, besides the furniture, &c., necessary for house-keeping—more than when I became a missionary, seventeen years before. Out of this small sum, too, my printing had to be paid for. The examination of the condition of my secular affairs by my missionary brethren, as above stated, was requested, in the hope that a development of our wants would elicit relief; but such was not the result, and a painful anxiety respecting support was continued.

Between the sub-agent for the Shawanoes and the Methodist missionaries was not much cordiality. The same had been the case with the preceding sub-agent. Out of this circumstance, and through the influence of some mischievous white men, six chiefs and principal men of the Shawanoes were induced to apply to the agent for the removal of the missionaries, at the same time declaring that they were opposed to the education of their children, and other missionary operations. It was not known that they had any dislike to the Baptists; but

had their design been successful, the result would have been alike injurious to missions of all denominations. This matter appeared to be assuming a serious aspect, when, after several consultations with the Shawanoe agent, Mr. R. W. Cummins, and agreeably to the request of Mr. Lykins and of a neighbouring Indian agent, I wrote Mr. Herring, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 19, 1835, on the subject; whose answer was quite satisfactory, and all became tranquil.

A few Ottawas were, by this time, located in the Indian territory, and Mr. Meeker having acquired a knowledge of their language, and still desiring to labour for that tribe, we had made application to the Department of Indian Affairs for the formal authority requisite in such cases to establish a mission among them. About the 1st of February, 1835, we received, through the excellent Dr. Chapin, President of Columbian College, and who was at all times ready to promote the interests of our missions, information of the success of our application.

Soon after we circulated the Annual Register of Indian Affairs, in the hope that it would awaken so much attention to Indian matters as to allow us to be heard on those subjects. We wrote to sundry correspondents, especially editors of religious periodicals, pleading our want of more missionaries, and in proof of this, referring to the facts stated in the Register. But we had the mortification of classing this extra effort with many other unsuccessful ones of a similar character.

March 2d, 1835, our daughter, Mrs. Givens, who had long lingered in a consumption, died in our house. This was another heavy stroke. She was the eighth child of which we had been bereaved. But our griefs were much assuaged by the confident belief that she had followed her kindred to eternal rest. Among those left to mourn her loss were an affectionate husband and an infant daughter. The former survived only a few months, in which time his health was firm; he professed to become a disciple of the Lord Jesus, and was suddenly called away from earth.

It has been noticed that when Mr. Lykins visited Mr. Lewis, in the latter part of the year 1833, the latter was in deep affliction on account of sickness, and that the affairs of the mission were not a little deranged. Mr. Lewis recovered his health, but appeared daily to diverge from the path of a circumspect missionary. Notwithstanding the frequent admonitions given him to the contrary, he became more indiscreet and reckless in the management of his secular affairs. He created debts, and drew upon the board without authority. The board paid his

drafts, until fidelity to those who had made them the almoners of their munificence forbid it, and a draft of five hundred dollars was protested. About this time he manifested an aberration of mind bordering on insanity. He left the missionary station, and spent some time in the white settlements in the State of Arkansas, having left the work of a missionary, but still professing to be a gospel minister. Finally, he made a journey to Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, and informed Mr. H. Miller, who had been in the habit of accommodating the board and its missionaries in moneyed matters, that he had come to sell a draft on the board for five hundred dollars, for the benefit of himself, and another for Mr. Davis, of the same amount, not having been able, on account of the scarcity of money in the Indian country, to get his drafts cashed. Mr. Miller, who had not yet heard of his disorderly deportment, and not doubting his being, as formerly, the missionary of the board, advanced him one thousand dollars. Lewis had left Cincinnati a few days only, when Mr. Miller received intelligence of his apostacy. He was followed to New-Orleans, but escaped; having subjected himself to an execrable memory, and inflicted a deep wound upon the cause of religion and missions. It had occasioned great satisfaction, and often great boldness, in the face of opposition, to be able to state that, among the many who had quit the missionary field, none had wounded the cause of religion by infidelity in pecuniary matters. Now we were confounded, and the enemy seemed to say, triumphantly, "Aha, so would we have it."

Soon after Lewis had left the missionary station, and before his final apostacy, the Rev. David B. Rollin and Mrs. Rollin, Miss Rice, and Miss Colburn, arrived at the Creek station, under appointments to missionary service from the board. This was a welcome arrival to Mr. Davis, who was still at his post, contending with the superadded difficulties occasioned by the recent apostacy.

Mr. Rollin and the female missionaries reached the Creek country in December, 1834. The affairs of the mission again became prosperous. A few disorderly members of the church were excluded, other backsliders were reclaimed, and a fresh impetus seemed to be given to the operations of the mission; public worship became well attended, and a small school was resumed. After a few months, Miss Rice, on account of impaired health, and with the advice of the board, retired from the Indian territory, and some time afterwards became located at the station at Sault de St. Marie.

In 1834, Mr. O'Brien, missionary among the Cherokees, died, leaving Mrs. O'Brien in charge of a large family of children. The board extended to her some pecuniary assistance, after the decease of her husband, but she soon left the Indian country.

Rev. J. Aldrich, by appointment of the board, succeeded Mr. O'Brien in the occupancy of the station. He, like his predecessor, became ripe for heaven soon after the commencement of his labours in the Indian territory. He died in 1835. A short time previous to his death, the Rev. Chandler Curtis, under an appointment of the board, reached the station, and became temporarily associated with Mr. Aldrich, and on the death of the latter, was left alone in charge of the station.

In 1834, the Rev. Joseph Smedley and Mrs. Smedley, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, reached the Choctaw country, to fill the vacancy in the station occasioned by the resignation of the Rev. Mr. Wilson. Mr. Smedley was appointed United States' school teacher, and received for his support a salary from the United States' Government of five hundred dollars per annum.

About the beginning of 1835, Mr. Ramsay D. Potts and Mrs. Potts reached the Choctaw country, and he was appointed by the United States' Government a school teacher, with a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum. Hence he supported himself without cost to the board of missions. The reader will recollect that Mrs. Potts had been associated with the missionaries at Carey and Thomas, and that she was united to Mr. Potts in marriage while the latter was United States' Indian agent, and a boarder in the mission family. Mr. P. was not at that time a professor of religion, and on account of the marriage connection, her relation to the board, as a missionary, was necessarily changed. It was therefore doubly gratifying to us now to have them both associated with us in the work of missions in the Indian territory.

In the same year, 1835, Dr. Alanson Allen and Mrs. Allen entered the Choctaw country, and he was also favoured with an appointment from the Department of Indian Affairs as school teacher, with a salary, which he applied to his support, of five hundred dollars a year. Doctor Allen, being a physician, has afforded great relief to the afflicted Choctaws around him.

About the same time, also, the Rev. E. Tucker and Mrs. Tucker arrived, and he received a similar appointment, as a school teacher for Choctaws, with a salary of the same amount ;

so that these stations were all sustained without cost to the funds which benevolence provided for missionary purposes.

March 1st, 1835, the first number of a semi-monthly newspaper, printed at the Shawanoe mission house, in the Shawanoe language, was issued. This was the first newspaper ever published exclusively in an Indian language. It was entitled *Shawau-nowe Kesauthwau*, [Shawanoe Sun.] It was small, only a quarter sheet, was written upon the new system, and edited by Mr. Lykins. The disadvantages under which it was prepared for the press were great, and the labour considerable; which accounts for its diminutive size.

Many of the Shawanoes had, by this time, become readers of their own language, and in this periodical they soon took a deep interest, and sometimes contributed matter for it from their own pens. These writers were adults, who lately had been wholly ignorant of letters in any language, and who had recently learned to read and write their own. This they had done without regular attendance on instruction, which, in their circumstances, could only be imparted by occasional visits. The facility with which they acquired a knowledge of reading, and some of them of writing, was alone attributable to the simplicity of the new system.

It will be recollected that in 1830 we made some arrangements with the United States' agent for Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas, for the establishment of missions among them. After that time, Mr. Merrill located among the Otoes. In our efforts to obtain missionaries, a gentleman in the State of Indiana consented to become a missionary to the Omahas; the board approved him, and we obtained for him an appointment from the Government as school teacher. His salary as teacher would have relieved the board of all expense for his support; but, to our great mortification, he afterwards declined entering upon missionary labours.

Feeling the importance of introducing the new system of writing among the tribes as early as possible, in order that they might become capable of reading religious tracts and other useful prints, an effort was made in reference to this subject among the Creeks and Choctaws. In November, 1834, Mr. Lykins, with the consent of the board, wrote to Mr. Davis, among the Creeks, inviting him to come to the Shawanoe station, for the purpose of preparing some prints on the new system, which he might introduce among his people. A similar request was also made of the Choctaw missionary. Mr. Davis, in compliance

with the request, started on the journey to the Shawanoe station; but the distance being about three hundred miles, through a country mostly open prairie, and with scarcely any inhabitants, and the weather becoming exceedingly cold, he was induced to turn back.

On the 1st of April, 1835, the request was renewed, and an express was sent to Mr. Davis, with our communication. The subject was also presented to the consideration of brethren Rollin, Smedley, Potts, and Aldrich, suggesting the propriety of their introducing the new system among the people of their respective charges.

On the 2d of May Mr. Davis arrived, accompanied by the Choctaw. They remained at the Shawanoe station about three months; in which time Mr. Davis and Mr. Lykins compiled a school book in Choctaw, and translated into that language the Gospel of John, both of which were printed. Also, Mr. Lykins, with the assistance of the Choctaw, compiled a book in that language, which was also printed by Mr. Meeker, all upon the new system.

These Indian brethren were furnished with a small wagon, in which they transported their books to their respective places. Mr. Davis, on his return, had the mortification to find the introduction of his books into use among his people opposed by the Rev. Mr. ———, a missionary of another denomination in his immediate neighbourhood, who had formed an unfavourable opinion of the utility of the system. Mr. Davis, however, succeeded so far as to make an experiment, which fully satisfied him and others interested that the utility of the system, should it be fairly tried, would far exceed their first anticipations.

The book in Choctaw was not brought into use. While it was preparing for the press, we received information that the moral character of the Choctaw had been impeached by reports among his own people. The board, at our instance, discontinued him in their employ, after the expiration of one year. The honour of religion seemed to require this for the present, though we were not in possession of evidence that he was blameable; it was, therefore, deemed expedient that, for the purpose of inquiring into this matter, of giving permanency to the operations of some other stations, and of promoting in various ways our missionary matters generally in the Arkansas and Red river countries, I should visit those regions. But this design failed, through the pressure of other business. The Choctaw brother was, not long afterwards, called to the other world.

For some months, we were so embarrassed for want of the means of support, that Mrs. McCoy and I both laboured hard with our own hands, whenever the imperious calls of missionary labour would admit. I endeavoured to procure bread by cultivating a little land. About the 1st of June, 1835, our necessities became so great, that I was compelled to post books for a neighbouring store, in order to earn a little money to meet our pressing wants. We also took a few persons to board, for the same purpose. This was turning our time into a channel very different from that in which the whole current of our feelings had run for the last eighteen years, and one which rendered us very unhappy. Our unhappiness was increased, on account of the pressing necessity which existed for missionary labours. We were at this time pleading with the Baptist denomination to send us twenty missionaries, all of whom, we believed, could immediately enter upon labours of much promise. To be compelled, at such a juncture as this, to lose time in labouring for bread, could not be otherwise than distressing to us. Moreover, in the department of the missionary enterprise in which it had been deemed expedient that I should employ my time for the last seven or eight years, no one, either of the Baptist or of any other religious denomination, was labouring. We struggled on in this way for a while, when we resolved to abandon all business which should materially interrupt our missionary labours, and that we would not depart from this course until, for the procurement of that which was indispensable to the support of life, we had consumed the last article of furniture or property which was necessary to common convenience in living.

Miss Mary Walton, who, under an appointment from the board, spent a few months at the Thomas station, while it was in charge of Mr. Meeker and Mr. Slater, was compelled, by want of health, to return to New-England. Subsequently, she became the wife of Mr. Blanchard, who returned with her to the Delaware station in June, 1835. They were accompanied by Miss Sylvia Case, who was not at that time a member of the Baptist church. Subsequently, she was baptized, and, at the request of the missionaries, was appointed to missionary service by the board.

CHAPTER XIX.

Boarding schools. Ordination of a missionary. Indian hostilities. Journey to Washington. Boundaries of Arkansas. Ottawa treaty; important amendment in favour of the Thomas station. Putawatomic delegation. Cherokee treaty. Fruitless effort to effect a better treaty. Bill for the organization of the Indian territory. Indian notion of religion. Sickness. Journey to Indiana. Appointment of missionaries to the Creeks. Missionaries leave the Creek country.

Our operations at the respective stations, within the Indian territory, were far less successful than they had been at Carey, in Michigan, before that station was materially injured by the proximity of a white population. This disparity was owing to the want of flourishing schools. *There* we had a large number of scholars boarding at the mission house, and, besides imparting religious instruction to them, we found access, on their account, to their relatives and acquaintances; and, moreover, the education of their children, and their instruction in manual labour, and their improvement in comfort and in manners, were all benefits which were obvious to the Indians—not delayed, or left to the uncertainty of the future, but promptly put into their possession. They felt that they had undoubted evidence that we were both willing and able to help them. *Here*, within the Indian territory, we have not had schools of a character to produce these desirable results.

After the seat of the board of missions was located in Boston, the acting members manifested an unyielding aversion to boarding schools. First, they were objected to on account of the expense attending them; and secondly, because the proper work of the missionary was spiritual, and a boarding school would involve too much of that which was secular. The missionaries viewed the subject differently; they supposed it would be really a saving of expense; because, by having a few scholars *boarded*, many others could be obtained, who would be chiefly supported by their parents, and the success of schools would have a tendency to increase the number of attendants generally upon religious instruction, and in every way would add to the usefulness of the missionary; so that a few upon this plan would accomplish more for the benefit of the Indians, than a much greater number without schools, and the difference in this respect would make the imparting of a given amount of

benefit to the Indians less expensive to the board than could otherwise be accomplished. With regard to the spirituality of the work, all agreed that the ultimate object of our labours was to get the Indians to heaven; but we supposed that if a missionary, by encountering the labours of a school, and especially of a boarding school, could secure the attention of ten persons to religious instruction, for one without the school, that he ought to indulge no scruples about the spirituality of his work.

Boarding schools are exceedingly burdensome to missionaries; by them their toils and anxieties are often increased three or four fold: hence some missionaries have appeared too ready to admit the doctrines of the board, that boarding schools were incompatible with true missionary labours; but those who have been unwilling to waste their time, but desired that it should be so employed as to produce the greatest possible amount of good, have generally felt the importance of boarding schools. They are, however, only indispensable in the savage state of the Indians; as they improve in civilization, the necessity for them diminishes until it disappears, and the improved condition of the Indians will allow schools to operate upon the same principles that they do among other civilized people, and when attention to religious instruction can be secured by the same means that it is in Christian lands.

Schools were opened among the Shawanoes and Delawares, but few of these people sufficiently appreciated education to compel their children to attend from their homes any longer than they chose to do so. Moreover, few were either so comfortably or so decently clothed as to make it pleasant for them to attend school. This was even an obstacle to Sunday schools. The board was, therefore, often entreated to allow a few scholars to be supported in the mission families, and that a small amount of means might be allowed to enable them to give one meal a day to children who should attend school from their homes, and occasionally a garment to one who could not attend without it. Among the Shawanoes and Delawares it was the more necessary, because the Methodists in the same neighbourhood had adopted this course, and the delinquency of the Baptist missions in this respect was greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. In two or three instances, very small sums were allowed by the board for this object, but enough could not be obtained to admit of any systematic or regular course.

While we remained at the Carey station, and before we located there, we kept up an extensive correspondence with the public. The result was, in regard to support for schools, that

donations of bedding and clothing—often second-handed, it was true, but, nevertheless, of great benefit to the Indian youth—were made by benevolent individuals and societies, and some cash was also contributed to the funds of the board, specially for the use of that station. At the same time the missionaries managed their secular affairs so as to contribute much towards support, to which they added their salaries from Government, and completed, during four or five of the last years, the provision necessary to meet the expenses of their operations; and doing so, they assumed to act, in the matter of schools, in accordance with their own views. But now the condition of the missionaries had become different; the acting board at Boston thought it best for contributors to their funds not to specify particular objects to which the donation should be applied, but to leave its application to the discretion of the board, which, being able to take a view of all the missions at the same time, could, as they thought, more certainly apply means to those stations which were most needy; and this desire of the board appeared in print before the public more than once. At the same time, the board requested us not to appeal to the public for help, only as we did it through them. The consequence was, that our missions became more and more shut out from the view of the Christian public. The amount of donations in clothing, books, cash, &c., for the Indians, diminished until scarcely any thing was thus received.

We were distressed, also, because very much was lost for want of missionaries to fill favourable openings which we had with much labour provided in different places, and in which support, as teachers of schools, could be obtained from the Government of the United States. In view of these things, in the summer of 1835, most of the missionaries became much discouraged; and on the 27th of June, Messrs. Lykins, Simerwell, and Meeker, united in requesting the board to direct me to travel a few months as an agent, to collect clothing and other articles for the support of schools, and to enlist missionaries, and generally to give information of the condition of Indian missions, in the hope that they would be better sustained. The objects sought, it was believed, would be obtained without the loss of a dollar of contribution to missions in foreign lands, and without diminishing the number of applicants for foreign missionary service. The board were distinctly informed that the agency would be performed without cost to them. The missions being reported as being under the patronage of the board, it was necessary that an agency of this kind should be under its authority,

and its *approbation* was all that was asked for; but, to our grief, this was withheld. The cause we well understood to be the groundless fear which they had long indulged, that Indian missions would be made to attract so much attention, that a proper share of public munificence would not be left for foreign missions.

Dr. Bolles's letter, in answer to the above request, was written with studied respect, and it contained the following resolution of the Board :

“In reference to a visit to Washington during the next winter, if, in his, (Mr. McCoy's) judgment, the interests of the Indians require it, he is hereby authorized to go thither, for the promotion of those interests; and that the expenses of the journey be defrayed by the board.”

Our next hope was, that we might find some others who felt sufficient interest in Indian missions to induce them, in their journeyings, to give a clear exposition of their affairs, and prevail upon the board to appoint them as agents. With this view, and even in the hope that their labours might be made further useful in the cause of missions, a correspondence was opened with the Rev. Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Mr. Duncan, both worthy men, in the State of Missouri. The former visited the Indian country, and at one time seemed strongly inclined to enlist as a missionary, but all ended in disappointment.

On the 18th of October, 1835, Mr. Lykins was ordained to the work of the gospel ministry.

For two years little had been done by the Government for the benefit of the Indians, and we had occasion to regret many occurrences which, it seemed, originated in the deranged state of their affairs. About the first of December, a party of ten or twelve Delawares returned from a hunting expedition, with eleven scalps. They reported that they had detected twelve Pawnees in the act of stealing their horses, and attacked them; that the Pawnees fled, and endeavoured to shelter themselves in a hollow place in the earth, from which only one was allowed to escape, and him they let go to tell the bloody story to his people.

In December, 1835, the second number of the Annual Register of Indian Affairs was published, and the expense defrayed by the board. On the 8th of January, 1836, I again set off for Washington. My health had been poor for some time, and my circumstances, in regard to support for my family, were distressing; the board would meet my travelling expenses only.

I greatly dreaded to repeat this long journey in so uncomfortable a season of the year; but urged by some of the Indians, by my missionary brethren, and by others whose opinions were entitled to respect, I complied. The following note is found in our journals: "Mrs. McCoy consented to take the management of our little matters at home, under great disadvantages, in order that I might go, because the interests of the cause, to the promotion of which we have consecrated our lives, obviously required it. So many bereaving providences and deep afflictions have occurred in my absence from home, that I hardly could summon fortitude to start. I set off with a heavy heart; but I durst not omit what appeared to be duty, merely because the performance of it would be attended with inconvenience. When realizing fatigue, hunger, and cold, I have endeavoured to bear in mind that I was labouring for the benefit of people in far worse condition. I have reflected on the awful responsibilities which devolved upon me in relation to them, commending my family to the mercy of my God, and praying for success on our poor yet best efforts to promote the welfare of an afflicted and almost friendless people." On this journey, in crossing the Ohio river on the ice in the night, I fell, and injured my right shoulder; from which I never fully recovered. In exceedingly cold weather, I travelled three weeks on horseback before I reached a stage that was running.

By a treaty with the Cherokees, in 1828, the Territory of Arkansas had been curtailed on its western side forty miles, to make room for the location of immigrant Creeks and Cherokees. This arrangement was not altogether satisfactory to the citizens of that Territory, and afterwards, when they formed a State Constitution, a hope seemed to exist that this tract, forty miles wide, might some day be restored to the State. Some of the boundaries of the State, in the parts affecting this matter, were described in rather ambiguous terms, and a "Declaration," which required the action of Congress, and which accompanied the Constitution, provided that when the Indian title to a tract on the west of the State (embracing the said tract of forty miles in width) should be extinguished, the same should belong to the State of Arkansas. Had Congress sanctioned this provision, it would have seemed that the removal of the Indians from this country had been contemplated.

These movements in the Convention in Arkansas gave great uneasiness to some of the Indians, and to their friends. It appeared to be laying a foundation for future difficulties, similar to those existing between the State of Georgia and the Chero-

kees, and it was well calculated to prevent the improvement of those tribes, and, indeed, of all the tribes in the territory, by compelling them to feel that they were not secure in their present possessions. A communication on this subject, from a gentleman in the Indian country, reached Washington about the 20th of March, 1836, and was placed in my hands. The causes of alarm were immediately communicated to some influential members of Congress, and also a definite description of the boundaries between the whites and the Indians. Happily, these measures, which would have thrown doubt around the permanency of Indian settlement, were defeated.

About this time the Government desired to extinguish the title of the Ottawas, and of some of the Chippewas north of them, to a large tract of country in the northwestern part of the Territory of Michigan, and a delegation from La Arbacroche, on Lake Michigan, was induced to visit Washington on this business. The main body of the Ottawas was on Grand river and in its vicinity, and these strongly objected to selling any of their country. Twice they met in council, near the Thomas missionary station, and each time resolved that their country should not be sold. But being informed that the delegation from La Arbacroche would probably cede away the whole without the consent of the nation, they resolved to send a delegation to Washington to prevent it. In order to appear aloof, as far as possible, from any thing that would look like making a treaty, they selected for all the members of the delegation, excepting one, such men as were not chiefs, and who consequently were incompetent to treat. For the assistance of this delegation in *preventing* the cession of their country to the United States, Mr. Slater was requested to accompany them. If these Ottawas could have been induced to go west to a permanent home, the extinguishment of their claims in Michigan could not have been regretted, provided it were done by fair and honourable means. But it was pretty soon discovered that a design existed among those who would have much influence in fixing the terms of the treaty, to induce them to sell so much of the country as to secure large annuities, &c., and then keep them still in Michigan, circumscribed to lands reserved for that purpose; and as all knew that the proximity of white inhabitants would soon compel them to leave these reservations, it evidently appeared that a permanent home for them was not contemplated, but that they were expected to be removed northwestward, up the lakes.

If these plans should prove successful, the effect would be: the Ottawas would be detained in Michigan a few years, more

crowded and injured by a white population than they had been previously; their deterioration would daily become more rapid, and then another treaty would be demanded, for the extinguishment of their claims to these reservations. These treaties were looked to by many hangers-on about the Indians as times when large sums of money could be obtained under the title of *claims*, or something else. And lastly, they would follow these degenerating Ottawas up the lakes to their new homes, for the sake of fleecing them of their annuities.

Pending the negotiation, the delegation, which was accompanied by Mr. Slater, presented, through him, to the Commissioner, a written communication, signed by all the chiefs of Grand river, excepting one who happened to be absent, remonstrating against the ceding of any portion of their country. As usual on treaty-making occasions, many of those hangers-on noticed above were present, expecting to profit by the treaty. These appeared to be much offended at Mr. Slater, who was supposed to influence his delegation to persevere in their objections to a sale of their country. On the 24th of March, Mr. Slater came to me, apparently much distressed, and solicited my advice respecting the course he should pursue. I entreated him to remain faithful to the obligations he had come under to the Ottawas in council before he left home. It had been intimated to him that if the treaty could be effected, provision could be made for him of several thousand dollars. I entreated him to reject every such wicked offer; reminded him that missionaries, who generally exercised great influence over the Indians, could many a time have enriched themselves, as traders and many others had often done, by inducing certain treaty stipulations for land or money, but that they had never stooped to accept of a personal favour of one dollar, and that such an act would be far beneath the piety of the Christian and the honourable high-mindedness of the missionary. In these sentiments he appeared most heartily to concur. I advised him to write immediately to the President of the United States, stating the circumstances of the unwillingness of the Ottawas to sell any land, and to send him a copy of the remonstrance submitted to the Commissioner. He requested me to write the form of such a communication as I thought ought to go to the President. This I did, but it was not submitted; and, to my extreme grief and mortification, the treaty was concluded, and signed by the very delegation that was sent to Washington *to prevent it*.

Mr. Slater's plan now appeared to be to take as many Ottawas as would follow him, and purchase land with his money, and

their annuities, within the white settlements, and there form a settlement of Indians. To enable him to do this, an article was inserted in the treaty, which resulted in placing in his hands six thousand four hundred dollars. His plan has been carried out, and he has a settlement of Ottawas, consisting of about one hundred and forty souls, around him, in the State of Michigan. To heads of families, respectively, are assigned small farm lots, perhaps twenty acres. He has a school, and continues to impart religious instruction to the people of his charge. While it is hoped that his desire and efforts to do good to the Ottawas, and the matters of his settlement, will result in his satisfaction, his missionary brethren think that he has erred so as to require them, for the present, to suspend the usual attachments of their fraternity.

Mr. Slater had never concurred with us in our views of securing to the Indians a permanent home in the West. We commenced the establishment on Grand river, in the hope that, during its continuance, its influence would bear in favour of that measure; but, from the time Mr. Slater arrived his influence was thrown into the other end of the scale. During his residence at the station, several Ottawas made profession of religion, who were believed to be genuinely pious. With this exception, it is thought that it would have been better for the Ottawas if the station had been discontinued about the time we closed our affairs at Carey.

The experience of two hundred years has shown to every body, that Indians cannot prosper on small tracts of country, surrounded by people of other colour, other prejudices, and other interests. If Mr. Slater's people should become the owners of land, others will contrive to bring them in debt, and get possession of their lands, with whatever improvements may have been made thereon. It will be seen presently, that subsequent arrangements made it necessary for the Ottawas, excepting such as might have purchased land and settled as citizens, to leave that country in the course of five years from the date of the treaty. About the time that the Ottawas shall be urged to leave the country, it will not be surprising if Mr. Slater's settlement of Indians should increase for the moment. For various reasons, some will be inclined to remain in the country, and this settlement will furnish an opportunity for them to do so. On this account, the formation of the settlement is greatly to be regretted, because it will be keeping them from a comfortable and a secure home, which has been provided for them in the Indian territory, and, judging from the history of the past, they

will, during their stay, be sinking deeper and deeper in degradation and wretchedness.

Seeing that the treaty was likely to be made in such a form that the Ottawas would be kept in an unsettled state, I visited the Secretary of War, and entreated him to order things more favourably. He desired me to visit the Commissioner who was negotiating the treaty, and communicate my views and wishes to him. This I declined. I wrote the Commissioner, and requested that, in the treaty, provision should be made to remunerate the board for the expenses they had incurred in erecting missionary buildings, &c. The treaty, when made, provided that the value of the improvements should be paid to the board; but as those improvements had been made in early times, under great disadvantages, it was not to be expected that the bare valuation of them at this time would be a fair remuneration; I therefore visited each member of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate of the United States, and told them the story, and desired them to so modify the treaty that, in lieu of the value of the improvements, the board should be allowed the *nett proceeds of the sale of one hundred and sixty acres of land*, embracing the improvements. In the mean time, the board, at my request, forwarded, to my charge, a memorial on the same subject. This, with a written communication of my own, came before the Committee. The result was, the treaty was amended as we had requested. And it was also further amended, by which provision was made for the Ottawas to take a permanent residence in the Indian territory, after the expiration of five years. This latter was an unwelcome amendment to many. The treaty provided that very large sums of money should be paid to the Ottawas, or in various ways expended in reference to them; and it was the wish of many to keep them in the regions of the lakes, receding constantly from the advancing settlements of the white man, becoming poorer and fewer, and more degraded every day, and consequently more easily cheated out of their money.

White settlements had by this time approached within a fourth of a mile of the mission premises, and the value of the land allowed for the remuneration of the expenses of the board was *very considerable*, though it has not yet been realized. This we pledged ourselves, both in the memorial of the board and in my communication, should all be applied to the benefit of the Ottawas, for educational and other missionary purposes in future. Many considerations having caused me to feel a deep interest in the welfare of the Ottawas, I was exceedingly

gratified to find some very objectionable features in the treaty corrected by the Senate, especially such as would have subjected them to a lingering decline as a people, while the merciless crew which hover about Indians who have money coming to them, like buzzards about a carcass, would pick them bare.

Besides the two delegations from Michigan, which were in Washington at this time, there was another from the Putawatomies, a people nearly allied to the Ottawas and Chippewas. These latter came to plead with the Government to allow them to remain on the northeast side of the Missouri river. The poor creatures had misapprehended the country which had been provided for them by treaty, and were praying for the privilege of remaining on the northeast side of the Missouri, in a tract of country from which, if their request had been granted, they would soon have been crowded by white population. By treaty, a place had been assigned them high up on the Missouri, on the same side, by persons who did not understand the character of the country. On many accounts, it was desirable that they should not be located there, particularly because *there* their residence would not be permanent. Measures were introduced with a view of locating them at once in a suitable country within the Indian territory. In the promotion of these measures, the Hon. John Tipton, United States' Senator from the State of Indiana, took an active part. But action was unaccountably delayed, and the Putawatomies for the present remained in their encampment unsettled.

On the 23d of May, 1836, the famous, or as it has been called by many, the *infamous* treaty with the Cherokees was ratified. The carrying into effect of the conditions of this treaty resulted in the entire removal of that tribe from the east to the west of the Mississippi. It had been negotiated in the autumn of 1835, by the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn and General William Carroll, commissioners on the part of the United States. General Carroll endorsed the treaty, though he had been unable to attend the negotiations. A delegation from a small minority of the nation accompanied Mr. Schermerhorn to Washington, and at the same time a delegation from the majority appeared, who declared that the treaty had not been made with the *Cherokee nation*, or by its authority, but with a small, unauthorized minority.

It is not my business, in this place, to give the history of the "Cherokee case," as it has been emphatically styled. It would, of itself, form a large volume; and is referred to for the sake of a few facts only. Both delegations of Cherokees were composed

of men of sound judgment, and both were averse to removal. The party which had signed the treaty said they had acted under the influence of necessity in choosing between two evils which hung over their nation. Notwithstanding their removal was a severe oppression, they believed that far greater evils would follow if they refused to go. The majority appeared to rely upon the intrinsic justness of their cause. They made good their plea by exhibiting the names of many thousands who declared the treaty to have been unauthorized.

It was somewhat to the disadvantage of the majority that they had more names to their memorials than there were persons in the nation of sufficient age to understand them. Nevertheless, nothing need be more plain than that the treaty had not really been made by the proper authorities of the Cherokee nation; and hence, upon principles of strict justice in the case, few, if any, could possibly believe that the treaty ought to be ratified by the Government. But what could be done? Most of the Cherokee country had already been surveyed, and the ownership of that which lay within the State of Georgia had, by the laws of that State, become vested in individual citizens, and the period had been fixed when each should be authorized to take possession of his lot, at which time a fearful scene of misery and bloodshed must take place, the very thought of which was sickening to every mind. In vain was the inquiry made, Have the citizens of the States interested in Cherokee lands become so corrupt that they will force the Cherokees from lands they have never legally alienated? The answer was, It is not that those citizens have *become corrupt*—it is the effect of a *corrupt policy* which existed among the whites before the formation of our Government, and was entailed upon it by that Government which preceded ours; a corruption which has prevailed in all the States of the Union, and has resulted in either ridding them of an Indian population, or of subjecting the Indians to a servility and degradation more hurtful to man than African slavery;* a corruption by which every State has not only been influenced within its own jurisdiction, but which they have unitedly authorized in the States in question.

Equally vain was the inquiry, Cannot our General Government protect the Cherokees from oppression by their nearer white neighbours? The answer, in capitals, presented itself to every man, NO. Who among the citizens of the United States are willing to shed their blood and treasure in defence of *Indian*

* Negro slaves, under all their hardships, are prolific. The Indians within the States rapidly diminish in number.

rights, when not one State has admitted that they possessed the rights in question? But suppose other States should enforce upon the State of Georgia a more righteous policy than they had themselves respectively exercised towards their Indians, how would those States resist the claims of Indian tribes which would pour in upon them, for lands illegally taken from them? claims not in the least differing from those of the Cherokees. That no such effort would be made, or could be made, in defence of the claims of the Cherokees, was obvious to every well informed unprejudiced mind among the citizens of the United States. The alternative, therefore, lay between ratifying a treaty which, in itself considered, nobody believed ought to be ratified, or in leaving the Cherokees to *perish* under the miseries which would soon be forced upon them.

In this painful dilemma, the resolution was formed by a few to make another effort to procure a treaty which should be less unfair, and less obnoxious to the Cherokees as a nation. Such a proposition could not emanate from the Executive, because it would imply a doubt respecting the existing treaty, incompatible with its ultimate enforcement, should circumstances require it; but, under the impression that but one opinion respecting the unfairness of the existing treaty prevailed in the hearts of our citizens, and that any thing better would be readily adopted by the Government, the responsibility was assumed, by some individuals, of approaching the delegation from the main body of the Cherokees, at the head of which was Mr. John Ross, who was a man of superior talents. In the management of this matter, a Senator of the United States, than whom none understood Indian affairs better, took the lead. The matter was kept within a confidential circle. Several interviews with Mr. Ross, or with individuals of his delegation, took place, and for a few days matters seemed to promise a happy issue; and it was hoped that Mr. Ross and his party would yield to the necessity of the case, as a few of the nation had already done, make a better bargain than the former, and secure some alleviation of the sufferings of their people. It was hoped that a treaty would be made which would harmonize the feelings and action of the two parties, which the existing treaty had created among the Cherokees. None, indeed, on the part of the Government, had been authorized to treat; but what was wanted was to know if the Cherokees would agree to certain terms, to which it was believed the Government would consent, in preference to the enforcement of the terms of the existing treaty. But somewhat suddenly, and for reasons not easily conjectured, the Cherokees

manifested an unwillingness to make a treaty, until the existing one should be declared null and void. This the Government could not do, without the probability of opening the door to all the calamities which would attend the taking of the Cherokee country by force of arms, by their white neighbours. All hope of obtaining a treaty less uncongenial to the feelings of good men having vanished, the treaty was ratified by the Senate in the course of a day or two.

Of all others, this was the most favourable time for the Cherokees to have made their bargain relative to removal. Why they did not avail themselves of the opportunity, was rather unaccountable, unless we suppose that, as the treaty had been long before the Senate, and was not yet ratified, it was thought that it might possibly be rejected. If this was the hope of the delegation, it is probable it was prompted by men who were capable of giving them better advice—not for the benefit of the Cherokees, but to answer some political purpose. It is believed that that delegation, if left to its own good sense, possessed too much information to form such a vague conjecture.

A subsequent effort in Congress developed the probability that the Cherokees had been induced to hope that, even if the Senate should ratify the treaty, the House of Representatives would withhold an appropriation to carry it into effect, and that it would be rendered inoperative, for want of means, on the part of the Executive. An effort, doubtless with more apparent vigour than sincerity, was indeed made to withhold the requisite appropriation. It afforded a favourable occasion for party invective, and, to a stranger to Indian affairs, it might have appeared, from the long lists of bitter complaints of the cruelties recently exercised towards the Cherokees, that the whole design of the treaty would be thwarted by a very large majority; but when the vote was taken, the poor Cherokees learned that although party zeal *ran high*, the streams of sympathy and regard for the Indians *were low*, and that their real friends were not to be distinguished by the lines which divided political disputants. An overwhelming majority voted for an appropriation to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty.

The bill for the organization of the Indian territory, which had been before Congress the two preceding sessions, was, in the opinion of some who took a deep interest in the matter, very exceptionable in many particulars. To such it was a matter of much consolation, that at this session the bill was so framed as to embrace the subject pretty fairly. A report on the subject of the bill was also made by the Hon. John Tipton, of the

Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate, which presented the matter in a just light. This, it was believed by many, advanced the soundest doctrine, and the most rational argument in favour of ameliorating the condition of the Indians, of any thing of the kind that had emanated from a member of our national legislature. Mr. Tipton acquired great credit for the bill and the accompanying report. Among the other members of the Committee entitled to credit for this document, the name of the Hon. Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, deserves to be known. Of this bill, and the accompanying report, I obtained at my own cost many hundreds of copies, which were distributed in various parts of the United States.

Notwithstanding the reasonableness of the ground taken in favour of the organization of the Indian territory, no law for that object was passed. These delays were, perhaps, not at all on account of objections to the design, but owing to the prevailing indifference to the interests of the Indians. A question of interest to the Indians simply, unattended by other interests, usually received little attention, and was crowded out of the way by other business.

Another obstacle to the passage of the bill, at this time, appeared to be a war that was raging between the Government and the Seminole and Creek Indians. I fully believed that not a little of the distresses of these wars were justly attributable to the misdirected zeal and indiscretion of missionaries, and the societies which patronised them, though among them there were honourable exceptions. They had resolved, if possible, to establish the Cherokees in an independent sovereign government of their own, on the east of the Mississippi; and they had entered upon the work, and followed it up with a zeal which implied a hope of success. The influence of the society most conspicuous in this affair was very great, and caused newspapers to teem with matter in favour of the object of their wishes; books were printed, and the tables in Congress were loaded with memorials. The Indians had among and about them those who communicated intelligence of these efforts, and the poor creatures were deluded into the hope that they could remain a little civil government *within a government*. The matter was never fairly explained to them; they were taught to attribute their misfortunes to an unkind disposition of the President of the United States, and not, as would have been proper, to a ruinous policy enforced by all the States.

Of evils which cannot be remedied, we ought to choose the least; and it would have, indeed, been an act of greater kindness

to those poor Indians, to have informed them that necessity would compel them to go west, that neither the President nor the Congress of the United States had power to prevent it, and therefore they ought to make the best possible arrangement for doing so, rather than to cherish false hopes of repose within the States.

On no occasion had it appeared more necessary for judicious efforts to be made for the promotion of Indian interests, than on the present. In aid of these matters, the Rev. Dr. B. T. Welch visited Washington, and manifested not only a laudable zeal for the welfare of the almost friendless Indians, but also great sympathy for some poor anxious missionaries, who felt as though they were labouring almost single-handed.

In the month of April, 1836, I made a hasty visit to New-York, to confer with Mr. Cone on the matters of our missions. One object of this tour was to prepare the way for the insertion in public prints, of such Congressional and other documents as were calculated to enlighten the public mind on the subject of Indian affairs, and to promote a healthful action in relation to them. While at Washington, I made application to the Department of Indian Affairs for the requisite authority for Mr. Simerwell to prosecute his missionary labours among the Putawatomies, and for Mr. Rollin to be appointed school teacher among the Creeks; but the latter took a view of this matter different from others, and declined the appointment.

Nearly two years had elapsed since I had earned any thing, by services to the Government, for the support of my family. Our embarrassments were well calculated to cause me much distress. During my long separation from my family, under these trying circumstances, Mrs. McCoy was struggling on in our affairs alone. The thought of being compelled to leave our missionary labour when it seemed most needed, merely for the sake of earning bread by some other business, was *intolerable*.

Within the preceding two years, some surveys of boundaries of Indian tribes had been intrusted to me, by which I should have profited in a pecuniary point of view, had not the cause of Indian reform required me to make the present visit to Washington. But the circumstance of leaving home compelled me to intrust the business to another; and, while I was held accountable to the Government for its performance, I derived no benefit from the compensation. It was, indeed, something of a trial of faith to relinquish a business which would have afforded some relief when I was in debt, and daily getting deeper, for the necessaries of life; but, excepting the doubts which arose on

account of our necessities, it appeared evident that I ought to make the journey; and discovering that He who fed the fowls had not abated his care for them, we thought he knew our circumstances, and that it would be safe to trust him in this case.

In the midst of these painful anxieties, on the 13th of June, 1836, some Cherokees from the West demanded of the Government a *patent* for their land, according to treaty provisions. The matter was referred to me by the Secretary of War, and brought pecuniary relief, which allowed me to continue my missionary labours without loss of time. If we except the request of John Quick, the Delaware chief, in 1830, who asked for a patent, but whose request was prompted by another person, this was the first instance of an Indian tribe asking for a patent for their land. It was a measure which we had often urged upon various tribes of Indians, and one to which the Government could have no objections. This tenure is very different from that arising out of treaty stipulations. The latter has been variously construed; the former is unquestionable. We therefore hailed this event as the appearance of another star, indicating the dispersion of the clouds which had obscured the Indians' atmosphere.

For a few days before I left Washington I was sick, during which time the kind attentions which I received from the Rev. Dr. Chapin and his lady, and their amiable sons and daughters, deserves a prominent notice. I returned to the circle of my family the 26th of July, after a separation of nearly seven months.

Mr. Lykins, the preceding winter, while engaged in translating the Gospel by Matthew into the Shawanoe language, had been attacked with a nervous affection of the head, occasioned, perhaps, by too close application to study, which has ever since rendered him almost an invalid. This was a severe drawback upon our missionary operations. The work of writing, reading, and printing, was advancing with increasing interest both to the missionaries and the Indians, when it sustained a sudden check by this affliction. Mr. Meeker, however, proceeded with the work, but had too much upon his hands.

On the 6th and 7th of August, at the request of Mr. Blanchard, I attended at that station among the Delawares, with a view of obviating some difficulties which the prejudices of those people threw in the way of missionary operations. Indians, in their original condition, differ from almost all other heathen, in that they do not worship idols, and have no regularly established system of mythology. This may be chiefly attributed to their

erratic habits in obtaining subsistence by the chase, by fishing, and from the spontaneous productions of the earth—which circumstances almost wholly exclude the existence of *society* among them. True, they have some religious ceremonies, but these are as few as rational man can allow, and their observance very lax. These unmeaning ceremonies have so little influence upon the morals of the people, either for the better or the worse, that we had never found it necessary to inveigh against them, as we would against the worshipping of an idol, and many other abominable practices among other heathen. We had always deemed it sufficient to preach to them the plain truths of the Gospel, and had always found that, in the light of the lamp of life, the trifling character of their ceremonies became so glaring that they were deserted.

Some other missionaries have taken a different view of this matter, and supposed, that as they were among heathen, they must take an avowed stand against all that was heathenish, and that much was accomplished when they could get a party to abandon what they termed the Indian religion, and draw a line between the *Christian* party and the *pagan* party; when, in fact, the appearance of true piety was about as faint in one party as in the other. We hear of a Hindoo renouncing caste, and a Burman forsaking the Pagoda; and because these are justly esteemed encouraging victories of truth, we are inclined to an imitation of them among those who are pupils of *nature* and not of *priestcraft*; not duly considering that the Indian has no more of any thing like religion than he, as a rational being, is obliged to have.

These views had occasioned a neighbouring mission, among the Delawares, to use the distinguishing terms of the *Christian party* and the *heathen party*. This circumstance alarmed the majority of the Delawares. They considered the presence of the missionaries a great evil, if by them their nation was to be divided into *parties*. "The carnal mind is enmity against God" among savages as well as among civilized people; and to this natural aversion to religious truth the Delawares added their objections to preaching in their country, growing out of the evil of creating divisions unnecessarily. They were informed, at our meeting, that it was a part of our business to pray and preach, and that, were we to omit these duties we should be unworthy to teach even their children, and that for such delinquency we should be expelled from the country by the Government and by our Society. The exercise of religion was the

result of choice. All should be at liberty, but none compelled to hear us preach. While we would instruct children in all good things, we would take none of them into our church until capable of understanding and choosing for themselves. We received none into church fellowship until we believed them to be good enough in heart and in life to go to God at death. To such as we esteemed to be good we gave the hand, immersed them in water, and occasionally sat with them at table, to taste bread and wine. All this we did because the book of God required it. Nevertheless, in all the social relations in life, we made no difference between the members of our church and other people. We did not desire to divide the Delawares into parties. The Bible did not require it. Among the whites we had some who were religious and some who were not; but nobody ever thought of describing them as the heathen or sinful party, and the Christian party. On the contrary, we were one people, as citizens and neighbours. We desired the Delawares to remain one people, and ever to be kind and affectionate to one another. They were desired to notice the instruction imparted in schools and by preaching, and were assured that they would never hear any thing that would be hurtful; and that in the nineteen years that we had been preaching to the Indians, and otherwise instructing them, none had pointed out any improper instruction which we had given them. We were happy to find that they imbibed juster notions of the duties of missionaries than those which had lately given them uneasiness, and that they were apparently much gratified to discover their mistake.

Henry Skigget was a Delaware, who had become a member of the church, and who, during three or four years, had manifested a laudable desire to promote the cause of religion among his people. Aware of the advantages which natives possess over others of doing good to the Indians, we encouraged him to greater exertion. On the 30th of August, 1836, we put into his hands some money, &c., to enable him to employ two-thirds of his time in missionary labours, while, for the present, the other third might be employed in matters necessary for the support of his family. In the mean time we recommended him to the board, which gave him an appointment for one year. He was a modest, unassuming young man, and, as we thought, calculated to commend to his countrymen the religion of the Lord Jesus. For reasons, not distinctly understood, he was not reappointed by the board—a circumstance which we regretted—though a hope is still indulged that his services may be obtained.

Mr. Lykins had not entirely recovered from the severe attack of the preceding winter, and Mrs. Lykins was also in bad health. In the hope that travelling would be beneficial, they both set out on a journey to Indiana and Michigan, on the 15th of September. At the same time an important trust was confided to him, relative to the selection of the one hundred and sixty acres of land, the proceeds of which had been secured to missionary purposes by the Ottawa treaty. About this time, also, Mr. Meeker's health became poor, so that he could not work in the printing office, and was not able to do much any place. On account of the afflictions of Mr. Lykins and Mr. Meeker, the operations of the mission among the Shawanoes were in a deplorable condition. Miss Brown, who had accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Merrill to the Otoes, was about this time married to a gentleman not connected with the mission, and of course her connection with it ceased.

In the summer of this year the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Kellam were appointed missionaries, and sent to Arkansas, with the design of strengthening the Creek mission. On account of another cloud of difficulty which appeared to be gathering about the mission, Mr. Kellam stopped in the vicinity of the superintendent, and laboured some months among the Choctaws, and partly in conjunction with Mr. Smedley.

On the 4th of November, 1836, Mr. Rollin and family arrived at our place, having left the Creek country under the following circumstances. A report had been put in circulation that a Mr. I——, a Methodist missionary who taught a school in the Creek nation, had conducted very improperly. This report was seized by three white men, two of whom resided in the Creek country in the character of traders, and the other was married to a Creek woman, and urged upon the Indians as a reason why all the missionaries should be expelled from the Creek country. Mr. Rollin was at this time quietly and successfully prosecuting his missionary labours. The Rev. Mr. Fleming and Dr. Dodge, two Presbyterian missionaries, were located in the vicinity of Mr. Rollin. These three being men of unblemished character, whose reputations could not be reached by such charges as that propagated against Mr. I——, the expedient was resorted to of persuading the Indians, some of whom owned negro slaves, that these missionaries taught the slaves that they were entitled to their freedom. Although the missionaries regretted the existence of slavery in the Indian country, they had prudently forborne to meddle with the subject. Mr. Rollin had been so

scrupulously precise upon this point, that he had refused to teach the slaves to read in his Sunday school, notwithstanding they had often entreated him to instruct them.

On the 31st of August a council of the Creeks was convened, ostensibly for objects unconnected with the present matter. While on the ground, some of the chiefs were taken into the woods, apart from the company, by the three white men alluded to above, and a paper, written by the clerk of one of the traders, was presented to them for their signatures. This purported to be a communication from the chiefs to the commanding officer at Fort Gibson, requesting the immediate removal of all the missionaries from the Creek country, assigning for reasons the crime alleged against Mr. I——, and charging all with the crime of teaching their slaves that they were entitled to liberty. As this sweeping request involved Mr. Rollin and the two Presbyterian missionaries, whom all the Indians believed to be good men, and against whom not the shadow of crime, nor even of indiscretion in the matter of slavery, had been proven, the chiefs shrunk from the act of signing the paper presented to them, and it was some time before the most subtle arguments which mischievous minds could invent induced them to sign the communication. The particulars of this transaction were, soon afterwards, confidentially communicated to us by an eye witness of undoubted veracity, and whose name could not be made known without exposing him to personal injury.

This spurious communication reached the acting superintendent of Creek affairs, who was then at Fort Gibson, and a few days afterwards a letter from him found its way into the Creek country, of which the following is an extract :

“ Fort Gibson, September 9, 1836.

“ *To the missionaries within the Creek Nation :*

“ GENTLEMEN : I enclose you a letter from the chiefs, &c. I am aware that it has always been the object of the Government to encourage and protect missionary labours among the Indian tribes, and I regret that your labours have not been such as to satisfy the Indians. The charges set forth are of such a character that I cannot advise the Indians for your continuance. The fact that Mr. I——, a missionary, &c., [stating the crime of which he was accused,] is so revolting to the sacred character of the missionary cause, that I cannot but deeply regret it. Under the excitement which I know exists among the Creeks,

it is my duty to state to you, frankly, that your situation is not safe. I would therefore hope that you would not add further difficulties by remaining, and that you will see the necessity of withdrawing from the nation.

“ Respectfully, &c.,

“ _____ .

“ To Mr. J—— I——,

“ *And other Missionaries in the Creek Nation.*”

Only one copy of this was sent, and that, it will be perceived, was addressed to Mr. I——, with whom the Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries had no more connection than the author of the communication. It was not even *sent* to Mr. I——, but found its way to Rolly McIntosh, the principal chief of the Creeks; and it had been in his possession some days, when the rumour of its existence reached Messrs. Fleming and Dodge, who called and took a copy of it. Some hundreds of the males of a party of two thousand three hundred Creeks, who had recently emigrated from the seat of the Creek war, on the east of the Mississippi, had been carried to the West *in irons*. Great fear was felt at Fort Gibson that the unkind feelings which these Creeks, just forced from the land of blood, under these grating considerations, would enkindle a war in the Arkansas country. The circumstances were so alarming that the commanding officer at Fort Gibson called on the Governour of the State of Arkansas for military assistance. It was during the existence of such fears as these that the Indians ascertained that the missionaries were without protection. The latter, without delay, left the country. In this they erred. Instead of leaving, they ought to have appeared before the superintendent immediately, and stated to him that they were the agents of respectable societies, peaceably discharging their duties under the authority of the Government, and, as such, claimed his protection as the agent of the Government. This, under a proper appeal, he could not have withheld. The charges had not been investigated, to ascertain whether any one was guilty or innocent; nor were they asked if they had any thing to say in their justification.

Before Mr. Rollin left with his family, the Creeks held a council at his school house, and declared there, in public council, that Mr. Rollin was innocent of all charges implied in their former communication to the superintendent.

The following winter, while I was in Washington, Dr. Bolles,

Corresponding Secretary, under date of February 8th, 1837, requested me to apply to the Department of Indian Affairs for justice to be done to the board and to their missionary, Mr. Rollin. I accordingly addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of which the following is an extract :

“ Washington, D. C., March 8, 1837.

“ SIR : The Rev. Dr. Bolles, Corresponding Secretary, &c., having inquired of you the reasons which induced the expulsion of their missionary, the Rev. D. B. Rollin, from the Creek country, I addressed you, on the 13th of February last, requesting that, agreeably to the desire of Dr. Bolles, your reply to his letter should be communicated to me.

“ I now beg leave, respectfully, to state that I am not aware that any just grounds for the expulsion of Mr. Rollin existed. So far as I have been able to inform myself, he stood perfectly fair. His morals were good, his conduct discreet and unassuming, and his ministry was, in an uncommon degree, successful. I am not aware that any specific charge has been made against him, either by the Indians or any one else. I have seen a paper, signed by chiefs the 31st of August, 1836, in which they say that “ the missionaries told their slaves that they should be free.” Mr. Rollin says that, so far from doing any thing to render their slaves uneasy under their bondage, his course has been precisely the reverse. Though often importuned by slaves, he has refused to teach one of them to read, either in a Sunday school or in any other way.

“ You will perceive that the intercourse law, for the removal from the Indian country of persons *not authorized* to remain there, does not apply to the case of Mr. Rollin. He *was authorized* to stay there, as the agent of the Baptist board of missions, performing labours at a station authorized and patronised by the Government, so long as he conducted himself properly.

“ The operations of the board were so successful that, prior to hearing of the expulsion of Mr. Rollin, it had sent another missionary [Rev. Mr. Kellam] to labour in conjunction with him. A large church, a considerable portion of the members of which are natives, has been deprived of the ordinary benefits of a gospel ministry, by the unfortunate occurrence under consideration. We have no doubt that it is the design of our Government, that all under its control should be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, and under this impression I appeal to your goodness, sir, to give

the subject your favourable consideration. I make this appeal with the more satisfaction because of my *firm belief* that there will be found *no obstacle* to prevent the board of missions from reoccupying their missionary station.

“Please to direct your communication to the Rev. Dr. Bolles, Boston.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ISAAC MCCOY.

“C. A. HARRIS, Esq.,

“*Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*”

The following is an extract of a letter that followed :

“War Department, Office of Indian Affairs, May 12, 1837.

“SIR: Your letter of February 8th, requesting to be furnished with the reasons that induced the removal of Mr. Rollin from the Creek country, was duly received. Several communications were received from Mr. McCoy, on the same subject, during his visit in this city.

“The petition of the chiefs imputed to a missionary in their country a crime which called for his immediate expulsion. As a natural consequence, a feeling of disaffection towards all the missionaries was excited in the minds of the Indians. Looking to the extent and degree of this feeling, the acting superintendent advised them all to withdraw. In approving this advice, it was by no means my intention that all means and efforts to improve the Indians would be abandoned, or that the residence of teachers and missionaries among them would be prohibited. But it seemed obvious that but little good, if any, would be accomplished while the feelings of the Indians were unchanged. Desirous that the stipulations for the benefit of the Indians shall be carried out to their full extent as soon as circumstances will permit, I have this day addressed a letter to —, [the acting superintendent] on this subject, of which I enclose a copy, and which, I trust, will be satisfactory to you and your associates.

“Very respectfully, &c.,

“C. A. HARRIS,

“*Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*”

“Rev. LUCIUS BOLLES, *Boston, Massachusetts.*”

The following is an extract from the letter referred to in the foregoing :

“ War Department, Office of Indian Affairs, May 12, 1837.

“ SIR: The recommendation given by you to the missionaries in the Creek country to withdraw from it, in consequence of the excitement existing against them in the minds of the Indians, was approved at the time, from the obvious consideration that they could render but little service while that excitement lasted. But as a specific charge has been made against only one of the number, it seems unreasonable to persist in the exclusion of the others, out of regard to an undefined feeling of dislike entertained by the Indians. The great duty of the Government is to apply, in the most beneficial manner, the means placed at its disposal, by treaties or otherwise, for the advancement of the Indians; and I regard the permanent establishment of schools, and the residence of competent teachers among them, as the most important of these means. You will impress these views on the minds of the chiefs, and also the unreasonableness of depriving their people of all instruction because one of the instructors had behaved improperly. You will inquire particularly into the causes of their aversion to the settlement of teachers in their country, and if you find that there is no specific allegation, you will say to them, distinctly, that the teachers will be invited to return and resume their labours, under the protection of the Government.

“ Very, &c.,

“ C. A. HARRIS, *Commissioner.*”

[*Directed to the Acting Superintendent.*]

Under date of August 7th, 1837, the board requested me to attend to this matter, in person, on Arkansas. The propriety of Mr. Rollin's conduct, while he was a missionary in that country, was confirmed; but having been a considerable length of time labouring among the Shawanoes, the expediency of his returning to the Creek country, irrespective of former considerations, had become doubtful. Mr. Kellam was about this time appointed, by the acting superintendent, United States' school teacher, according to a treaty stipulation, and resumed the occupancy of the mission buildings, and again put things into operation; and Mr. Rollin remained among the Shawanoes.

CHAPTER XX.

Cherokee station. Omahas. Death. Journey to Washington. Treaty with Putawatomes. Baptisms. Tour in the wilderness. Seat of government of the Indian territory, &c. Missionaries arrive at Shawanoe. A design to get the Indians' lands. Periodical account published. Annual Register. Establishment of the Ottawa station. Establishment of the Putawatomie station. Half-breed lands. Bill for organizing the Indian territory laid before the different tribes. Putawatomes divided. Baptisms. Three delegations examine the country.

Mr. O'Brient, though a worthy good man, had made an injudicious selection of a site for his station, on his entering the Cherokee country. He had, no doubt, been misled by the advice of some in whom he placed too much confidence, and who afterwards turned out to be troublesome neighbours. He soon found himself unpleasantly situated. Mr. Aldrich, who lived to occupy the station a short time only after the death of Mr. O'Brient, was in the same manner annoyed by some who lived near, who were inimical to the institution. On the decease of Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Curtis soon had to contend with the same difficulties. There were neighbourhoods among the Cherokees favourable for usefulness, but buildings having been erected at considerable cost, the missionaries were reluctant to quit them.

Mr. Curtis, however, soon found his solitary situation there so unpleasant, being without an associate, that he abandoned the station, and, early in the spring of 1836, came on to the Shawanoe station. Mr. Lykins proposed that he should locate among the Omahas, in which place we had been endeavouring to establish a mission during the last six years, and which design had been prevented only by the want of missionaries. He obtained for Mr. Curtis the appointment of United States' school teacher, with a salary of four hundred and eighty dollars a year, to date from the commencement of his actual services on the ground. Shortly afterwards, he and Miss Colbourn were married. On the 12th of November, they left the Shawanoe station for the Omahas, a distance to the northwest of about three hundred miles. They stopped at Mr. Merrill's station among the Otoes, and spent the winter there. It was to be regretted that, up to the spring of 1837, various causes had prevented

Mr. Curtis from performing any useful labour in the Indian country.

The affairs of our missions, at this time, were such as could not be contemplated with satisfaction. The Cherokee station had been abandoned; the Creek station nearly broken up; two of the stations among the Choctaws were under a cloud; Mr. Lykins, on account of ill health, was absent from the Shawanoe and Delaware mission; Mr. Meeker was afflicted with a breast complaint, which was a great hinderance to him; the unaccountable delay of the Government to locate the Putawatomes kept them in an unsettled state, which made the obstacles to Mr. Simerwell's efforts for their benefit great, the amount of his labour small, and his actual usefulness still less. These discouraging circumstances were not only felt by the missionaries, but by the board. Under date of November 11th, 1836, Dr. Bolles wrote as follows, (after speaking of the difficulties among the Creeks, &c.): "Whether we shall ever be able, amidst the adverse influences which pervert the Indians, and render them hostile to their best friends, and to measures for their improvement, finally to do them permanent good, is more and more doubtful." The discouraging circumstances which had prompted these doubts of the corresponding secretary were well understood, and keenly felt, by us. We inquired, as appears from a note in the journal: "What is to be done, when clouds of obstacles thicken around us? Shall we give up all for lost, and sit down in despair? No! Lord help us to hold on to the work of Indian reform with both hands; and should they, by adverse matters, become tied so that we cannot use them, let us cling to the subject in any way by which it can be reached; and should we be forced from it beyond the reach of efficient effort, let us die with eyes directed towards this wretched race, and hearts praying to thee to show them mercy."

The anxieties of Mrs. McCoy and myself were greatly augmented by the severe indisposition of our daughter, Mrs. Ward, who, by a pulmonary affection, appeared to be rapidly drawing near her end. She had come to our house to allow us the opportunity of realizing the painful satisfaction of her society in her last illness; and now, to add poignancy to all our griefs, matters again seemed imperiously to call me to Washington. The board had kindly offered to pay my travelling expenses, should I go; and with us all, only one opinion prevailed relative to the necessity of the case, excepting the doubts which arose from the probability that I should meet my daughter no more,

until the morning of the resurrection. Of eight deaths among our children, five had occurred in my absence, and in three instances I had left them on their death-beds. Now to repeat this heart-rending self-denial, though in a cause which seemed to justify a great sacrifice, required more fortitude than could be collected from earth. For many weeks we sought direction from Heaven by prayer, and the painful separation was deferred for eight days after all things were in readiness for my departure. Our daughter understood the urgency of the call for me to leave her, and, from regard to the interests of that cause which lay near all our hearts, she cheerfully consented to give me the parting hand a few days before she extended it to others. I left home on the 17th of December, 1836. I saw her no more—she died on the 10th of February. Still it was evidently safe to trust in God. Though our daughter died under bodily pains, which for many days were so acute as to press to the extreme the tenderest sympathies of those around her, it seemed that the blessedness of heaven reached her bed of suffering as distinctly as the rays of the sun extend to earth, and that on a beam of glory from Paradise she ascended towards a brighter world, as she receded from this.

My journey eastward was commenced in inclement weather, and attended with difficulty the whole distance of sixteen hundred miles. Across the State of Missouri I travelled sometimes on horseback and sometimes in the stage. December the 20th, and the nights preceding and following, the mail carrier lay by, on account of the severity of the cold storm in the prairies. Twice I found great difficulty in crossing the Missouri on the ice. I reached St. Louis by a circuitous route of fourteen days' journey. Stages were not running in the States of Illinois and Indiana, and by some means the quantity of ice in the Mississippi diminished so much as to induce boats to run. I took one, but shortly it was obstructed by ice, so that passengers were compelled to abandon it. By the hiring of horses, I reached Louisville in eleven days after I left the boat. I reached Washington, after a wintry journey of more than five weeks, on which I had been twice upset in the stage.

We had long lamented that the Putawatomes should unnecessarily be kept in an unsettled state. A delegation of that tribe from Michigan, to which one was added from the Missouri river, was in Washington on business. Believing this to be a favourable occasion for the adoption of measures for their benefit, in reference to their future and permanent location, I conferred with the Hon. J. Tipton, United States' Senator from

Indiana, who had already taken a deep interest in this matter, and now was glad to find an opportunity of accomplishing a measure which he had in vain hoped for from resolutions introduced into the Senate two years before. A treaty with the delegation was concluded on the 11th of February, 1837, in which it was stipulated that a country on the Osage river, within the Indian territory, of sufficient extent, &c., should be conveyed to the Putawatomes by patent. This measure, we rightly judged, would place that tribe in a suitable place, where Mr. Simerwell might make a permanent location among them, and render himself more useful than he had been for a few years previously.

Some matters of interest in Indian affairs received attention during this session of Congress, but the bill for organizing the Indian territory—of all others the most important measure—was not passed. The only difficulty appeared to be a want of sufficient interest in the subject, to bring it to a vote. Could Congress have been induced to act upon it, there was good reason to believe that their action would have been in favour of the bill.

About eighty miles from my family, as I was returning to them, I had a severe attack of sickness, on the 20th of March, 1837, which for some hours threatened to deprive me of the pleasure of seeing them; and I was compelled to lie by until I was met by Mrs. McCoy and my son, and conveyed home in a carriage. Mr. and Mrs. Lykins were still absent. Missionary affairs had improved. One Shawanoe, and two Shawanoe females, and one Delaware, had been baptized. Some obstacles to a school, in English, among the Delawares, taught by Mr. Blanchard, had appeared; nevertheless, teaching in the Indian language had been prosecuted with success, and about thirty had, within a short time, learned to read on the new system.

Within the last seven years we had repeatedly requested the proper authority to reserve within the Indian territory a tract of land for the seat of Government, embracing land enough for the formation of a considerable settlement, in which Indians of any tribe might locate. This year I received instructions to make a selection of a suitable tract for this purpose. With this object in view, and for the purpose of fixing a location for an agency, and of acquiring information of the country, preparatory to the permanent location of the Putawatomes, I left home on the 20th of April, 1837, on a tour of thirteen days in the wilderness. On this tour I was accompanied by Mr. Simerwell and Mr. A. L.

Davis, United States' Indian agent, both of whom were interested in the objects for which the tour had been undertaken.

The extent to which ideas may be communicated by signs, to and from some Indian tribes, would appear almost incredible to one who has had no experience in this mode of intercommunication. As Indians become acquainted with white men and acquire a few words of their language, their skill in this matter diminishes. Among the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, the traveller will frequently fall in with an Indian whom he cannot induce to speak English, and who probably understands very little, with whom it will be exceedingly difficult to exchange ideas by signs. The Osages and Kauzaus are remarkable for their skill in these significative communications. On the 25th of April I left the principal part of our company in camp, and with a few men made a day's tour of observation in the surrounding country. We fell in with an Osage hunter, who was wholly ignorant of English; and I knew nothing of his language, excepting the name of his tribe and the name of the river Neosho. Nevertheless, upon inquiry, I received from him the following information, in nearly the same length of time in which it could have been communicated by words, viz: The Little Osage village was beyond the river, at a distance which I was made pretty well to understand, with one tributary stream on this side of the river and two beyond it, intervening between us and the village. He had left his home about ten o'clock on the morning of that day, [the described height of the sun gave the time,] and he had since been hunting in places described. He then inquired of me where I had encamped on the preceding night, and where I intended to encamp on the following night, and requested permission to encamp with us; to all which I gave him satisfactory answers. In travelling back to our camp, a distance of several miles, he proposed turning off, for the purpose of hunting, when I repeated to him information respecting the place of our encampment, which he well understood, and came and spent the night with us. In the performance of duties enjoined by instructions, I sent my son Calvin, the 25th of April, on a long tour in the prairies, for the purpose of completing the survey of the exterior boundaries of the Cherokee country.

May the 14th, 1837, Mr. J. G. Pratt and Mrs. Pratt, from Massachusetts, under appointment of the board, arrived. Mr. Pratt was a printer, and came to take charge of the printing office, in place of Mr. Meeker, who was preparing to settle among the Ottawas. On the 17th, Mr. and Mrs. Lykins re-

turned from their long absence; the health of whom was somewhat improved, but not confirmed.

In the preceding winter an attempt, on a small scale, had been made to introduce into the Indian territory a principle which, in its effects, would have become subversive of all that gives security to the Indians in the possession of their lands. A man, whose opportunities had given him reputation and influence, conceived the idea of improving his circumstances, which, through bad management, had become much embarrassed, by obtaining a location among the Delawares. By his address he had acquired a great influence over them; he professed great regard for them, pointed out ways in which he could promote their interests, and proposed that they should lease to him, for a given length of time, a mile square of land within their country. To a measure of this kind the consent of the Government of the United States was necessary. Four Delawares, therefore, two of whom were chiefs, were induced to accompany him to Washington, to present to the Department of Indian Affairs the request that the Government would allow the conveyance to be made, to which they attached some other requests. To a general council of Delawares these matters had been presented in a manner so plausible that the council had agreed to pay the expenses attendant on the journey out of the next annuity which they would receive from the United States. In the mean time, their flattering friend was to advance money on loan to them.

Soon after the departure of the delegation, the propriety of what they had done was questioned by the tribe. They informed me of the circumstance, and that they had even gone so far as to request the Secretary of War to advance to the delegation what funds they should need, and deduct the amount from the annuities due the Delaware nation. They now repented sorely of their error, and wrote a letter, through their agent, to the Secretary of War counter to the former.

It was evident, that if the Delawares, or any other Indians, should be allowed the liberty of leasing land to white people, their country would soon be filled with the latter, and they would be crowded out. If liberty should be given to lease for a *few* years, the same principle would admit of a lease of *many* years; and if allowed to lease to one man, they would be allowed to do the same to another. The consequence would be, that valuable tracts of land would be wrested from them. First, such as lay nearest the white settlements would be secured to white men, who, by paying the chiefs liberally, or to their satisfaction, even

should the consideration be ardent spirits, would purchase their consent to lease these lands. The principle of leasing would, in fact, be tantamount to the privilege of selling.

Such attempts as this to break over the partition wall between the white and Indian settlements, which we believed the Government had not yet made sufficiently secure, were alarming to the friends of the Indians; and there were some who felt it to be their duty to be ever on the alert to detect them, and nip them in the bud. Contrary to the high expectations of the delegation and their conductor, the Department of Indian Affairs refused to transact any business with them. Their petition was received, and they were informed that an answer should be returned to their nation, not through the delegation, but through their agent at their home. They now found themselves without the means of returning to their homes, the resources of their conductor having become exhausted. At the request of the Department of Indian Affairs, I brought them to their homes at my own expense, which the nation afterwards reimbursed to me. On the 20th of May I attended a council among the Delawares, when this matter was finally settled, and a mischievous design against the Indians was once more frustrated.

We had hoped, more than once, that arrangements had been made which would early result in the permanent settlement of the Putawatomies, among whom Mr. Simerwell might resume his labours with success, but difficulties hung upon the subject, which required the utmost vigilance to obviate. On the 31st of May, a party called to make inquiry respecting the country to be assigned to them, and, after much conversation with them, they proceeded on their way to examine it, and Mr. Lykins accompanied them. He was also appointed by the agent, Mr. Davis, to assist in the management of affairs for a while, in reference to getting them into the country suitable for them. We had already perceived that a design had been conceived by some, who desired to profit by the misfortunes of these people, to get them to a remote place to the north, unsuitable, because none could hope that they would there be allowed a secure residence; and, in event of their settling there, we should not have thought it expedient to incur the expense of preparing mission buildings for Mr. Simerwell. We therefore felt a deep interest in the judicious location of these people, for whom we had so long laboured.

In the fore part of June, I put in circulation a pamphlet of fifty-two pages, entitled "Periodical Account of Baptist Missions in the Indian Territory." This was printed on our press

at the Shawanoe mission, at my own cost. It was circulated gratuitously in the different States in the Union, and was designed to supply, in some measure, the information which the public, and the Baptist denomination in particular, needed, respecting the condition of missionary affairs. The design of the work will be understood by the following extracts from the "Introduction."

"This work has not been undertaken to gratify a fondness for writing, but because such a work is obviously needed. In the *American Baptist Magazine*, which is the chief vehicle of missionary intelligence of the board of managers of the Baptist General Convention, there is little room for matters relating to missions among the aboriginal inhabitants of our country. The operations of the board in Asia, Africa, and Europe, have become so extensive, that a monthly pamphlet of twenty-four pages, is scarcely sufficient to keep before the eye of the public the condition and prospects of missions in those countries, exclusive of accounts of missions among the Indians. It is true, the Magazine does not wholly overlook Indian missions, and some extra publications are also issued, embracing reports of the proceedings of the General Convention, and of its board; but still there has not been room, in the publications which have heretofore appeared, for such an exhibition of Indian missions as is necessary to a just understanding of their condition.

"We believe we may safely state, as a fact, that the condition, wants, and prospects of Baptist missions among the Indians have not, at any time since their commencement in 1817, been fully held up to public view. This is necessary for eliciting energetic efforts in support of them, and, for want of it, they have not been liberally sustained. Besides some three or four of the acting members of the board, and the missionaries, we believe there is not a person in the United States who possesses a tolerably correct knowledge of the history of our Indian missions, or who could at this time give to an inquirer a correct account of the number, location, condition, and prospects of the stations, or who could point out the places at which missionaries are needed, or the extent of the demand for more missionaries. We should be happy to find that we have been mistaken in this matter, and the discovery would relieve us from the labour of the present undertaking. But we are lamentably certain that we are not mistaken. We have been in the missionary field ever since 1817, and have carefully noticed every item of information presented to the public, that has come within our reach. We have been so situated that, we believe, nothing material has escaped our notice; and we feel confident that he

who would write even a brief history of Indian missions, or who would exhibit a faithful account of them, as they at present exist, would be obliged to have recourse to other sources of information than public prints hitherto issued.

“ We bring no accusation against any one. We barely state what we believe to be undeniable facts ; and these facts prove the need of a publication devoted chiefly or exclusively to Indian missions. Public journals must have their limits. They can contain a given amount of matter, and no more. If, then, while existing journals are well filled, some things of importance remain unnoticed, we feel the necessity for an additional periodical. The judicious selection of matter for the public journals of the Baptist General Missionary Convention cannot have failed to be gratifying to the whole denomination. In looking into those prints, we find nothing that ought to be omitted. We may, therefore, pretty safely say there is not room in them for accounts of Indian missions. No doubt, if missionaries to the Indians were to compile a few numbers of the Magazine, and of some other religious journals, they would increase the number and length of articles relating to the almost friendless people among whom they labour ; but this does not argue that the publishers ought to depart from the course which has hitherto appeared to them proper. Though those prints contain clear evidence that their authors have strong partialities for foreign missions, yet they are such partialities only as men have a right to exercise.

“ When missions are brought to view, whether in a plain historical account, or in a pathetic appeal to the benevolent for help, in men or means, *Indian* missions appear to occupy only a second, a third, or a tenth place in the estimation of the writer. There are many causes which operate to produce this partiality, of some of which we shall take occasion to speak at another time. It is sufficient for our present purpose to mention that such is the fact ; and that in this fact is seen the necessity for some other periodical, on the subject of missions, than has yet appeared. We do not think that too much attention has been bestowed on foreign missions ; and we should write with a trembling hand, if we thought that, by praying for more assistance to Indian missions, the amount of support to the former would be diminished.

“ We do think that too little has been done for the Indians. Of this we feel so well assured, that we cannot suppose any one will undertake to say that we are mistaken. We are equally confident that increased efforts in favour of Indian mis-

sions, so far from injuring, will promote those in foreign lands, as certainly as the latter are promoted by the Home missionary cause, or by Bible societies, both of which, it is well known, promote the cause of foreign missions.

“We shall hardly be accused of having entered upon our present work rashly, when it is understood that for about nineteen years we have struggled under the disadvantages which necessarily result from a want of information on the part of the public, on the subject of Indian missions; and that now, in the twentieth year, these evils are, in proportion to the sum of missionary operations generally, greater than they were during the first three or four years of our service. The inconveniences of which we speak have been common to all among the Indians.

“It will appear in the sequel, that men are more needed than means. The want of the latter (we mean food and raiment for missionaries) is often lessened by the industry and economy of the consumers. By their personal efforts, also, means are sometimes obtained from the Government of the United States, and from benevolent societies and liberal individuals. This deficiency of missionaries in the Indian department shows a want of something to enlist the sympathies of such as have a thought of devoting their lives to missionary labours. Such persons, in looking around for a field for future operations, naturally consult the public prints; and their choice is not a little influenced by the apparent interest which the Convention takes in the several missions. Moreover, in the absence of definite information respecting Indian missions, they read glowing accounts of missions to other nations, and pressing calls for labourers, with extended prospects of usefulness. Amidst these justly animating matters, a few poor ignorant Indians are almost or entirely forgotten. Seldom do we hear any thing more encouraging in relation to them, than a sigh, or a despairing exclamation—“Poor creatures! They have been very much oppressed; we ought to do them all the good in our power. ‘Be ye warmed and be ye filled.’” Here the matter begins and here it ends. Few give themselves the trouble of looking into either the cause or the extent of their sufferings; and, generally, conscience is quieted by a kind of *cold consent*, that they may live and get to heaven, if they can do it without our agency. Under these circumstances, it must be expected that there will be but few candidates for missionary service among the Indians.

“In bringing before the public this periodical, we arrogate no privilege, nor do we assume a different attitude from that which we have long sustained. If the course which we have pursued

in our missionary efforts has not been the best, yet it has been such as conscience dictated, and such as our dearest friends in missionary matters approved. To the work of Indian reform we have consecrated the little all we possess, of 'time, talent, and resources.' We have but a piece of a short life remaining—the only life we are to live upon earth; the hand which writes these words must soon be paralyzed. We have a 'long time,' in a manner, 'holden our peace,' partly because we knew that others could, and hoped they would speak, while we, being in the missionary field, might perform labours which they could not; and partly because the labours in which we were employed seemed not to allow of time to enter upon such a work as this.

"The Indian territory is the principal field for missionary labour. The propriety of colonizing the nearer tribes, and of doing it upon this ground, is now generally admitted. Here, under some very important changes of circumstances, which we think encourage the hope of ultimate success, an experiment is to be made in Indian reform. When the effects of our present operations shall have been somewhat developed, new fields of labour may be entered.

"The work is issued gratis, because the price of a small pamphlet, appearing only once a year, would be too inconsiderable to be worth the cost and trouble of collecting.

"While we have the satisfaction to believe that in the publication of this periodical we have the hearty acquiescence, both of our missionary brethren here and of our brethren abroad, it is proper to state, that *we alone* are responsible for its appearance and for its contents.

"As a writer, we have no reputation to lose, nor are we in great trouble on account of its being equally certain that none will be acquired. We write for the benefit of more than four millions of our fellow beings, who are incapable of pleading for themselves, who are perishing under evils to which no other people upon earth have been exposed, and evils not at all under their control, but fully under the control of white men. They are the original inhabitants of our country, and, as such, have peculiar claims upon us. Their condition, depraved and wretched as it may be, is only what ours would have been, had we been placed under similar circumstances. The kind hand of Providence has graciously made us to differ; and in this difference is found a solemn obligation to help them. In the discharge of this obligation, we have, among other things, undertaken this work: intending to tell our own story, and to tell it in our own

way ; and that way shall be such as we believe will most faithfully exhibit the facts of which we treat."

About the 1st of July, 1837, the third number of the Annual Register of Indian Affairs was issued. In this number we recommended that measures should be taken to ascertain the number and condition of the remote tribes, of whom little was known. We have narratives of journeys, &c., among the remote tribes, but few are faithful. Most of them have been written with an air of romance, for the sake of pleasing the fancy, and not for the instruction of the mind. Much that is written is not true. First, it is not the design of the writers of some of these works to state the truth, but, to make a book that will feed the imagination ; and, secondly, few traverse those regions who are not engaged in the fur trade, and these seldom have either time or inclination to make such observations as would be useful in the work of Indian reform. For example, if we desire to civilize the remote tribes, it is desirable to know whether they occupy a country favourable for the residence of civilized man—for agricultural pursuits, for instance. Now, we have no knowledge of a book in existence, which would enable a farmer in one of our States to form a correct idea of the suitability of any country west of the Rocky mountains for agricultural purposes. The accounts of various persons, so far as we have them, are discordant ; and even the statements of individuals, in this respect, are often contradicted by their own story. Moreover, it is important that we contemplate the Indians as a *whole*, and not as small detached bands, in reference to which, the interest felt in their improvement seems to be limited by the paucity of their numbers.

With a view of collecting such information as it was believed the cause of Indian reform required, respecting the locations, numbers, and condition of the tribes, and the character of the countries they inhabit, so that the schemes of benevolence for their improvement might be carried forward more efficiently, it was proposed to commence a series of tours, which would probably require several years to complete. It was thought that the scientific and other information which could be acquired would, in its publication, ultimately compensate the loss of time and money, though, at the commencement, considerable sacrifices would be made. This design was approved by several respectable periodicals and many private correspondents, and two gentlemen, well calculated for the service, offered themselves, but a sufficient number of competent persons have not yet been found to enter upon the work.

Mr. Meeker had long desired to be at liberty to employ his time wholly among the Ottawas, a knowledge of whose language he had acquired. The arrival of Mr. Pratt, to take charge of the printing office, afforded an opportunity for gratifying this desire; and he, with Mrs. Meeker, left the Shawanoe station, and took up their residence among the Ottawas, in June, 1837. About the same time, also, Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell located among the Putawatomes, within the Indian territory. This was an event to which we had long looked with deep solicitude. We considered this station to be a continuation of the Carey mission, transplanted from Michigan to this place.

It is a fact, in which has originated many obstacles to the securing of the Indians in their possessions in the Indian territory, that they who have negotiated treaties with them have paid little regard to giving permanency to their new settlements. Treaty stipulations in relation to the territory have commonly been made merely with a desire to make an arrangement to remove the Indians out of the way of white settlements, and to grant them an abode only until the approach of white settlements shall require another removal.

Among other circumstances which were liable to result in injury to the Indians, by the ingress of whites west of the line of demarcation, was a reservation of one hundred and forty-three thousand acres within the territory, made at a treaty in 1830, and which land had been provided for certain half-breeds of different tribes. The treaty made it necessary that the claimants, if they required it, should respectively receive patents for their land. Now, it was feared that it would turn out that some of these claimants were more of white blood than of Indian, and holding their individual tracts by patents, and these tracts lying immediately adjoining lands subject to settlement by white people, that white men might be lawfully introduced on to them, or that the claimants would be authorized to sell their respective claims to citizens of the United States; in either case, the door would be opened to the ingress of a white population into the Indian territory, and, most likely, without the possibility of again closing it. This subject had been submitted to the consideration of Mr. Harris, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who had instructed me to look to it—to ascertain who were the proper claimants, and to decide whether it would or would not be expedient to subdivide the reservation among them, and give to each a patent.

I reported in favour of marking the exterior boundaries of the entire tract, so that it might not embarrass assignments of

land to be made to others; and these surveys I caused to be made, but the subdividing of the land, and the issuing of patents, I believed, would be followed by the worst of consequences; and, in order to obviate all difficulties which attended the subject, I recommended that measures be taken, without delay, to extinguish the claims of the claimants, none of whom resided on the land, or ever expected to do so, and very few of whom were within the Indian territory. This course was adopted, and a gentleman was sent to negotiate for the extinguishment of the claims of the owners. To find them, and negotiate with each, or with his guardian or proper representative, would require some labour; but as the work had been assigned to an agent who was under yearly pay, and whose other duties would not hinder the discharge of these, it was hoped that the matter would speedily be adjusted. But when his report was made, it unfortunately appeared to the Department of Indian Affairs that his purchases had not been made of the real owners, or their legal representatives, and hence the negotiations were not submitted to the Senate for ratification. By this means an undesirable delay has occurred in the settlement of this affair—important, because the one hundred and forty-three thousand acres are needed for emigrants; and still more so, because it involves a principle in its tendency subversive of Indian interests, and well calculated to render the settlements within the Indian territory precarious.

On the 16th of June, I reported to the Department of Indian Affairs proposed locations for the Putawatomes, Ottawas,* United Putawatomes and Chippewas, New-York Indians, Wyandauts, and Miamies. These selections were confirmed by the Department, and surveys ordered to be made as far as the cases at that time required. About the same time, I selected a site for the Osage river sub-agency, and a valuable tract of about seven miles square, in a central portion of the territory, for the seat of government, which tract I caused to be immediately surveyed.

It had been supposed to be a necessary measure to bring to the consideration of the respective tribes the bill which, for several years, had, in some shape, been before Congress, for the organization of the Indian territory. Hence, the Department of Indian Affairs had been induced to instruct me to perform this duty. The first council on this subject was among the

* A small band of Ottawas had received an assignment of land, which I had caused to be surveyed in 1832. None of the other tribes referred to had yet entered the country designed for them.

Delawares, on the 28th of June, 1837. The languages of Indian tribes do not embrace a word which properly means *law*, because they have ever been destitute of laws. It may, therefore, easily be conceived that the technicality which would necessarily be attached to a law of Congress, of seven or eight sections, could not fully be understood, without presenting the substance in a form better suited to the Indians' modes of thinking. In order to bring the subject fairly before them, such a form as the case called for was prepared, and accompanied the bill itself. The substance of this condensed document, though written somewhat in detail, may be inferred from the following response of the Indians, showing in what manner they understood it:

“C. A. HARRIS, Esq.,

“*Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*

“SIR: We, the undersigned, chiefs and headmen of . . . , met in council, have heard read to us, by Isaac McCoy, a paper which you had sent him, and which has been under consideration in Congress, for the benefit of the Indian tribes within this western country, to which, through the same person, we now return our answer, which we request you to lay before Congress.

“The substance of the paper to which we allude, we understand to be as follows, viz:

“1st. The country between the Puncah and Red rivers, and southwest of Missouri river, and west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, to the distance of two or three hundred miles, is to be set apart exclusively for the use of Indians, excepting the amount necessary for military posts, roads, and public highways, and for the residence of such persons as may be allowed to reside in the Indian country, by the laws regulating intercourse with the Indian tribes; and that the lands granted to the tribes, severally, shall be secured to them by patents from the Government of the United States, under such restrictions as shall secure the lands from becoming the property of an adjoining State or Territory, or of either individuals or companies of white persons.

“2d. The superintendent of the Indian district shall call into general council, once a year, or oftener, a prescribed number of chiefs or principal men, appointed by their respective tribes, according to directions given them. That in this council the tribes, by their representatives, shall unite for purposes of peace and friendship, and shall make such regulations for the benefit of the confederacy as may, from time to time, appear necessary;

the said regulations to be submitted to the consideration of the President of the United States, and not to take effect until approved by him. That all tribes within the territory be at liberty to join the confederacy, and that none be required to do it without its consent; and that each tribe may make its own internal regulations, consistently with those of a general nature.

“3d. That the confederation shall send an Indian as its delegate to Washington, to remain there during each session of Congress, to attend to such matters as the interests of the confederation or of the tribes, and individuals, severally require, whose pay and emoluments shall be equal to those of a member of Congress.

“With the foregoing propositions we are well pleased, and we do earnestly request the President and Congress of the United States to carry them into effect as soon as practicable.”

This subject was brought to the consideration of the Delawares, Shawanoes, Kickapoos, Putawatomes, Kauzaus, Sauks, Ioways, Weas, Piankashas, Peorias and Kaskaskias, and Ottawas, respectively, and a similar response obtained from each, addressed to the Department of Indian Affairs, in the form of a petition that the plan should be carried out.

At the councils held for the above objects, tobacco was freely distributed. The first thing to be done in council is to place the tobacco on the floor, in the centre. During the council, any one uses it that chooses; and at the close they appoint a man to divide it, so that each may obtain a piece.

Every tribe, excepting the Kauzaus, seemed to attach very much importance to the subject, and seriously considered it. The Shawanoes, after the matter was presented to them on the first day, remained in council among themselves, deliberating on the measure, all the succeeding night. This series of councils furnished an exemplification of what has been remarked in another place—that little difficulty would attend the transaction of business with Indians, when it is designed to do them justice, were it not for mischievous white men who are always found hovering around them, so that it may properly be said that it is the management of those white men that occasions difficulty in Indian negotiations. I endeavoured to obtain a council of the Delawares and of the Shawanoes, before the matter had become so notorious as to afford an opportunity for the intrusion of misrepresentations by white men. In this I was successful among the Delawares, and with them there were no scruples respecting the propriety of the measures proposed; but before a second council could be convened, which took place among the Shawa-

noes, that tribe had been told that my object was to purchase their country from them, and to propose their removal. They came into council expecting to hear me make propositions to extinguish their claims to the country they inhabited. When, therefore, they heard propositions precisely the reverse, and it was explained to them to be a measure necessary to their future *security* and *prosperity*, they were astonished, and it was thirteen days afterwards before they gave me an answer, within which time they had been in council four different times. Having satisfied themselves that the reports they had heard respecting the design of the plans of the Government were erroneous, they sent a messenger to inform me that they were ready to meet me in their council house and deliver their answer, and requested me at the same time to bring to the council a pretty liberal present of eatables. I returned answer, that although I was delivering to them a *talk* from the President, I had no presents to make, because they were not required to yield any thing; the propositions were for their benefit, without asking them to relinquish any thing; nevertheless, I would afford them an opportunity of smoking freely.

Almost all white men who mingle with the Indians, in the Indian country, are opposed to the plan of organizing an Indian territory, and of rendering the Indians secure in their possessions. First, there are white men married to Indian women, who identify themselves with the Indians as much as possible, and are permitted to remain in the Indian country. Those who have preferred savage to civilized society do not desire the improvement of the former. Secondly, traders can make more profitable speculations on poor, ignorant, suffering Indians, oppressed beneath their wants and woes, than upon a people in more comfortable circumstances; and hence they prefer the present condition of the Indians to one improved. And, thirdly, the agents employed by the Government easily perceive, that by the improvement of the condition of the Indians they will become capable of managing their own matters, and that the necessity for agents will vanish. None, in either of the three classes, would venture upon open opposition to Government, which would afford a tangible ground of complaint, and might occasion their removal from the Indian country. Nevertheless, there are a thousand ways in which these men can keep an influence continually bearing upon the Indians, dampening, in its tendency, to all improvement. In reference to the measures under consideration, I am acquainted with few exceptions among the traders and agents.

Most of the tribes have each a council house. That of the

Shawanoes is a hewn log building, erected by themselves, about thirty feet wide and eighty feet long, and one story high. It contains one apartment only, without either upper or under floor. There is a door in each end, but no window, excepting three small holes on each side, about as high as a man's head when seated, resembling the apertures for the use of small-arms in a block-house. Openings in the roof allow the smoke of the fires on the earth, in the centre, to escape. The roof is a kind of very ordinary shingling with boards. The only seat is a continuation of hewn logs, laid along the walls. The sides of the building are kept in place by cross beams, resting upon two rows of wooden pillars. On one side of one of the pillars, nearest one of the doors, is carved in relievo the figure of a rattlesnake, about five feet long; and on the other side, the likeness of a snake, without the rattle. On two opposite sides of one of the pillars, nearest the other door, are carved, in relievo also, uncouth resemblances of the human face, somewhat larger than life, partially painted, and with a twist of tobacco tied to the pillar, crossing immediately above each figure. On each of two opposite sides of a pillar, in the interior, is carved, as above, the figure of a turtle, coloured, so as to increase its resemblance to the living animal. Metal is inserted for eyes; from which, on the late occasion, I discovered a person wiping the dust, and increasing their brilliancy by rubbing.

The Delawares had lately taken two scalps from some remoter tribes, with whom they ought to have remained at peace, and the Shawanoes, being their allies, were presented with one of them. This was brought into the council by the principal war chief, suspended to the end of a wooden rod, about five feet in length, and which was stuck into the wall, and projected so as to render the scalp conspicuous. Both the rod and the scalp were stained with red paint, the emblem of blood.

Mr. Curtis, who had left the Shawanoe station in the autumn of 1836, with the view of establishing a mission among the Omahas, had stopped and spent the winter at Mr. Merrill's station, among the Otoes. By this indiscreet course the time had all been lost—he having in that place no opportunity of studying the Omaha language, or of forming an acquaintance with them; and, moreover, his salary from Government, as teacher, would not be allowed until he actually commenced his labours among the tribe. His delay, therefore, had unnecessarily occasioned expense to the board for his support during the time. On the 21st of May, 1837, he arrived at our place, ostensibly with the design of employing workmen to erect the requisite buildings

for his station. He spent more than two months in our neighbourhood; within which time it was plainly perceived that he was disinclined to go to the Omahas, and would prefer a location among the Delawares. Mr. Lykins was superintendent of affairs among the Delawares, and united with some others in believing that it would be better for Mr. Curtis to adhere to the original design of locating among the Omahas, and encouraged him to do so. The board had placed in the hands of Mr. Lykins money for the erection of buildings for the Omaha station, and he employed workmen, &c., and Mr. Curtis was prevailed upon to set off again, with the view of making the location.

Prospects were such as promised a pleasant reward to discreet missionary labours among that rude people. The favour of the Government had been secured, and the appropriation of the board, to meet the expenses of commencing the station, was liberal. We had commenced the preliminaries for the formation of a station there in 1830. One, whom both the board and the Government had approved, had disappointed us by afterwards declining to enter upon missionary labours, and we should have been exceedingly mortified to have experienced an entire failure in the present case.

The poor Putawatomes, in whose welfare we felt the deeper interest, on account of some of us having laboured among them several years, seemed destined to feel the consequences of a bad management of their affairs. Dr. James was appointed sub-agent for a band which some were endeavouring to take to a country high up Missouri. They had been encamped about a year near Fort Leavenworth, in charge of A. L. Davis, Esq. He had, by a recent order, been directed to the site chosen for him on the Osage river, and was likely to take all or nearly all the Putawatomes with him to the home provided for them permanently. But the appointment of Dr. James turned the current of their wishes. He was entreated by us to use his influence to induce the Putawatomes to locate in a place from which, it was believed, they would not have occasion to remove. But he had resolved on taking as many of them as possible up the Missouri. Nobody pretended to think that they would be allowed to remain there; but the agent argued that they could not find *any place* from which they would not be forced by white men. He was a pious, good man; but, like many others, had concluded that the Indians would inevitably perish, and therefore their sympathies extended no further than to the alleviation of the *pains of dying*, and to the erection of tombstones

or monuments to their memory. He supposed that the idea of giving a permanent home, civil institutions, &c., to Indian tribes, was chimerical. He found about the Putawatomes a class of men ready to concur with him in his views, though actuated by very different motives. Large annuities were provided for the Putawatomes, and a large amount for improvements in farms, smitheries, &c., and for schools; and it was desirable to those men to get the Putawatomes located in that remote place; and while they remained there, in their uncultivated condition, their annuities could be easily secured. They had a scheme on hand, also, by which they hoped to monopolize their trade, and when the time should come for Government to remove them, (having made some landed improvements, which must be abandoned,) a large amount of money would again be involved in the stipulations of the treaty, of which these hungry parasites expected a bountiful portion.

Notwithstanding the views of their agent, the Putawatomes hesitated to go up the Missouri; but, to accomplish the purposes of those who expected to enrich themselves by the measure, (in which designs it is not believed that the agent participated,) a report was put in circulation that the Putawatomes designed to make war upon the neighbouring whites. Never was there an attempt made to propagate a more unreasonable alarm. There were about a thousand Putawatomes, including men, women, and children, living in camp, and receiving daily rations of food from the Government of the United States, and destitute of means to enable them to make war. Fort Leavenworth was seven or eight miles to the west of them, and they were completely surrounded by a white population. Under these circumstances it would seem impossible for any man in his senses to believe that they were about to make war upon their white neighbours.

The protection of the frontier was in charge of General Gaines. He, without waiting for orders from Washington, gathered the Putawatomes together, and conveyed them up the Missouri to the place contemplated. This removal occurred between the 20th and last of July, 1837. It appeared that the Department of Indian Affairs had not anticipated this removal at that time, for, on the 21st of July, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Harris, wrote General Atkinson, assigning to him the matter of removal, and enjoining on him to endeavour to get their consent to go to the country set apart for them, within the Indian territory. Unfortunately, the Indians had

been taken up the Missouri before these orders came to hand. A copy of the instructions to General Atkinson was forwarded to me, for the purposes mentioned in the following letter :

“ War Department, Office of Indian Affairs, July 21, 1837.

“ SIR; I enclose, for your information and government, the copy of a letter to General Atkinson, of this date, from which you will learn the views of the Executive in relation to various matters connected with the removal and location of the Putawatomie Indians ; and I have to request that you will co-operate with the other officers of the Government in forwarding them by all proper means.

“ Very respectfully, &c.,

“ C. A. HARRIS, *Commissioner.*

“ REV. ISAAC MCCOY, *Westport, Missouri.*”

The Putawatomie tribe had now become divided. Mr. Davis, the agent for those within the territory, with Mr. Lykins temporarily appointed to assist him, was collecting as many as he could within his agency, which embraced, also, several other tribes. Those in favour of their locating on the Missouri were vigilant, and, having no consciences to embarrass them, reported to the Putawatomes, who had not yet decided at which place they would settle, that the Government desired all to go up the Missouri. Emigrants from Michigan and Indiana were still arriving, and some pains were taken by us, and not without success, to let them know the nature of the instructions to Gen. Atkinson and others, which had emanated from the Department of Indian Affairs, on that subject. Soon after this, the sub-agent for the Missouri Putawatomes was transferred to the Osages, and it is possible that the views he had taken of Putawatomie affairs contributed not a little to this change of place.

From the 3d to the 15th of August I was in the wilderness and at Indian villages, locating the settlements of the Sauks and Iowas, in which I was assisted by my son, and in holding councils with them, and with the Kickapoos and Putawatomes.

In passing the burial ground of the Iowas, it was singular to see most of the corpses resting upon platforms constructed on forked stakes four or five feet high. Each one was encased in a temporary coffin, made of the bark of a tree, or by the excavation of the trunk of a tree, or by split timbers clumsily fastened around it. The ground was a prominent elevation, a fourth of a mile from the village. I attempted to approach it, but found it too offensive to admit of a careful examination. We sometimes find the dead deposited in this manner among

other tribes, but the cases are rare. Here it appeared to be the common mode of disposing of the dead.

On returning from this tour, I spent a Sabbath at the Delaware station. Pretty early in the morning I found a young Delaware in the house of worship, studying the new system of reading. He understood very little English, and until a few days before, had no knowledge of letters. Mr. Blanchard informed me that this was only the fourth time he had called to spend a few hours in receiving instruction, and he was now reading slowly, and was able to join us in singing hymns in the Delaware language. We regret that these striking instances of the facility with which the natives learn to read their own language should receive so little attention. It is probable that upon the principles of orthography this young man would never have exercised patience to learn to read.

Between the 15th and 20th of August, I held councils with the Ottawas, Peorias and Kaskaskias, and Weas and Piankashas. On the 27th, a Delaware was baptized, and also a white woman who resided at the Delaware station.

From the 28th of August to the 6th of September, assisted by my son, I was in the wilderness for the purpose of showing delegations of Chippewas and Ottawas, from Saganaw, and from Swan creek and Black river, between Detroit and Lake Huron, the lands that had been set apart for them in this country, and for the purpose of pointing out to the Putawatomes the place for their settlements.

The annual report of Mr. Davis, agent for the Putawatomes and several other tribes, for September of this year, recommended to the favourable consideration of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the new system of writing. This was the first official notice taken of the system by an officer of the Government.

September 19th, the Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn arrived, with a delegation of eighteen of the New-York Indians, some of whom, however, had resided some time near Green Bay, in Michigan. They came for the purpose of examining the country set apart for them. On account of other duties which could not be postponed, I could not accompany them, but the country was pointed out to them on the map, and a sketch furnished them, with such other information as would enable them to find their country.

CHAPTER XXI.

Mission to the Osages. Their deplorable condition. Ordination. Death of a female missionary. Journey to Washington. Bill for the organization of the Indian territory passed by the Senate. Baptist Convention. Death. Superstition of the Chippewas. General council among the Cherokees. Expedition to Florida. Journey to the Putawatomics. Indian bill laid before the southern tribes. Improved condition of the Choctaws. Delawares desire laws. Patent to the Cherokees.

The Osages had been much neglected by the Government, and by all interested in Indian affairs, and greatly imposed upon by traders; by the missionaries who had laboured for them they had been abandoned, and never was a tribe of Indians in a condition more deplorable. When, according to custom, they went on their *buffalo hunts*, they were compelled to penetrate so far into the vast prairies before they found game, that they were in danger of war parties of remote tribes, and the distance was so great that little meat could be brought home for use in their villages. They had not become agriculturists excepting so far as to cultivate the small patches of vegetables usually cultivated even by uncivilized Indians; and they kept neither cattle, sheep, swine, nor fowls, for domestic uses. They had stipulated, in a treaty in 1825, for agriculturists to aid them in the transition from the hunting to the agricultural state. These men had rendered them no service, and were no longer in their country, and the traders who desired to enrich themselves by furs and peltries, and to do it with the advantages which the ignorance of savageism afforded, wished the nation to continue to follow the chase, and discouraged the least intimation of improvement. They had also stipulated for a smithery, but this had been withdrawn. Their annuities, seven thousand dollars, were not paid them in money, to be expended at their option. A few traders had acquired such an ascendancy over them and their affairs, that they advanced to them the amount of the annuity in goods, powder, lead, &c., and when the money arrived they took possession of it. The Indians knew little of the prices of the articles that were furnished them, and were wholly incompetent to take account of them, or to keep or calculate accounts in relation to them. The matter was wholly under the control of the traders, who gave them as much or as

little as they pleased for the annuity, and for their peltries and furs. They were reduced to protracted sufferings under the pressure of extreme poverty, the burden of which increased with each successive year, while they were incapable of foreseeing the end of their wretchedness; and without a friend, either among the white or red men, whose sympathies they could share, and from whom they could hear a consoling word, or receive profitable advice. If anxieties, bordering on despair, or pinching want, induced them to seek either the countenance or the helping hand of a friend among neighbouring tribes, either on their north or south, they were repulsed as troublesome visitors; and if they entered the sparse white settlements within the State of Missouri or Arkansas, in quest of food, where, from time immemorial, they had been accustomed to take the quadruped and fowl, they were flogged and forced away.

They who had monopolized most of the profits of trade among them, for thirty or forty years, had fostered an impression in the United States, generally, among such as had heard of the Osage Indians, that they were an uncommonly savage, warlike race, among whom it was dangerous for a white man's face to be seen, and who, of all the Indian tribes, were the most unmanageable people. On my first acquaintance with them, at their towns, which was in 1828, I was astonished to find them the reverse of what reports had represented them to be. I discovered that they were a poor, degraded, servile people, easily managed, and who had been much abused by the superiority of unprincipled white men. From that time I believed the calls of benevolence were loud in their favour, and the prospects for successful missionary effort among them uncommonly auspicious. Subsequently, the Presbyterians abandoned their missions among them, and we resolved to embrace the earliest opportunity of establishing a mission there.

In a number of the Annual Register of Indian Affairs something had been said respecting the friendless and deplorable condition of these people, and the desire to extend to them the benefits of a mission. This brief statement reached Miss Martha Shields and her sisters, Mrs. Bouldin and Miss S. Shields, of the State of Delaware, who had long been liberal in the promotion of Indian missions, and who instantly resolved to make a contribution, to be applied to the establishment of a mission for this suffering tribe as soon as possible. Fifty-five dollars accompanied their request that a mission should be commenced, with assurances, which, coming from them, could not be doubted, that other sums would follow.

Mr. Lykins was made the principal almoner in this case. He employed Job Skigget, a Delaware youth, who, in obtaining an English education at the Harmony (Presbyterian) mission, had acquired a knowledge of the Osage language, and who was a member of the Presbyterian church, to aid him in compiling a small book in the Osage language, upon the new system. This young man had been educated among a people who had abandoned as hopeless their missions which had been undertaken for the Osages, and had very naturally imbibed similar sentiments; but he was the only available person through whom we could, at that time, hope to make a beginning. He was hired, at the rate of fifteen dollars a month, to labour under our direction. On the 11th of October, 1837, I set out on a journey which would lead me three or four hundred miles from home, for the purpose of submitting to the consideration of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and some other tribes in the South, the plan for the organization of the Indian territory. I took Job with me, for the purpose of introducing him among the Osages, with some of the small Osage books in his hands; hoping that he could introduce reading among them, and, as opportunity would offer, give them some religious instruction, and that by this means the way would be preparing for the prosecution of more systematic and efficient efforts, as soon as we could obtain missionaries.

We reached the vicinity of the Osage villages at a time when a cloud of difficulties and distresses, uncommonly dark, was gathering around these wretched people. They were in a state of almost actual starvation, and, impelled by hunger, many of them had come into the settlements of the whites, and killed some of their cattle and hogs; and in order to expel them, five hundred citizens of Missouri had been embodied.

These difficulties closed the door, for the present, to the settlement of Skigget immediately within their villages. The Quapaw tribe, residing next neighbour to the Osage, was a branch of the latter; and, unwilling to be thwarted in a design like the present, I found a place for him within that tribe, in the house of S. B. Bright, Esq., who was in the employment of Government, and was a worthy Christian, of the Presbyterian order. I was detained in the South a few weeks, and had hoped, on my return, to take him to a more eligible place, in reference to his future usefulness; but by this time he had drunk so deeply of the common feeling of despair, relative to the success of benevolent efforts for this friendless people, that he could not be induced to continue his labours.

The white citizens on the frontiers united in endeavouring to prevent the ingress of small hunting parties of Osages, accompanied by women and children. Hunger, which emboldens the most timid animals of the forest, produced a similar effect upon these wretched people. They continued to come occasionally within the line of the State of Missouri, and the frontier citizens requested the assistance of the State authorities to repel them. Some of the Indians had already been severely whipped, their guns broken, and they driven from their camps. The army of five hundred militia was scouring the line between the whites and Indians while I was making this tour. They found in divers places, within the State of Missouri, some eighty or ninety Osages, consisting of men, women, and children. These were conducted across the line, and the men severely flogged. I was deeply affected with the sight of some fifteen or twenty of these wretched people, who were peaceably hovering about some settlements of white people, begging for something to keep the soul and the body together, at a time when, without their knowledge, they who were "hunting them like partridges" were within two miles of them; and I could not but be astonished at the hardness of the heart that could force from the scanty means of subsistence to be obtained from charity, and the spontaneous productions of nature, these hungry mothers and hungry children, of squalid aspect, and beat the husband and the father for the crime of endeavouring to keep them from actual starvation! Once, in passing an encampment of these suffering people, I exclaimed, O, that I had bread to give them! for which I was sharply rebuked by a fellow-traveller, who had been a missionary to a southern tribe of Indians. His argument was, that these people had neglected the offers of kindness of the missionaries who had been among them, and that favours shown them would be abused, and would only protract their suffering and their sinning!

Before the army came into the country, I had visited some of the citizens, to whom the Osages appeared most obnoxious, and endeavoured to prevail on them to forbear further force, until Government could be properly informed of their condition, and entreated to improve it. In these unsuccessful efforts I was joined by a pious travelling companion, Dr. J. A. Chute, of the Congregationalists.

I lost no time in reporting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Harris, the miserable condition of the Osages, and in recommending immediate measures for their relief. The subject was acted upon with a promptitude which did credit to the Department of Indian Affairs and to the Congress of the Uni-

ted States. - An act was passed allowing the Osages to take the amount of their next annuity from the Government in articles of food, instead of money, and making a liberal appropriation for fencing and ploughing prairie land; furnishing them with a few milch cattle, and affording them some assistance in farming. Dr. James, the sub-agent for the Missouri Putawatomies, was transferred to the Osages; and lest some inconvenience should arise from delays, which might happen, a gentleman, then in Washington, was appointed specially to repair to their villages, and not cease his operations until he had completed the fencing and ploughing of five hundred acres of prairie land.

Thus far all appeared as it should be. The special agent was of a respectable family, and a farmer by profession, and it was believed would be a proper person to manage this matter. Unfortunately for him, and still more so for the Osages, he knew little of the fawning duplicity of some men who, from avaricious motives, had long been hanging on the Osages with the tenacity of the horse leech. These men soon acquired an ascendancy over him, without his knowledge, and led him into a most extravagant management of the affairs of his agency. The appropriation of Congress was exhausted, the summer wasted, and not one panel of fence or one rail made. A very small amount of almost useless ploughing was the result of all these well-meant efforts. This was precisely as those who had long been extracting the very life-blood of the tribe desired.

In March, 1838, a party of Osages, consisting of about twenty souls, some of whom were women and children, again ventured into the white settlements. These were attacked in their encampment by nineteen citizens, and in the skirmish two Osages were killed, and two white men badly wounded, one of whom died shortly afterwards.

The condition of the Osages, according to the representation of their miseries in the autumn of 1837, made so deep an impression upon the proper authorities of Government, that Congress did not stop with the appropriation for immediate and partial relief. At the same session an appropriation was made to meet the expenses of a council with them, which bore the name of a treaty, but the object really was to make provision for extending further benefits to the Osages, without asking of them the relinquishment of any thing. This design of the Government was humane, and added to the reputation of those who had the management of it in the Department of Indian Affairs and in Congress.

On reaching Fort Gibson, on the tour commenced, as has been remarked, on the 11th of October, 1837, I ascertained that a copy of the bill of Congress with which I had been charged, had been forwarded to the agents for those southern tribes, and therefore I did not proceed to lay the subject before them, and being exceedingly pressed with business, I hastened my return. On this tour, which I had contemplated would be pretty extensive, I had hoped to visit several of the missionary stations, and to collect much useful information respecting Indian affairs, to be laid before the public in the next number of the Annual Register. With some expense for his travelling, I prevailed on my travelling companion, Dr. Chute, to make the whole tour, and to collect information. By him I wrote the missionaries. I had hoped to visit Mr. Potts, and to assist in his ordination; and when I found I could not do so, I wrote Mr. Davis, entreating him to accompany Dr. Chute, and to endeavour to prevail on Mr. Potts to submit to ordination. Poor Mr. Davis was found in deep affliction, on account of the recent death of his wife, and could not visit Mr. Potts, at a distance of about one hundred and forty miles. But, to our great satisfaction, we learned that Mr. Potts, about the same time, visited the white settlements in the State of Arkansas, and received ordination.

Mrs. Davis, whose death has just been noticed, was a Presbyterian for several years after her marriage connection with Mr. D. She was pious and sensible, and armed with much decision of character in regard to her religious sentiments, and was very tenacious of the peculiarities of her denomination. Mr. Davis very prudently forbore to make any efforts to proselyte her to the Baptists. Nevertheless, she became a Baptist in sentiment, and was immersed. She was attacked with pain of teeth and swelling of the face, and died of hemorrhage of a blood vessel which ruptured in her mouth. Her death was a severe loss to the mission. She was a native Creek, and her place could not be supplied by another of her tribe. Mr. Davis was left in charge of three small children, in a country where their comfort required so much of his attention as to hinder him greatly from missionary labours. I visited his house some months afterwards, and found him not a little discouraged. His hinderances from preaching, &c., were so great, that he doubted the propriety of continuing his connection with the board, merely because he could not perform the amount of labour he desired. He was encouraged to continue.

In October, 1837, Miss Taylor joined Mr. and Mrs. Potts,

and took charge of a female school. She remained a little over a year, when she retired from missionary labours on account of ill health.

In January, 1838, Mr. Simerwell's prospects among the Putawatomes appeared to be brightening, and many, chiefly adults, appeared willing to learn to read in their own language; but he was alone, and having the affairs of his family to attend—and this, too, under the disadvantages consequent on a new settlement—he was allowed too little time to bestow on missionary labours. He had an opportunity of hiring a half-Indian, to aid him in teaching upon the new system, but he was without the means. In this emergency, I advanced him funds to enable him to hire the man a month or two, in which time the case could be made known to the board, and an answer obtained; but the board did not authorize his employment, and so that matter ended.

On the 2d of February, 1838, I again set out on the long journey to Washington. On this tour I suffered extremely with cold in crossing the vast prairies of Illinois, in what were termed stages, which were open road-wagons, without seats. I was the only passenger for more than three days and nights, because few travelled, on account of the cold and the bad state of the roads. To the clothing common for travelling in the most severe weather, I added two blankets. I had mittens of the buffalo skin, with the hair side in. Notwithstanding all this, the ends of nearly all my fingers were frost-bitten, which happened when using my hands in wrapping my clothing about me. The cold affected my eyes until they inflamed, and became very troublesome. On account of ice, I found much difficulty, and encountered some risk, in crossing the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. This year I submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs a corrected copy of the large map of the Indian territory. It was believed that this map had contributed somewhat to the fixing of the bounds of the Indian territory in the public mind.

The Putawatomes had been induced to request the Government to subdivide so much of their lands as was needed for immediate occupancy, so that each could hold land in severalty. I submitted their petition to the Department of Indian Affairs, and also a scheme, which I recommended, for carrying the same into effect. Just views of this subject were taken by Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War, and prompt attention given to it; but, contrary to what we had expected, the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, without doubting the importance of the measure

in regard to the interests of the Indians, doubted the propriety of the Government undertaking to make these surveys, supposing that it was a work which the Indians ought to do at their own expense, and therefore reported unfavourably on the measure.

This failure we deeply regretted. We could not doubt that formidable obstacles to the improvement of the Indians originated in their community of right in the soil, and no point in the business of life is more evident than that industry and enterprise are promoted by individual right in landed property, by which the owner is assured that his house, and his field, and his fruit tree, are *his own*, and will be the property of his legal heirs. Our regrets were the greater, too, because this was the first instance of an Indian tribe expressing a desire to hold land in severalty; it was a measure to which we attached great importance, and it could not reasonably be expected that so great a change from the custom of ages could be effected without some extraneous aid. The repulsion of this first effort, by withholding the co-operation of Government, looked like nipping good fruit in the bud.

In the latter part of April, the bill for organizing the Indian territory was discussed, and it finally passed the Senate by a majority of thirty-nine to six. On this occasion, some of the best speeches were made, in favour of the bill, that had ever been heard in Congress on that subject. There were a few warm speeches, from men of talents, against the measure, but they savoured so much of the cold-heartedness of past ages towards the Indians, that they only served to elicit arguments of greater force in their favour. Those most prominent in favour of the measure were Messrs. Tipton, Lumpkin, White, Smith of Indiana, and Linn. The speeches of the two former gentlemen were printed in pamphlet form, many hundreds of which I procured and circulated through the United States, for the purpose of imparting information, and of giving tone to public sentiment. For some reason which appeared rather unaccountable, the member of the Committee on Indian Affairs, of the House of Representatives, who had charge of this bill, seemed now disinclined to urge its passage, and it was not called up for the final action of the House.

While I was in Washington, the meeting of the Triennial Convention of the Baptists was held in the city of New-York. I had hoped for the pleasure of attending this Convention, but business did not allow me to leave Washington at that time. To the care of some worthy brethren who attended, I intrusted some business with the Convention, among which was a repeti-

tion of the request that they consider the propriety of constituting a board specially for the management of *Indian missions*. The subject was introduced and referred, but no action, either of the Convention or of the board, has been had upon it. On his way to the Convention I saw Mr. Kellam, of the Creek mission. In the autumn of 1837, and not long after he entered upon his labours among the Creeks, Mrs. Kellam sickened and died, leaving an infant. This was another heavy stroke upon that mission, which seemed destined to suffer many hinderances. Mr. Kellam, after struggling on for some months, judged it necessary to his future happiness and usefulness to make a journey to the eastern States, to seek another companion of his toils, in place of her of whom he had been bereaved. He left his infant in charge of the excellent Presbyterian missionaries at the Dwight station, among the Cherokees. Thus the operations of this station were again suspended. Mr. Davis, whose residence was forty miles distant, sometimes, but not often, visited these destitute people.

About this time, the Rev. Dr. Welch again made a hasty visit to Washington, to add his influence in favour of our Indian affairs. For some months we had corresponded with a brother in the western part of the State of New-York, who had proposed to become a missionary to the Indians, and had encouraged him to come on without delay, and join us. There were favourable openings for him in several places, in which missionaries were much needed, and where he would be associated with another missionary, and, we doubted not, would be useful. We advised him, however, to make his case known to the board, which he did, and, contrary to what we had expected, the board deemed it inexpedient to give him an appointment.

From this tour of four months, I reached my family on the 8th of June, 1838. On the 14th of July, a delegation of twenty-six Ottawas and Chippewas arrived, and, on the 19th, I went with them into the wilderness, to show them the country set apart for them. We passed the station of Mr. Simerwell and that of Mr. Meeker; the latter, with his family, was in poor health, chiefly on account of intermittent fevers. Mr. Meeker was at this time beginning to receive some assistance, in his religious labours among the Ottawas, from a young Ottawa who had been baptized a few months before, who was a man of ardent piety and exemplary deportment.

On the 24th, we halted at noon in the wilderness, to hold a council. While adjusting our baggage, a large spotted rattlesnake was discovered, which, not satisfied with our arrange-

ments, was about to retire from the council ground, but it fell a victim to the enmity which exists between man and the serpent. None of our Indians had ever before seen any of this species of rattlesnake. For medicine, connected with which there was, of course, some kind of charm, they carefully collected all the blood of the reptile that could be obtained by cutting off the head. Next they extracted its fangs, through which the fatal poison is injected by its bite, and cut off and preserved the rattle on the end of the tail. Many of those northern Indians, instead of killing one of this species of snake, when happening to meet with it, present to it a piece of tobacco, for the purpose of conciliating that family of serpents, so that the Indians may not suffer by them. On this occasion, their curiosity, and fondness for marvellous medicines and charms, had led them to a violation of the common courtesies subsisting between the family of his snakeship and themselves; and, in order to repair the breach as far as possible, they resolved that nothing should be wanting in funeral attentions. The earth was excavated the full length of the body of the snake, in which it was carefully deposited with the head, and a piece of tobacco placed at each extremity. A brief funeral oration was then pronounced, in which the speaker expressed a hope that the friendship and peace, which he desired should ever subsist between the two families—namely, of Indians and rattlesnakes—might not be disturbed by what had recently happened. After which, the covering of the reptile completed the ceremonies.

In the autumn of 1837, the Cherokees called a general council, to which neighbouring tribes were invited, and some attended. This council was for the purpose of confirming existing friendship among them. The next autumn, 1838, they extended their invitation to attend a general council to tribes further off. All the tribes north of them, to the distance of about four hundred miles, were invited, excepting the Osages and the Kauzaus. In their messages to the tribes, they did not state distinctly the object of the contemplated council. They intimated some dissatisfaction with the treatment they had received from the Government of the United States, and expressed the opinion that the Indians should consult their own interests unitedly, and endeavour to take care of themselves.

The tenor of the message was such, that many of the tribes suspected that it had originated in some hostile design, either against the citizens of the United States, or the Osages and Kauzaus, or both. Several tribes near me asked advice, whether they should attend the council or not; especially the Delawares

and Shawanoes, who called on me with some formality, and at the same time stated their suspicions respecting the cause of the invitation. They were advised to attend, and told that general councils among the tribes ought to be held once a year, for the preservation of peace; and this accorded with the scheme which the Government had proposed in relation to the organization of the territory. Should they discover any improper feeling in the council, they would be prepared to aid in suppressing it, which they could not do, should they omit to attend. Their agent, however, took a different view of the subject, and urged them not to go. They would, nevertheless, have attended the council, as we believed, had it not been for scruples arising out of other considerations than the advice of their agent. The Florida war had been unaccountably protracted, and, in order to facilitate its termination, it had been deemed proper to employ a regiment of these northwestern Indians. About eighty Delawares, and as many Shawanoes, prompted by fidelity to the United States, and the promise of high wages, enlisted and performed a six months' tour in Florida. In reference to their pay, a mistake occurred in copying the order at Washington, through which the Indians were promised two hundred and seventy-two dollars for six months' service, instead of *seventy-two*. Five hundred Choctaws mustered for the same service, who, on becoming acquainted with the mistake, returned to their homes. But the Delawares and Shawanoes heard nothing of it until they had proceeded on their way three or four hundred miles, when they chose not to abandon the expedition. None went to Florida, excepting these companies of Shawanoes and Delawares; and now, when invited to attend a general council, in which they would probably come in contact with some of those same Floridians, they no doubt conjectured that unpleasant consequences might ensue; at any rate, they had reason to doubt a cordiality of feeling.

It was, indeed, to be regretted deeply that the Government had asked and obtained the assistance of Indians within the territory, to force the Seminoles on to the same ground, where the parties, who had had no cause of quarrel between them, should be compelled to live in the same neighbourhood, immediately after they had been shooting at each other.*

* Cortez, I believe it was, who set the example in Mexico of inducing Indians to make war upon their kindred Indians, and the example, we are sorry to know, has been followed by every civilized people who have been engaged in wars in America. The Spaniards, the Dutch, the French, the English, the American Colonists, and the citizens of the United States, have all been guilty in this matter. In the days of political darkness, such as

The Ottawas agreed that they would send two men to the Cherokee council, but horses to ride, and money to bear their expenses, were wanting: both which I furnished, and they attended. Two Putawatomes would have accompanied them, but were prevented by sickness.

This council occasioned some unnecessary alarm among the whites, who feared that measures of hostility were fomenting; but it was a measure entirely pacific in its character, and which ought to be encouraged by our Government.

The greater part of the Putawatomes were yet in their original places in the States of Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. Efforts were unremitting to get such as emigrated to locate in the transient settlement formed by some of the tribe on the Missouri. Mr. Simerwell was located among those whom we considered permanently settled within the Indian territory, and we very much desired that as many as possible of these people, among whom we had commenced our labours nearly twenty years before, should be located within reach of the institution continued for their benefit. Under these impressions, Mr. Lykins was prevailed upon to accept a temporary appointment under Government, to go to Michigan and conduct a portion of Putawatome emigrants, should they consent to remove. His acquaintance with Indian affairs, and his personal acquaintance with those Indians, fitted him, in no ordinary degree, for this service. He left the Shawanoe station in May, 1838, and did not return until the 5th of November, and he then returned without Indians. He found them opposed to removal, and resolved either to remain in that country, or to pass over to the British possessions in Canada. He could not, of course, employ any other means than honest argument; and this would, no doubt, have succeeded with a considerable number, if not with all, had it not been for the misrepresentations of mischievous white men, who desired to profit by the poor, degraded Putawatomes.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles, some would have accompanied him, had it not been for the uncommon degree of sickness which prevailed in that country. During its prevalence, emigration was impracticable. Mr. Lykins himself was attacked,

those in which the earlier settlements of America were made, it was less surprising that these comparatively inoffensive tribes, without any cause of their own, should be induced to destroy each other, merely to promote the interests of their invaders, than that the most enlightened and Christian nations upon earth should, in later times, condescend to such modes of warfare, against the Indians and against one another. Our own country, we know, is less guilty than some others, but it is not innocent.

and brought so low by an epidemic fever, that his physicians despaired of his recovery. His illness was protracted from the 1st of August to the 15th of October, and when he reached home he was still feeble. During his most severe sufferings, Moses Scott, Esq., whom he had appointed assistant, was with him, and without whose unremitting attentions it is probable he would have died. Mr. Scott's kindness was the more deserving of praise, because his own health was poor, and the circumstances of his family were such as rendered his presence with them desirable. Still he would not leave Mr. Lykins until the latter had become convalescent.

The designs of the Government to organize the Indian territory had not, in 1837, been brought to the consideration of the southern tribes, to the satisfaction of the Department of Indian Affairs; and in the summer of 1838, Captain William Armstrong, acting superintendent of Indian affairs, and myself, were instructed to attend to this matter. The following instructions were forwarded to us jointly :

“ War Department, Office of Indian Affairs, August 21, 1838.

“ GENTLEMEN : I have the honour to inclose a printed copy of a bill that passed the Senate at the last session of Congress, for the organization of a Government for the Indian territory. An effort will be made at the next session to secure its passage through both Houses. It is believed that this will be more likely to succeed, if the assent to its provisions of the principal tribes can be first obtained. It is important, therefore, that an attempt should be made to gain this. You have been associated together for this purpose, it being desirable to have the benefit of your joint influence, and of the knowledge each possesses of the subject; the one, [Captain Armstrong,] from his official position and intercourse with the tribes; the other, [Mr. McCoy,] from his agency in originating the measure, and thus far prosecuting it to a successful issue. The assemblies convened for the payment of the annuities will, probably, afford the best occasions for attending to this business. You will please to forward your reports, so as to reach this office on or before the first day of November next.

“ Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

“ C. A. HARRIS, *Commissioner.*

“ Captain WILLIAM ARMSTRONG,

“ *Choctaw Agency, west of Arkansas.*

“ Rev. ISAAC MCCOY,

“ *Westport, Jackson county, Missouri.*”

In obedience to the foregoing instructions, I left home on the 18th of September, and was absent nearly six weeks. This was another wilderness journey, attended with the ordinary privations. I had with me a hired man, and we drove a pack-horse for the purpose of transporting our tent and supplies. Captain Armstrong was sick at this time, and unable to attend to the duties enjoined by our instructions, and I proceeded to the Choctaws alone. Their annual council was in session, which I reached on the 4th of October. To the organization of the Indian territory, as proposed by the Government, the Choctaw council objected, without assigning any definite reason. They were careful that nothing should be wanting in courtesy, but they declined meeting the matter fairly, and stating their reasons for or against the measure. They intimated, in their response, that they lacked confidence in the Government of the United States. This, no doubt, was the reason why they declined any definite action in relation to the subject.

Notwithstanding we did not obtain such an answer as was desired, this was a very interesting interview, from which we not only derived personal satisfaction, but hoped for an impression upon the public mind beneficial to the Indians generally. Here was developed a career of improvement recently commenced, and truly auspicious.

The system of chieftaincies, which belongs only to *savage* life has been virtually abolished by the Choctaws. *Chiefs* and *principal* men cannot now be convened by the Government of the United States, who will feel authorized to transact business in behalf of the nation by virtue of a vested right, as is claimed and exercised by chiefs among uncivilized Indians.

The tribe denominates itself "The Choctaw Nation." It has adopted a written constitution of Government, similar to the constitution of the United States. Their declaration of rights secures to all equal privileges, and liberty of conscience, excluding all religious tests; it secures trial by jury, and, in a word, it provides for all that is felt to be necessary in the incipient stages of political existence. The Constitution may be amended by the National Council.

Their country is divided into four judicial districts. Three of these districts annually elect, by popular vote, each nine members of the National Council, and the fourth elects, by the same mode, thirteen members, in all forty. These are allowed three dollars a day, while engaged in legislating. Within each district, an officer, denominated a chief, is elected for the term of four years. The National Council meets, annually, on the

first Monday in October. It consists of forty members, the necessary clerks, a light-horseman, (sergeant-at-arms,) and door-keeper. It is also attended by the chiefs, who have an honorary seat provided for them by the side of the Speaker, but they have no voice in debate in council. Their signatures are necessary to the passage of a law. They may veto an act, but it may become a law, by a concurrence of two-thirds of the Council, notwithstanding. The Council is styled "The General Council of the Choctaw Nation." It adopts by-laws for its government while in session, and elects a Speaker and other requisite officers, and appoints appropriate committees to adjust matters for legislation. All writings are in English, but are read off in the Choctaw language, and all their discussions are carried on in the Choctaw language. Each member, when about to speak, rises, and respectfully addresses the Speaker, using the Choctaw word for *Speaker*, adding the syllable *ma*, which nearly corresponds with the English Mr., or Sir. The question is put in the form customary in legislative bodies, and the vote is given by rising. The preliminary of a law is, "Be it enacted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation." In future, the Constitution and laws will be printed in both the Choctaw and English language. By the Constitution, the Government is composed of four departments, viz: Legislative, Executive, Judicial, and Military. Three judges are elected by the people in each district, who hold inferior and superior courts within their respective districts. Ten light-horsemen in each district perform the duties of sheriffs, and the sum of two hundred dollars per annum is allowed to each district for their compensation. An act has recently been passed for the organization of the militia.

Individual Indians have frequently become civilized, and subject to the laws of white men; but the Choctaws furnish the first instance among the aboriginal tribes of America, of self-government, divested of the barbarous customs which belong to the savage state. It is truly gratifying that the laws of a commonwealth have been established within the Indian territory, so soon after the plan of organizing an Indian government has been undertaken by the Government of the United States. It evinces the capacity of the natives to think and act for themselves, and it may be looked upon as a sure presage of the success, ultimately, of the design of the Government to place all the tribes in the enjoyment of such blessings.

The following brief narrative of the manner in which our business was attended to by the General Council, to which

I presented for consideration the bill for the organization of the Indian territory, does not fully comport with the design of this work; nevertheless, as it relates to a period which will be marked as a new era in the history of the Indians, and as the reader cannot feel perfectly satisfied with general remarks, because, if we would understand the true condition of a people, we must have before us an unvarnished story of their affairs in common life, I will insert it.

On my arrival I informed a member of the Council that I had been commissioned to transact business with the Choctaws, and inquired in what manner it could be brought before them. He said a written notice must be sent to the Speaker; and politely offered to serve me in presenting any papers that I desired. A communication was accordingly conveyed to the Speaker, who, in due form, submitted it to the consideration of the Council. It was decided by vote that I should, at a given time, be introduced into the Council. A seat was prepared, an interpreter appointed, and a committee of two sent to inform me, and to conduct me to my seat. Having received our communication, the subject was for the present dismissed by the Council, to be considered in its proper place in the order of business.

There was in the vicinity only one house of public entertainment. For want of room in the tavern, and for the sake of economy, a majority of the members, and of others in attendance, boarded themselves in camp. This session lasted much longer than had been anticipated. The consequence was, some inconvenience for want of supplies, and great anxiety to adjourn, which, with many, was increased on account of their business requiring their presence at their homes. Notwithstanding this state of anxiety, on a Saturday night they unanimously voted not to sit on the Sabbath, and by a unanimous vote invited me to preach in the Hall, and appointed an interpreter, and a committee to notify me. All this was done without a hint from a white man to prompt it. A congregation never behaved with more propriety under the preaching of a chaplain in Congress-Hall than did this in the National Hall of the Choctaws.

Our business was referred to a committee, which reported. The Council, in the discussion of the subject, and in making out its response, sat with closed doors. Their communication was sent to me by a messenger. I then informed one of the members that I should be happy to take leave of the Council in a formal and friendly manner. They passed a resolution, by

which they sent a member and invited me within the bar, and heard from me a brief farewell address, at the conclusion of which the Speaker and all the members rose from their seats, and remained standing until I had retired.

They sit in council with heads uncovered, excepting some in Indian costume, who wear turbans. There were many animated speeches. I could not understand a single sentence, but was charmed with the gracefulness with which the speakers disengaged themselves from their seats, and delivered their speeches. Intonation of voice was sweet, and gesticulation appropriate; both of them free from those extremes of *high* and *low*, of *storm* and *calm*, which too often injure speeches in legislative bodies. Some of those who were prominent in debate were full-blooded Indians, in the Indian costume. Many of the counsellors, no doubt, will soon figure as statesmen. I forbear to mention names, because I should be compelled, either to do injustice to some, or to fill up too much space. On one occasion a very animated debate arose, in which two ardent young men responded to each other, in two or three pretty long speeches, in which they used *written notes*.

In passing through the Cherokee and Creek countries, it was discovered that a general belief prevailed, that the design of organizing the territory was in reality a design to rob them of the country. This impression, no doubt, had been promoted by mischievous white men. Our time was too short to correct this erroneous impression, and we therefore did not submit the bill to the consideration of those tribes.

The necessity for the organization of the territory had evidently been felt by the Cherokees, because the ostensible objects of the General Council, which had recently been called by them, were virtually such as related to such an organization. They, however, would, no doubt, prefer that the measure should come before the other tribes as one that had emanated from the Cherokees, rather than as one from the Government of the United States, because, by this means, they would be placed in the attitude of *leaders*. It is probable that in some of the tribes which are farthest advanced in civilization, principal men may feel disinclined to adopt the plan of confederation, as has been proposed in the bill for the organization of the Indian territory, lest by being placed by the side of other men of respectable talents and acquirements, their own may become somewhat eclipsed. But the only formidable difficulty, in the minds of the Indians, is their want of confidence in the citizens of the United States. They feel that they have been injured, under the spe-

cious show of friendship. Preambles to almost all treaties express great regard for the Indians, and a desire to improve their condition is a prominent reason assigned for making the treaty; whereas they have learned, long since, that the *benefit of the Indians* seldom has any influence in producing treaties. They have learned, further, that many stipulations of treaties made at divers times, promised the Indians what the General Government, then treating, could not perform. Take, for instance the promises and concessions made to the Cherokees, by various treaties, by which they were induced to believe that they might remain in the peaceable enjoyment of their country, east of the Mississippi, and that the United States would, when appealed to, protect them in their rights. They made the appeal, and found that the United States' Government had promised, partly in direct terms, and partly by implication, what it could not perform; and now, when this same Government comes before these same people and their kindred tribes, with propositions prefaced with similar expressions of friendship and good will, it is not surprising that the sincerity of those professions should be doubted. The immigrants, however, as fast as they recover from the pain of *harrowed* feelings, and become prepared to take an enlarged and impartial view of the whole case, will perceive that uncontrollable causes, which the good citizens of the United States, generally, deplored, worked their latter woes, and that these causes do not reach them within the territory; and that, because a bad policy, entailed upon us by the generations which preceded us, brought us in debt to them, which debts we could not pay in *kind*, it does not follow that we are unwilling to make restitution in the only practicable method.

Returning to my home, on the 30th of October, 1838, I found a delegation of Delawares, consisting of chiefs and principal men, who had with them the resolution of a large majority of their tribe, expressed in full council, that they would enact laws for their benefit, beginning with such as were most needed; and as intemperance was the greatest evil which they suffered, their first laws should be for the purpose of suppressing that ruinous practice. They bore a letter, addressed jointly to their agent and myself, declaring their resolution, and asking our assistance in framing laws, and our advice, generally, in regard to the proper mode for them to proceed.

The day before my arrival, they had presented this communication to their agent, from whom they did not receive an answer in accordance with their wishes. The poor Delawares felt this repulse most keenly. Sensible of their want of information,

they had in an humble and very respectful manner asked assistance from those from whom they had a right to expect it, in making an innovation upon the *custom of ages* of savage life, and in favour of civilization. This was their first step, and it had been taken tremblingly, and now a frown upon this first effort was exceedingly mortifying.

I requested them not to be discouraged, and told them they had turned their faces in a proper direction. Important matters were seldom accomplished easily, and often it seemed that the ultimate benefits of an enterprise were somewhat proportioned to the difficulties which had opposed its accomplishment. I assured them that I would attend to their requests, and make them a written communication on the subject, as soon as I could find time to prepare it. Seldom have we seen Indians so much elated as were those with this half success of their laudable effort.

They afterwards called and received the documents promised them, and went to work according to the mode recommended to them. They were opposed by a small portion of the tribe, among whom were two chiefs. They complained to the agent that their rights had been invaded, and at length pleaded that intemperance could as well be suppressed without written laws as with them, and proposed the trial. Whereupon, the majority, by their figure of speech, replied, "Well, if you can prevent intemperance, we will, for the present, *hang up* our business which we have begun in relation to it." The effort, though it was not carried out, in consequence of the views of the United States' agent, nevertheless had a happy effect for many months in diminishing the evil of intemperance.

Having been required to cause the Cherokee surveys to be completed, &c., with the view of giving them a patent for their land, I was afforded an opportunity of pleading with the Government that the instrument might be so framed that it would be additionally difficult for the citizens of the United States, individually, to get into the Indian country, to crowd the proper owners out. I had manifested so much feeling upon this subject, that the Department of Indian Affairs requested me to write a *projet* of the form of a patent. This being the *first* given to an Indian tribe, would be referred to as a precedent in future; on which account we felt the deeper solicitude in the case. This *form*, accompanied by reasons for its peculiarity, was submitted to the consideration of the Attorney-General of the United States, the Hon. B. F. Butler, whose province it was to decide questions of this character. In October, T. Hartley Crawford,

Esq., who had succeeded Mr. Harris in the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had the kindness to forward me a copy of the patent, as fixed by the decision of the Attorney-General, together with his reasons in favour of the form agreed upon. The point of which I had been particularly tenacious had been deemed inadmissible, not on account of its utility being doubted, but because a stipulation in the Cherokee treaty forbid it. Here, again, was a serious evil, growing out of that unfortunate treaty of 1835. I regret to say, that the most serious difficulties attending the proper adjustment of Indian affairs, and placing them on the highway of national prosperity, appear to be laid in the blundering forms of their treaties.

CHAPTER XXII.

Small-pox. Death. Journey to Washington. Difficulties at the Creek station. Fourth number of the Annual Register. The Indian bill again passes the Senate. Death of a missionary. Baptisms. Missionaries appointed. Wyandots. Stockbridges.

On my late tour among the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, it was distressing to find the existence of the small-pox among those tribes, occasioning great distress and waste of life. There was imminent danger, too, of its being communicated to others, and its havoc would probably be most terrible among the remote tribes towards the southwest. This dreadful scourge had nearly exterminated the Mandans, on the Missouri, in 1837, and had been very destructive among many other remote tribes in the northwest. This circumstance had induced the Government to extend the benefits of vaccination to some; but, as it had happened in cases of vaccination which immediately followed the passage of the law for that object in 1832, the effort was too feeble and unsystematic. The prevalence of the disease among the southern tribes, at this time, was represented to the Department of Indian Affairs; and, also, through its indulgence, a scheme was submitted for more effectually arresting the progress of the disease, and preventing its recurrence in future. Measures were adopted in reference to these ends, and physicians were employed to impart the benefits of vaccination to various tribes.

On the 25th of December, 1838, we realized another severe trial, in reference to our oft repeated family afflictions. Mrs. Donohoe, our youngest daughter, only about eighteen years of age, had, for a twelvemonth or more, been declining in health, and was at this time exceedingly low with a consumption, from which no hope of her recovery could be indulged. The interests of our Indian matters appeared to require me to make another journey to Washington, in language too imperious to be disobeyed. My almost heart-broken wife strengthened herself in the Lord, and our sick child acquiesced with religious cheerfulness. All concerned concurred in opinion that the calls of Indian interests were so loud, and distinct, and affecting, as to require the sacrifice of separation. Alas! this parting hand was the last given to my dear Eleanor. She died on the 11th day of January, and before I reached my journey's end. The sad intelligence followed close upon my heels; but the bitter bowl contained a cordial too. Death had lost his sting, and the grave had been disrobed of its horrors. She was religiously cheerful to the last moment of her existence, and, apparently without anxiety or dread, she endeavoured to inspire others around her with similar sentiments. With lips which faltered more and more, she said, "I am going home—Jesus—joy—Jesus—great joy," and ceased to breathe! *She was the tenth child of whom we had been bereaved,* and all since we had been missionaries.

Mr. Kellam, who had left the Creek station in the spring of 1838, on a visit to the Eastern States, was unable to get back to his post before November. I was in the Creek country in October, and took some pains to have the furniture of the mission house preserved from damage, to which it was exposed. When he returned, a few weeks afterwards, he found not only his furniture in bad condition, but the United States' agent had appointed another Government teacher in his stead, who had taken possession of the buildings, which were the property of the board of missions. While in Washington, a letter from Mr. Kellam reached me, detailing these disasters, and about the same time a similar communication was received by Mr. Lincoln, the treasurer of the board, who was at that time in Washington. Application was immediately made to the Government for restitution, which resulted in an order from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for reinstating Mr. Kellam:

I could not conveniently get the fourth number of the Annual Register printed at our office at the Shawanoe station, and the work was executed in Washington, which made its distribution in the various parts of the United States convenient. It

was published at my own cost, and, like all the preceding numbers, issued gratuitously.

The bill for the organization of the Indian territory again passed the Senate by a very large majority, but it was not brought before the House of Representatives for final action. Some circumstances connected with Indian affairs induced the belief, among some of the warmest friends of the measure, that its passage had better be postponed. But this postponement implied not the least doubt of the importance of the measure, or the slightest indication of a disposition on the part of its advocates to abandon it. Nevertheless, it may safely be supposed, that they who had laboured sixteen years for the accomplishment of this object, regretted that any circumstance should prevent it. Although the step which ought to have been the *first* in order taken by the Government, has not been taken at all, the time and labour bestowed upon the subject have not been wasted. About ninety-five thousand Indians, belonging to twenty-three tribes, have been collocated within the proposed Indian territory. Plats of the boundaries proposed for it have been so long kept before the public, that the contemplation of the lines has become pretty uniform among men, when reflecting upon the matters of the territory. Some have their land secured to them by patent, and measures are in progress which will soon secure the lands to all by the same indisputable title. Just views of the causes of Indian decline and misery, and of the means which ought to be employed for reclaiming them, and our obligation to employ those means, have been promoted. Most of the immigrants who have had time to recover from the damage sustained in their removal, are improving their condition. A knowledge of the just ground laid for producing a better condition is increasing and inspiring hope, and promoting industry and enterprise. Even the indigenous tribes are imbibing a spirit of improvement. Some tribes have already laid a solid basis of civil and religious institutions; others are following them at greater or less distance. The whole is assuming the appearance, and customs, and enjoyments of a civil community; and, as order is restored, and the social relations of life promoted, they are brought within the reach of religious instruction, from regular attendance on which the unsettled state of their affairs had prevented them; and, what is worth more than all other things, the religion of the Bible is steadily advancing among them.

I returned to my afflicted family on the 21st of March, 1839. Mr. Rollin had not been very successful in his labours among

the Shawanoes, and on my tour, in the autumn of 1838, I thought I had discovered for him a more promising field among the Choctaws, which I designed to recommend him to enter. But, to our great distress, his health was evidently failing. He continued to decline under a pulmonary consumption, and having obtained leave of the board to retire from missionary labours, on the 11th of April, 1839, he left our place for Michigan, with Mrs. Rollin and three small children. For a while, travelling on a steamboat seemed to improve his health. He reached the residence of Mr. Read, the father of Mrs. Rollin, in Michigan, in a very low state of health; but survived only about one week. On the 12th of May he finished his labours on earth. His life had been religious, and his death was happy. His confidence in the Redeemer remained unshaken. In the time of *trial*, when he knew he must leave his amiable wife a widow, and his dear children fatherless, and when he was himself about to give an account of his stewardship, he derived substantial consolation from the Gospel which he had laboured to make known to the Indians. In endeavouring to secure to those poor people "*durable riches and righteousness*," he, with the disinterestedness of a faithful missionary, had omitted to provide for the future support of his family. He now left them poor, but left them in charge of the Father of the fatherless and the widow's God. He had been "faithful unto death," and has, no doubt, received a "crown of life;" and at the time of harvest, it is believed, he will not be destitute of sheaves gathered from the sterile regions of Indian lands.

On the 12th day of May, an Ottawa female was baptized, and also Mr. Simerwell's eldest son, a lad of about thirteen years of age. The Indian female had long lingered in declining health, and was so low as to occasion doubts with the missionaries respecting the propriety of her being baptized. She, however, insisted on being baptized, and her husband accorded in opinion and desire. When carried to the water, a considerable number of Ottawas appeared, and objected; declaring their confident belief that immersion in water would be followed soon by death. She requested to be taken near enough to them to be heard, when she gave them a lecture that silenced all objections. It was a favour in Providence that, for some time after her baptism, her health appeared to improve. This favour appeared the greater, on account of the ignorance and superstition of these people; who, no doubt, would have attributed a different turn of the disease to the exposure encountered in baptism.

May the 22d, 1839, Miss Elizabeth F. Churchill arrived,

under an appointment of the board to missionary service, and located at the Shawanoe mission house. About the same time, the Rev. Francis Barker, who had been about a year and a half on the western frontiers, near the Indians, received an appointment as a missionary, and made his residence at the Shawanoe station.

On the 4th of July, the anniversary of American Independence, a temperance meeting was numerously attended, in the vicinity of Mr. Simerwell, among the Putawatomes, and a temperance dinner prepared by the contributions of sundry white and red people in the neighbourhood. The meeting heard some excellent speeches upon the subject of abstinence from intoxicating drinks, several of which were from Indians. A. L. Davis, Esq., United States' agent, gave them a good speech, but which was not superior to one delivered by Luther Rice, alias Noaquett, a full-blooded Indian. On the 18th of August, two Putawatomes were baptized, one of whom was a respectable chief.

In the latter part of the year 1838, two Delawares, returning to their homes from a hunting party, with three horses loaded with peltries and furs, were robbed and murdered by the Otoes. The Delawares, in the spring of the present year, were organizing a war party, to avenge themselves on the Otoes, when I invited the chiefs into a conference, and prevailed on them to suspend further movements towards hostilities, until their case could be made known to the Department of Indian Affairs, at Washington, and an answer obtained. I wrote without delay, and received an answer which did credit to the heads and hearts of those who manage Indian affairs in that Department, in view of collisions between the tribes of which they are the national guardians.

On the 23d of October, I had so far recovered from a severe illness, that I was able to read to a delegation of six Delawares the communication from the Department of Indian Affairs. They were much gratified with what they heard in reference to the measures which Government would pursue in such cases, to make restitution to the sufferers for past injuries, and to prevent future aggressions, and resolved not to take justice into their own hands, but to await the action of Government in their behalf.

In the latter part of October, I directed the location of a party of immigrant Chippewas from Michigan, and early in November I gave direction to a tour of exploration, by N. Boilvin, Esq., made with a view to the future and permanent location of the

Winnebagoes. Though scarcely able to go abroad, on account of my late sickness, I spent seven days in the wilderness at the commencement of this tour. With the view of selecting a location for their tribe, a delegation of five Wyandauts, from Ohio, visited the Indian territory, and arrived at my place on the 25th of July, of this year. They were inclined to choose a location embracing portions of the lands of the Shawanoes and Delawares, provided it could be obtained. They, however, returned without any definite action on the subject. On the 7th of November, another delegation, consisting of seven Wyandauts, arrived on the same business. About the same time, the Department of Indian Affairs informed me that the Hon. W. H. Hunter, of Ohio, had been appointed a commissioner to aid in these negotiations, in which I was required to assist. Before the arrival of the commissioner, the Wyandaut delegation manifested an inclination to return to their people, but were prevailed on to remain. The negotiations were terminated in December. For a given sum, to be paid by the United States, the Shawanoes agreed to cede, for a residence for the Wyandauts, fifty-six thousand acres of land. The Delawares also have said they would cede for the same object about twelve thousand acres; hence it is probable that the Wyandauts will, ere long, be settled adjoining the Shawanoes and Delawares.

A band of Stockbridge Indians in Wisconsin Territory, originally from the State of New-York, treated with the United States in the month of September, and sold half their land, and about one-half of them agreed to remove to the West. These, anticipating the ratification of their treaty by the Senate of the United States, emigrated on their own resources, and reached the Delaware country in December. They removed, under a belief that Government was prepared to give them land, and immediately on their arrival called on me to ascertain where they could obtain a suitable location, when it appeared that in their treaty there was no stipulation providing a home for them. They are somewhat related to the Delawares, and they applied to them for permission to settle on their lands, which was granted, upon the condition that the United States would add somewhat to their tract. The Stockbridges then applied to me to endeavour to get an amendment made to their treaty, by the United States' Senate, to provide land, as desired by them and the Delawares. The two parties propose to occupy the same tract in common, and that the Stockbridge shall become merged in the Delaware tribe. Among these late immigrants are several who are pious, and the brethren Lykins, Barker, and Blan-

chard, have established religious meetings among them in their encampment in the wilderness, the exercises of which have been very satisfactory.

Henry Skiggett, a Delaware, who laboured as a missionary some time among his people, afterwards visited the Stockbridges in Wisconsin, the principal chief of whom is his uncle. Some uneasiness on his account was felt when he left our country, lest, becoming separated from us, and liable to fall into irreligious society, he might sustain damage as a Christian: He came with the late immigrants, and, to our great satisfaction, he appeared to have grown in grace, and increased in zeal and usefulness. In Wisconsin he found one of his people, named Newcom, who was also a member of the Baptist church, with whom he united in sustaining public religious meetings among the Stockbridges; and on their journey they had prayers and other religious exercises, whenever the situation of the party admitted.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Condition of affairs at the close of 1839. Puncabs. Omahas. Station abandoned. Pawnees. Otoes. Ioways. Sauks. Kickapoos. Kauzaus. Delawares. Shawanoes. Books printed. Ottawas. Weas and Piankashas. Peorias and Kaskaskias. Putawatomes. Osages. Quapaws. Senecas and Shawanoes. Creeks. Cherokees. Choctaws. Obligation of the Baptists.

In this chapter I shall proceed with the tribes geographically, beginning with the most northern.

The Puncab is a small tribe of about eight hundred souls, of the Omaha family, residing near the Missouri river, on the northern extremity of the Indian territory. Their condition is similar to that of the Omahas, and is unimproved. They have never enjoyed the benefit of a missionary, and have been too long neglected.

The Omaha tribe consists of about fourteen hundred souls. Their settlement is on the Missouri river, about eighty miles above where it receives the Great Platte river. Like all rude tribes in the wilderness, they have received from the whites some guns, iron tools, cooking vessels, and clothing. Nevertheless, their minds and their habits may be said to be unimproved. Their intercourse with traders has, no doubt, rendered obsta-

cles to their improvement more formidable than they were before their acquaintance with white men. They cultivate a small amount of vegetables, but rely chiefly upon the chase for subsistence. A hunting tour of about two months is made by them, in quest of buffalo, in the early part of the warm season of the year, and another in the latter part. At these times, few, and frequently, none, are left remaining in the villages. To avoid surprise by an enemy, they proceed with great caution and some order, usually in two or three lines, fifty or one hundred yards apart. Spies are kept in advance, to look out for a lurking foe, and to descry the buffalo before the animal becomes affrighted.*

Their houses are constructed of earth, circular, and in form of a cone, the wall of which is about two feet in thickness, and is sustained by wooden pillars within. The floor is the earth, and is usually sunk about two feet below the surrounding surface; the smoke escapes through an aperture in the centre, which answers the double purpose of chimney and window. The door is low and narrow, and closed by suspending in it the skin of an animal. An enclosed entry, extending from the door proper six or eight feet, is sometimes made, which adds much to the warmth of the dwelling within. These houses are destitute of chair, table, or bedstead. The inmates coil about a fire, on mats of flags, or skins of animals. Regularity of time is not observed in preparing and participating of food. They manufacture no cloth, do not enclose cultivated lands with fences, keep no other live stock than horses, which are not applied to draught. There are treaty stipulations, by which the United States' Government is required to afford them some assistance in relation to agriculture, smithery, education, &c., by which they have not yet profited.

Mr. Curtis, who went among the Omahas in 1837, contrary to what had been requested and expected, and for reasons not known to us, made his location about twelve miles from the people of his charge. He remained at his station a few months, and left it without having accomplished any thing. The buildings, which cost the board of missions a thousand dollars, have been left without an occupant, in an uninhabited desert. This is the unpleasant condition of this station, after nine years' effort of some of the missionaries to put it into operation. The prospect of doing much good there, with little cost to benevolent societies, has always been and still is good, provided energetic

* For an account of a *buffalo hunt*, see pages 355—6.

and devoted missionaries could be found willing to labour there. Mr. Curtis, and Mrs. Curtis, who is an amiable woman, and a devout Christian, are still residing in those remote regions, near the junction of the Missouri and the Great Platte rivers, but not in an Indian settlement, and receiving no support either from the board of missions or from the Government. He is not exerting any influence upon matters beneficial to the Indians.

The Pawnee tribe is on the Great Platte river, about one hundred miles from its junction with the Missouri river. Their number is usually estimated at ten thousand souls, and their condition is similar to that of the Omahas. By treaty with the United States, they are entitled to smitheries, and agriculturists to aid them, live stock, mills, &c., and some provision is also made for educational purposes.

It was in 1827 that the Baptists made the first effort with the Government of the United States to make an arrangement for establishing a mission in the vicinity of the Pawnees, and which was designed for their benefit, and that of other tribes near. The commencement of the stations among the Otoes and Omahas was in accordance with this design. For the Pawnees, with twelve years' effort, we have found no Baptist missionary willing to labour. Two Presbyterian missionaries, viz : Messrs. Dunbar and Allis, with their wives, have undertaken a mission for this tribe, under the patronage of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1824, the male missionaries mingled with the people of their charge, but subsequently they took temporary residences on the bank of the Missouri river, one hundred miles from them. The missionaries have qualified themselves for future usefulness by the acquisition of the Pawnee language, but have not been able to impart any benefits to the tribe. This, for the last fifteen years, has been an inviting field for missionary labours.

The Otoes number about sixteen hundred souls. They reside on the Great Platte river, and a few miles only from its junction with the Missouri. Until lately, their condition did not differ from that of the Omahas and Pawnees. Since the establishment of the Otoe mission, some indications of a spirit of improvement have been seen among them. By treaty stipulations, the United States have provided for their assistance in agriculture, smithery, schools, &c.; these have been partially applied, and not without success. Some of the Otoes have been encouraged to use more industry in agriculture than formerly. It would be difficult to repress a smile at the awkward-

ness of rude man, even while the tear of pity and good will would steal over the cheek, to see the Otoe chief holding the handles of his plough, while his wife or child led the horse.

Mr. and Mrs. Merrill have both acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of the Otoe language, and they impart religious instructions without an interpreter. The Indians give pleasing attention to preaching when they are in their villages, which unfortunately, as it happens with all uncultivated tribes, is but a small portion of the year. Little has yet been done in relation to instruction in the English language. About thirty-six, chiefly young men, receive instruction in reading in the Otoe language, while they are within the reach of the place, to whom boarding in part is furnished by the mission.

A temperance society has been formed among the Otoes, of which thirty-six of that tribe became members. We fear that the history of the society will testify more honourably to the zeal of the missionaries than to the fidelity of the members. Nevertheless, as missionaries to the Indians never find water in which they can *lie upon their oars*, but are accustomed to row against strong currents and contrary winds, zeal in this case, with the blessing of God, may accomplish much.

Humanly speaking, nothing seems to be wanting to ensure a good degree of success, but the addition of more missionaries of zeal equal to that of Mr. and Mrs. Merrill. Both of these missionaries have suffered not a little from ill health, and there is too much reason to fear that Mr. Merrill's declining health will soon bring him to the grave.

When I first came to this country, in 1828, the Puncas, Omahas, Pawnees, and Otoes, were almost strangers to the use of intoxicating drink. At this time, vast quantities of whiskey are consumed among them. In the summer of this year, 1839, fifty barrels of alcohol were rolled off a steamboat at one time, and deposited in a cellar at a trading house on the northwest bank of the Missouri, above the mouth of the Great Platte river. Spirits are commonly transported to the remote tribes, in the form of alcohol, in order to save cost, and is afterwards diluted for use. Taking the above instance of deposite, as a sample of the *many* which occur in those regions, what floods of this destroying liquor are those wretched savages drenched with in the course of a twelve month! The extent of the evils thus produced could only be learned from a history of the infernal regions. Where are the laws forbidding the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian country? Where are the officers of Government who have been stationed in the Indian country

for the purpose of preventing infractions of law? Where are the bonds which traders give, with sureties and heavy penalties, by which they bind themselves to obey the laws of the United States? Such mockery of law and justice might well produce a blush upon the cheek of every citizen of the United States. Of this murderous traffic, one cannot think without horror, nor speak without indignation, tempting him to transcend the bounds of moderation. We talk of Indians being distressed and destroyed by war; but we destroy them much *faster in times of peace* than in times of war. If the bloody history of the Spaniards in the West-Indies and Mexico, in the sixteenth century, is revolting to the feelings of the reader, what must we say of our own countrymen, in this *nineteenth century*? They murdered by slavery in the mines, or by cross-bows and blood-hounds; but we murder by poison, which, if more slow in its effects, is more insidious, and certain, and dreadful. And can no remedy be found? If the laws of Congress cannot reach the case, and arrest the destroyer, cannot Christians come and arm the sufferers with the doctrines and influences of the Bible, by which they will be rendered invulnerable to these satanic assaults? There can be no other remedy than this. Laws cannot effect a cure of the evil, because they cannot be executed. By the introduction of civil institutions, the Indians must be taught to *love life*, and respect themselves, and by an acquaintance with the Bible be made to love holiness and practise it; until the salutary influence of these principles shall predominate, they will be exposed to their fell destroyer. Here, then, upon Christians rests an awful responsibility. Can they withhold their help and be innocent? Were it practicable, this interrogatory should be extended to every Christian, of every denomination, in the United States, and urged with the ardour which the contemplation of eternal things inspires.

The Iowas number about one thousand souls; they reside on the Missouri river. Their condition and habits are slightly improved. Government, by virtue of treaty stipulations, is affording them some assistance in the erection of dwellings and mills, the fencing and ploughing of land, in live stock, schools, &c. A Presbyterian mission has been established among them, under the patronage of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, the good effects of which have been felt by the tribe, though in a small degree. From this mission, two excellent missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Ballard, have lately retired, and it is at present in charge of the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Irving, Mr. Bradley, and their wives.

The Sauks are about five hundred in number, being only a branch of the Sauk nation. They are located within a mile of the Ioways, and are in a similar condition. They are also deriving some benefit from the United States' Government, by virtue of treaty stipulations for assistance in improving lands, schools, &c.

The Kickapoos are about forty miles lower down the Missouri river, and number about four hundred souls. Their circumstances are more comfortable and their habits more improved than those of the Iowas and Sauks. It may be said that many of them are becoming agriculturists; they keep live stock, and apply horses and oxen to draught. Government has assisted them materially in these improvements, and is still assisting them. The Methodists have a mission among them upon a small scale, under the management of the Rev. Mr. Berryman; and the Catholics, also, have a small establishment.

The Kauzaus are estimated at seventeen hundred and fifty souls. Their villages are on the Kauzau river, about one hundred miles from its junction with the Missouri. By treaty stipulations, the United States' Government has promised to afford them assistance in agriculture, schools, &c. From these provisions they have derived some, though not much benefit. Their condition, until very lately, was similar to that of the Pawnees and Omahas. Recently, a few have made some hopeful efforts at agriculture. The Methodists have a mission among them, recently established, and upon a small scale; the Rev. W. Johnson, missionary. Here is a favourable opening for more missionary efforts.

The Delawares are in the upper angle formed by the junction of the Missouri and Kauzau rivers. Their number is stated at nine hundred and twenty-one. Many of the tribe are scattered in other sections of country. These are considerably advanced in civilization, and are advancing with an increasing ratio of improvement. They are pretty well supplied with cattle, horses, and swine; generally live in neatly hewn log houses, though small, and without much furniture within; have farms enclosed with good rail fences, and enjoy a comfortable supply of subsistence throughout the year. Their minds and morals are also improving. Government has assisted them, and will continue to do so for many years, in improving their circumstances. The Methodists have had a mission among them several years, and the United Brethren (Moravians) have recently transplanted a mission of theirs among them from Canada to this place. The Baptist station may be said to be prosperous. On the 7th of July, 1839, two intelligent Delawares of influence were bap-

tized. Religious worship is usually pretty well attended; and also instruction in reading, to a limited extent, both in English and Indian, is imparted by Mr. and Mrs. Blanchard, and Miss Case. Here, also, missionaries are needed.

The Shawanoes in the territory are reckoned at eight hundred and twenty-three. Some of the nation are in other countries. They live on the south side of the Kauzau river. My wife and I hail from the Baptist station in this tribe, though our business relates to every tribe. Our connection with the General (Missionary) Convention has never been changed from the first, excepting that within the last ten years we have been at liberty to act, in many matters, upon our own responsibility, in which cases the board is not accountable, either in regard to the propriety of the measure, or the cost that may be occasioned. We support ourselves, but should our resources (which are our earnings in the service of the Government) fail, as they probably will, our claims upon the board for support will be similar to those of other missionaries.

The condition of the Indians is so closely connected with the affairs of the Government, that, in order to procure facilities essential to a successful prosecution of missions, it has appeared necessary for some one to approach a little nearer to political matters, than was strictly proper for a missionary society; and in making these advances beyond the proper sphere of the society, prudence suggested that the latter should not become liable to either cost or blame. All the advantages, however, which these efforts produce, are secured to the board's missions. We act in concert with other missionaries, and in harmony with the views and designs of the board.

The station has suffered much on account of the poor health of the missionaries. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt laboured under difficulties of this character, especially the latter, whose symptoms of diseased lungs became so alarming, that they deemed it expedient to return to her kindred in New-England, respecting the propriety of which measure their nearer neighbouring missionary brethren concurred in opinion. We feel sensibly the loss of these young missionaries, especially in the printing department, in which Mr. Pratt's place has not yet been supplied, and follow them with our prayers that they may yet be spared to promote the interests of the Indians, to which they had ardently devoted themselves at the commencement of their career in useful life. All deeply regret the suspension of the operations of the press, and the board have resolved to furnish another printer as early as possible. The general health of Mr. and

Mrs. Lykins is not good—hers, especially, is poor. In the latter part of May, the scarlet fever made its appearance in the neighbourhood, and each of them and their children suffered so severely, that they could scarcely leave their house for five months. Mr. Barker and Miss Churchill have also suffered by sickness. On these accounts, little has been done among the Shawanoes during many months. On the 23d of October, Mr. Barker and Miss Churchill were united in marriage. They are now collecting a school, with the prospect of success; and the operations of the station, excepting the printing department, are evidently improving. In my own family some one was suffering with fevers, mostly of alarming type, from the middle of July until about the first of December. At one time, Mrs. McCoy's recovery could scarcely be hoped for, and mine, during many weeks, was almost despaired of.

By means of the press, the Shawanoe station has possessed advantages superior to any other, in imparting substantial benefits to the Indians. There have been printed in the Delaware language four books, three of which were small, and one large; the latter being a Harmony of the Gospels, originally compiled by the Rev. Mr. Zeisberger, of the Moravian church, now revised by Mr. Blanchard. In Shawanoe, three books have been printed, and part of the Gospel by Matthew. A second edition of one of these books has been printed; also, one book in Shawanoe, for the Methodists. In Putawatomie, four books have been printed; in Otoe three, all small, one of which has been reprinted for the use of the Presbyterians among the Ioways; in Choctaw, one book; in Muscogee, (Creek,) one school book, and the Gospel by John; in Osage, one; in Kauzau, one for the Methodists, and in Wea, one for the Presbyterians; in Ottawa, two; besides a considerable number of hymns in different languages, not included in the above list. All of the above were upon the new system. Also, three numbers of the Annual Register of Indian Affairs, and one number of Periodical Account of Baptist Missions; besides which, there was issued, until late difficulties occasioned a suspension, a small monthly paper, of only a quarter sheet, edited by Mr. Lykins, entitled "*Shawanowe Kesauthwau*"—Shawanoe Sun.

These people, like the Delawares, are advancing in civilization, and are in similar circumstances, possibly a little in advance of their neighbours. They also receive help from the Government, by virtue of treaty provisions. The Methodists and Friends (Quakers) have each a mission among them; the former under the superintendence of the Rev. Thomas John-

son, and the latter under the management of Friend Moses Pearson.

The Ottawa settlements commence about thirty miles west of the State of Missouri. Only three hundred and fifty have yet reached this country. They receive help in improvement from the Government of the United States; they are not quite so far advanced in civilization as the Delawares and Shawanoes, but the indications of increasing industry and economy among them presage a rapid rise to a prosperous condition. Mr. Meeker has a small school, in which instruction is imparted in the English language, and he receives pretty good attention to preaching. David Green, an Ottawa, who has been baptized within the last two years, takes a part in the performance of public religious exercises, and acquits himself much to the satisfaction of the missionaries. To enable him to employ a portion of his time in religious labours, some of the nearer missionaries made a contribution of money from their means of support, respectively. In the mean time, the case of David was brought to the consideration of the board of missions by Mr. Meeker. The board resolved to patronise him, but its funds being low, an amount sufficient only to enable him to employ one-third of his time in missionary labours has as yet been allowed him. It is hoped that this circumstance will not be long known by a benevolent public, before it will furnish the means to enable this promising young man to employ all his time in preaching Christ to his countrymen.

Part of a small band denominated Chippewas, but scarcely distinguishable from Ottawas, arrived in the autumn of this year, and have located adjoining the Ottawas.

The Peorias and Kaskaskias make one small band of one hundred and forty-two souls, who reside on the east of the Ottawas. Their condition is similar to that of the Ottawas, and is improving, in which they receive help from the Government of the United States. The Methodists have a mission among them.

The Weas and Piankashas constitute one band, computed at three hundred and sixty-three souls, resident on the east of the Peorias, and adjoining the line of the State of Missouri. They are also aided by the Government of the United States, and are in circumstances similar to the Peorias and Ottawas. The Presbyterians had a mission among them, but abandoned it at a time when its usefulness was improving. A missionary, who could consent to locate within a tribe so small as this, would here find an inviting situation for usefulness. These four bands last named are of the Miami family, and the main body of that

tribe is expected soon to locate by the side of these bands. This event will enlarge the field of labour. Our missionary efforts in 1817 commenced among the Miamies; and when, for want of missionaries, we were compelled to discontinue our labours among them, our regrets were augmented by their entreaties that we would not forsake them. It would be exceedingly gratifying if missionaries could be found willing to labour among these people. They would enter upon the work with the prospect (under the blessing of Heaven) of repairing the desolations of many years, by which a once powerful tribe has been brought to the brink of destruction.

The Putawatomes adjoin the bands last mentioned; only about sixteen hundred and fifty have yet emigrated to this place. They have but recently arrived, and have not had time to make themselves as comfortable as the Ottawas, and others of their neighbours. As a whole, they are, perhaps, a little in the rear of their neighbours in civilization, but they have among them more men of talents, education, and enterprise, in proportion to numbers, than either of the five bands last mentioned. Assistance to a considerable extent, in the common improvements of civilization and education, has been secured to them by treaty, from the Government of the United States. The Methodists have a mission among them, on a small scale, and the Catholics have a mission in which two priests are employed.

The Baptist station, transplanted from Michigan, is going into operation here, under auspicious circumstances. A small school in English is taught a portion of the time, and some instruction is imparted in the Indian language. The missionaries from the nearer stations assist Mr. Simerwell, and attention to religious instruction is very encouraging. A temperance society has been formed, the Indian members of which have increased to about sixty, a few of whom are Ottawas. Permanent and comfortable mission buildings are now going up, under the superintendence of Mr. Lykins. Missionary associates are very much needed by Mr. and Mrs. Simerwell in their arduous labours. They have suffered considerably by sickness.

The country of the Osages commences twenty-five miles west of the State of Missouri. They number five thousand five hundred and ten souls, and in regard to improvement are similar to the Otoes. No tribe has been so much neglected by the Government of the United States, so much imposed upon by rapacious traders, or so grossly traduced by both white and red men, as this wretched people, who have been incapable of

pleading their own cause, or of telling their own story of sufferings. During the last eleven years, they have presented an inviting field for missionary effort, which might be entered with the prospect of imparting much benefit. Government has at different times made liberal provisions for the assistance of these people in improving their condition, but hitherto, for want of regard for their interests, on the part of those who have mingled with them for the purpose of applying the means of relief, no benefit of consequence has been afforded them. The Baptists have made an effort to establish a mission among them, and are hindered only by a want of missionaries. The Presbyterians had missions among them, but they have been abandoned.

The Quapaws, southeast of the Osages, are about six hundred in number, and are a branch of the latter, separated from the body many years since. They have made some advances in civilization, and are assisted by the Government of the United States. They have never been favoured with a missionary; the field, though small, would be found "white for harvest."

The two bands denominated Senecas, and Senecas and Shawanoes, have become partly blended in one. Their number is four hundred and sixty-one. They are considerably advanced in civilization, and Government helps them in improving their condition. The Methodists undertook a mission among them, but relinquished it. Here, also, a missionary would find encouragement to labour, though his sphere, unless extended to others immediately adjoining, would be small.

The Creeks and Seminoles have become blended; their whole number is computed to be twenty-four thousand one hundred. Their country commences about forty-five miles west of the State of Arkansas. Many of these may properly be denominated civilized, though a majority fall below that appellation. They have not yet recovered from the damage sustained by emigration; nevertheless, their prospects of becoming comfortable, and of improving in industry and virtue, are very good. Considered as a tribe, they are in these respects a little in the rear of the Cherokees and Choctaws. By treaty provisions, the United States' Government is bound to afford them assistance in improvement, schools, &c. The Presbyterians and Methodists have had missions among them, but have relinquished them.

No mission within the territory has been more favoured, at times, with animating prospects, than the Baptist mission among these people, and none has been equally subject to unexpected and sudden repulses. Our narrative on the preceding pages left

Mr. Kellam and Mr. Mason, and their wives, on their way to resume the labours of this station, as formerly pursued; but new difficulties were met, and neither of them resumed the occupancy of the mission buildings of the first station. Mr. Kellam took up his residence near Mr. Davis's, which is an eligible situation for usefulness, and Mr. Mason remained for the present within the State of Arkansas. The former retained his commission as United States' school teacher, and collected a school, which he instructed in English, at his new residence. Within the summer of this year, he yielded to an invitation of the United States' agent for the Creeks, and returned to his former residence in the mission house at the first station, and left his school on Canadian river in the charge of Mr. Davis, who was appointed United States' school teacher. Thus both stations were again put into successful operation. Mr. Davis has married a second wife, which circumstance, it is hoped, will relieve him from many domestic cares which lately were a great hinderance to his usefulness; and with his school in English, and some instruction imparted also in the Creek language, there is reason to hope that attention to his preaching will be improved. In reference to this mission, we are reminded of what has elsewhere been stated, that the formidable difficulties which attend the management of Indian affairs, or the management of missions, do not originate with the Indians; it is the influence of white men about them that occasions the serious troubles. Painful as it may be, the reader is not permitted to take leave of this mission without being told that it is again under a cloud. Mr. Kellam had not long occupied the mission buildings, to which he returned from the vicinity of Mr. Davis, before new disturbances arose between him and one of his white neighbours, and he retired to the white settlements in the State of Arkansas. An effort will be made to occupy the station by Mr. and Mrs. Mason.

The Cherokee country adjoins the State of Arkansas on the north of the river of the same name. About six thousand have been several years resident in that country, and, by late emigrations, their number has increased to about twenty-two thousand. These may be denominated a civilized people, though less civilized, taken as a whole, than an equal number of white citizens on the frontiers of our new States. At the same time, there are many who are wealthy, and not a few who have attained a state of refinement in manners which would render them respectable any where in the United States. They have some

men of respectable education, and a still greater number of men whose talents would not suffer by comparison with talented men of our nation, and, what is worth more than all things else which can be said in their favour, between five hundred and one thousand are believed to be genuinely pious.

To the Cherokees, also, the United States are bound, to a considerable extent, to furnish assistance in their march of improvement. A majority of them have recently emigrated to their present location, a few of whom have become settled.

It is much to be regretted that in June, 1839, an angry discussion occurred in a general council, respecting the future organization of the Cherokee Government, between the original settlers (including those who had yielded to the treaty last held between them and the United States) and the majority, which embraced the later immigrants. The parties separated with unpleasant feelings, and within a very few days, John Ridge, Jun., John Ridge, Sen., and Elias Boudinot, all distinguished men of the smaller party, were murdered under shocking circumstances. These difficulties are yet unsettled; on which account we shall leave to a future historian the task of stating them in detail.

The Presbyterians have long had several missionary stations in this country, the most extended and useful of which is Dwight; the minister at which is Rev. C. Washburn, who is associated with Mr. Orr, and Messrs. J. and A. Hitchcock. Rev. Messrs. Palmer and Worcester, and Mr. Newton, respectively, occupy other stations in the Cherokee country. The Dwight station has always sustained a large boarding school, which has given to it stability of character, and opened the way to every part of the nation for imparting religious instruction, by preaching and otherwise, to the extent of the whole time of the missionaries. They have a printing press in operation at one of their stations. The Methodists, also, have missions among those people.

The Baptist mission to the Cherokees was commenced in their original residence, on the east of the Mississippi, in 1817. The first missionary was Rev. Thomas Posey, who did not long continue before he retired from missionary labours, as did also several others who united in the mission soon after its commencement. The Rev. Evan Jones persevered, and has had the happiness of reaping a rich religious harvest. His religious instructions have been greatly blest. Two Baptist churches have been constituted, which embrace more than five hundred hopefully pious members, and among them several native preachers, the most noted of whom is Rev. Jesse Bushyhead.

The spiritual blessings which have descended upon the labours of Mr. Jones and his native coadjutors, furnish materials for an interesting volume, which we hope will not be long withheld from the public. The members of the church belonged to the party constituting the majority of the nation, and opposed to emigration to the West. The aversion of the party to removal being so great that they made no preparation to depart until compelled by the presence of the United States' troops, there was reason to fear that in the vexations and calamities of this world they would think little about preparing for the next, and that even Christians might lose much of their spiritual-mindedness. But it was not so. Up to the time of their assemblage for removal, the labours of Mr. Jones and Mr. Bushyhead were blest with improving success. Attendance on preaching improved, Christians became more zealous and united, and conversions and baptisms more frequent; and after they were assembled in encampments, necessarily under many sufferings of body, rich blessings continued to descend on their souls, considerable numbers were baptized, and comfortable communion seasons enjoyed.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Bushyhead were each made conductor of a party of Cherokees. The former, after accompanying his people to their country, in the Indian territory, returned to the east side of the Mississippi, and whether he will again resume his labours among the Cherokees is yet undetermined. But his loss to that people would be great, and it is hoped that they will be favoured with a continuation of his useful ministry. Mr. Bushyhead continues his labours among his people in their new home, in which he is assisted by his native brethren, John Wickliffe, Oganaya, Dsusawala, Doyanungheskee, and Oole-dastee.

The Choctaws are estimated at fifteen thousand, and are the most southern tribe; they adjoin the State of Arkansas on the east, and Texas on the south and west. The Chickasaw tribe, numbering five thousand five hundred, is merged with the Choctaw, making the whole number twenty thousand five hundred. These are justly entitled to the appellation of a civilized people. Before the late difficulties, the Cherokee nation was allowed to be in advance of all others. But the Choctaws having had time, since their settlement in their permanent home, to organize their civil government judiciously, must be said to be, at this time, in advance of every other tribe. We say more: No Indian tribe, since the discovery of America by white men,

except the Choctaw, has fully exchanged the savage customs for the institutions of civil government. Their existence, as a civilized community, is in its incipient stages. Nevertheless, the foundation appears to be permanently laid, for the promotion of civilization, to the entire exclusion of the customs peculiar to savage life in the management of public affairs.

The United States' Government is bound to afford considerable assistance to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, in making them comfortable, in schools, &c. The Methodists have missionaries among them. According to the discipline of that church, their missionaries frequently change places, so that new missionaries may be introduced into the Indian country this year, in lieu of those who served in the preceding year. The Presbyterians have several stations, occupied by Rev. Messrs. Kingsbury, Byington, Wright, Woods, and Hotchkin, and their wives, and Messrs. Jones, Olmstead, and Austin, with their wives, and Mrs. Barnes, Miss Clough, and Miss Burnham. Mr. Kingsbury and Mr. Byington are veterans in missionary labours.

The Baptists have four missionaries among them, who occupy as many stations, viz: Rev. Messrs. Smedley, Potts, Hatch, and Dr. Allen, all of whom have wives, excepting the first. Each holds an appointment under the United States' Government, as teacher of a school, for which he receives a salary which supports him without cost to the board of missions. A small church has been organized at Mr. Potts's station, which is the only Baptist church in the nation. Very favourable openings for preaching the Gospel successfully and for teaching schools appear in many places.

The Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, are the only tribes which manufacture cloth. As often occurs among the citizens of the United States on the frontiers, there are, among all tribes, more or fewer who spend too much time in *hunting*. But there is not one tribe among the immigrants which does not depend chiefly for subsistence upon their domestic supplies, procured by their own industry. The indigenous tribes are the Quapaw, Osage, Kauzau, Otoe, Pawnee, Omaha, and Puncah—numbering, in the whole, twenty-one thousand six hundred and sixty. The immigrants, seventy-three thousand two hundred in number, are no longer tribes of *hunters*, but are people subsisting themselves at their homes.

In their original condition, the Indians live in villages. As they advance in civilization, they widen distances between houses, until they form proper country settlements. As the

business of life increases, and mechanics and merchants multiply, convenience brings their shops nearer to each other, and villages are formed. At present, the indigenous tribes reside in villages, but not one village exists among the immigrants. Among the southern tribes, the Choctaws in particular, a few settlements are beginning to assume a village appearance. Estimates, upon the best data that are accessible, make the entire Indian population of North America about five millions four hundred thousand.

On account of erroneous opinions of Indian character, bad measures of Government, and criminal neglect of Christians, the condition of these people has hitherto appeared less hopeful than that of any other upon the earth; while, at the same time, their vigour of intellect, and the absence of established forms of worship, placed them in a condition more susceptible of favourable impressions, tending to improvement, than any other heathen nation.

The apathy of Christians upon this subject has been unaccountable. Of our own denomination we may speak with more freedom than of others. The Baptists connect with their churches none who are not supposed to be genuinely pious. Their number, within the United States, is over five hundred thousand, and yet they are, comparatively, doing nothing for the Indians. In regard to the propagation of the Gospel in Asia, Africa, and Europe, the denomination is liberal and enterprising; but for the conversion of the aborigines of our own country it is but little inclined to labour. It will be seen, by our history, that their efforts have been few and feeble. Very favourable opportunities for doing good have frequently passed away without improvement, for want of missionaries, and the few who have been in the field have not been amply sustained in their labours. *During the last ten or twelve years, scarcely any thing has been contributed for the promotion of Indian missions. They have been sustained almost wholly by means obtained from the Government of the United States. This is a startling fact, of which, it is probable, the denomination is not fully aware.*

We have commenced inquiries, with a view of ascertaining and stating to the denomination the amount of its charitable contributions for Indian missions within the last fifteen years, but this work goes to press before the statement is prepared. It is believed, however, that scarcely any thing above the amount received from Government has been expended. It will also be perceived that, from the first, there has been a distressing want

of funds. The want of means has been, to some extent, the apology of the board of missions for not employing more missionaries, and for not amply sustaining the few stations they have established. The usefulness of these stations has been greatly abridged by their poverty. Many of the missionaries, instead of being allowed to apply all their energies in promoting the proper object of their mission, are compelled to spend half their time, or more, in securing the means of support for themselves and families. Most of them labour with their own hands, and when they can earn any thing from Government, by personal service, apply it all to the promotion of the interests of missions, leaving their own families poor.

The condition of the Indians is such as renders schools almost indispensable to the success of missions; but, for want of means, schools, in some instances, are small, and wanting in efficiency, and in others wholly omitted. With a flourishing school by his side, the opportunities of the missionary to impart religious instruction to the people of his charge would be enhanced four-fold. But, with all his toils and privations, and the anxieties of his soul on account of the poverty of his family, when by death they may be deprived of his care, he has the additional mortification to feel that he labours under disadvantages which prevent three-fourths of his success.

Missionaries, as well as means of support, are wanting. Candidates for missionary service in other countries are not wanting; but very few indeed offer themselves for this service. Here is no dangerous ocean of thousands of miles intervening between the Christian and the perishing heathen. No obstacle is presented by the oppression of a vertical sun, or the sickliness of climate. The bolts and bars of established heathen mythology are not to be broken, in order to gain access to the people. They possess acuteness and strength of mind, and docility of disposition—they are men of nature—a kind of *blank*, which may be either filled or blotted by us. Baptist brother, why will you not come and help? Or, if it be not convenient for you to come into the Indian country, why will you not contribute something towards enabling others to come? The discovery of the new system of writing and learning to read, makes it comparatively easy to give religious tracts, the New Testament, and other useful prints, to the whole Indian population, from Mexico to the northern extremity of the Continent, could we but find men willing to perform the labour, and the means to feed and clothe them. The obligations arising out of this, and some

other considerations, press with peculiar force upon the Baptist denomination, and none can be so blind as not to perceive that the facility with which we may impart to every horde of natives a knowledge of the Gospel, and the permanent character which is given to the work of Indian reform by the system of colonization, render the present an auspicious time to work, and such as has never before occurred.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Encouragement to go forward in the work of Indian reform.

On the foregoing pages we have sketched the character and condition of the Indians, from their supposed origin to the present time, and the progress of Baptist missions among them, and finding ninety-five thousand of them already settled in a country favourable to their future prosperity, and the experiment of a change of measures, working well so far as it has advanced, and with reason, observation, and Christian *faith*, clearly predicting ultimate success, we ask those who, like Josephus's Prophet, on the walls of fated Jerusalem, are constantly sounding their *woes* around the aborigines, Why should they perish?

Is it possible that a race of men has been brought into existence possessing some innate self-destroying principle, which will produce its own extinction? If so, how did their numbers multiply, until they spread over a quarter of the globe? How did it happen that this baneful principle did not begin to develop itself until they came in contact with the white man? Why has not nature violated her laws in relation to some other animals? A nation of human beings, physically and mentally organized like all other human beings, multiplying to millions, and yet, *unlike* all other human beings, under the influence of a self-destructive principle, too inveterate to be remedied, and which will utterly destroy the whole race.

They who have given little attention to Indian affairs will hardly believe that such gross absurdities are propagated in these days, and in this country. They would ascribe them to a period a century before our time. Yet, strange as it may appear, we are sorry to say it is true. When we exult in the wonderful march of mind in this favoured period, we must not exhibit the

above specimens of logic in justification of our joys. The reasoning of the most benighted of those aborigines would not involve equal absurdities.

We have lately seen, in a periodical of considerable celebrity,* the following premises and conclusions assumed:

“The North-American Indians are a strongly marked race of men, constituting a distinct class, and maintaining their identity as such, and their peculiarities, in every vicissitude of existence, which neither circumstances nor time have conquered. Wasted by wars, consumed by want, driven by the iron arm of civilization from his native soil, and the places endeared to him by hallowed associations, the Indian is the same that he was when the white man first invaded his forests; unchanged and unchangeable in his nature, his habits, his physical constitution, and distinctive traits of intellect. We see to what a point the aboriginal intellect has advanced, and what have been apparently the stern boundaries fixed by nature to its progress. The narrow circle of Indian ideas has remained essentially the same, since their first intercourse with Europeans. . . . They have rejected the habits of civilized life, though, in some individual cases, they have proved themselves capable of adopting them. It seems as if they were born to be hunters, and hunters they were determined to die. The Christian religion has made a temporary progress among some of the tribes, but time has always removed the last traces of it from the savage mind.”

If the sentiments we have quoted were limited to a few of our countrymen, we might have passed them unnoticed; but they prevail extensively. They intrude themselves into the halls of legislation, and by their hopelessness occasion indifference to the enactment of wholesome regulations. They accompany the execution of law, and too often occasion infidelity. They salve the conscience of the avaricious, who pleads that, since the Indians cannot profit by money appropriated for their use, he may apply it to his own; and they have a paralyzing effect upon every scheme of benevolence for their assistance, both in the Government and in the Church.

We are happy, however, in being able to meet the errors we deprecate, by plain and notorious matters of fact. Of this unquestionable evidence is found in the accounts given of improvements in civilization and religion, of different tribes. With peculiar satisfaction we refer to the account of the Choctaws. There we see that savage customs have been abolished, and

* North American Review for July, 1838.

civil institutions adopted in their place ; and this, too, has been done by themselves. It is true, there have long been labouring among them devoted missionaries, whose salutary influence has been felt, in moulding the character of society in general ; but the direct operations of these men have been chiefly limited to religion and literature. And, moreover, the amount of missionary labour among the Choctaws has always been so small, that it can, at best, be esteemed only an auxiliary in improvement.

The Cherokees have been hindered in improvement by difficulties attending a change of place, otherwise it is fair to suppose they would not have been behind the Choctaws in any thing. Before the days of their late troubles on the east of the Mississippi, they were undoubtedly in advance of all other tribes. Then follow the Creeks, close in the rear of their neighbours. Nearly by the side of the latter, in improvement, are the Shawanoes and Delawares, followed by Peorias, Senecas, Weas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Sauks, and Iowas.

These are the people said to "have been born to be hunters, and hunters determined to die." A population of more than seventy thousand of these natural born hunters are now living by their industry at home, and having among them scarcely a greater proportion of individuals who neglect the field or the shop for the chase, than are found among the whites in the frontier settlements. Even the indigenous tribes, in the midst of all the disadvantages under which they have laboured, have, almost from the moment that they were informed improvement was possible, been imbibing habits of civilization. When inspired with the first ray of hope, they arose and took hold of the plough. See the poor Otoe, who, a short time since, cultivated his maize with the shoulder-bone of the buffalo, unable to guide both plough and horse, holding the handles of the former, while his *wife* or *child* guides the latter.

This is the "race of men constituting a distinct class, and maintaining their identity as such, and their peculiarities, under every vicissitude of existence !"

Next look into the schools, and into the classes which have been favoured with a place in the schools, and you must remain silent on the subject of limited intellect. Go to the Choctaw Hall of Legislation, and hear men, with *true* eloquence, pleading and establishing the cause of civil liberty. Follow them, till in the ardour of friendly debate, you find the speakers, enlarging beyond the limits of recollection, resorting for aid to written notes. Examine their constitution and their code of

written laws, and then tell us "the narrow circle of Indian ideas has remained essentially the same since their first intercourse with Europeans." Lastly, approach the House of God, compared with the importance of which, all specimens of improvement sink into insignificance. Hear the native, with his bold and pious eloquence, telling his countrymen that the victim of Calvary extends his hands even to them, to wipe their tears and raise them to a better world. See hundreds surrounding the sacramental board, to commemorate the death of the Redeemer. Follow these disciples of Jesus, and witness their consistency of profession, both in the closet and in their intercourse with their fellow-men.* Mark the indications of grateful recollections of those white men who brought to them the "balm of Gilead." Then step to the brink of time, and see a Christian Indian die, and tell us that "time has always removed the last traces of the Christian religion from the savage mind!"

Further, let it not be overlooked that these improvements, in their substantial form, commenced at the moment when, in the nature of things, they were enabled to hope for better condition. The hunter left the forest for the field, as soon as he knew that he could enjoy the fruits of cultivation. The barbarous council was dissolved, as soon as a secure home, and the prospect of enjoying civil freedom, suggested the propriety of a legislative assembly. Very few of the Choctaws had reached their present homes in 1828. About the same time the Cherokees, and Creeks, and Shawanoes, were making their first settlements.

* From among many interesting anecdotes which exhibit the salutary influence of the Gospel upon the Indians, the following is selected :

In the autumn of the present year, 1839, a company of Delawares invited Charles Johnncake to accompany them on a trapping expedition in the capacity of commander. Charles was a talented young Delaware, who had acquired a knowledge of reading, and who had become a member of a Baptist church. He refused to accept of the office of leader, or even to join the company, unless all would agree to attend prayers at camp every night and morning; to bring into camp all their traps on Saturday evening, and to spend the Sabbath in rest and religious exercises. Only one, besides himself, professed to be pious, and he was a member of the same church. Nevertheless, all agreed to Charles's propositions. They were in the wilderness about six weeks, during which time all strictly adhered to their engagement. Morning and evening prayers were regularly observed, at which times portions of the Scriptures were read, and hymns sung in the Delaware language, and on Sundays, Charles read and expounded the Scriptures, and exhorted his fellow-trappers to believe in the Lord Jesus, and not even their traps were allowed to remain set for catching beaver, lest unhallowed thoughts should turn towards them, to the desecration of the Sabbath.

That same desert had been frequented by Indians from time immemorial, but, perhaps, had never before resounded with the voice of prayer and praise.

The Delawares and others arrived at later dates. Here, then, as it were, with the fructifying influence of summer, the immigrant tribes, without a single exception, from the moment that they began to be relieved from despair, and to feel the influence of hope, commenced improving, and are still advancing.

We admit that many formidable obstacles still oppose the national salvation of this lately broken-hearted people. But the hinderances are all in our own hand, and (with proper submission to Him who rules the destinies of man) we perceive that we have the power either to save or to destroy them. Upon us, therefore, rests the responsibility. We perceive that with opportunities which would enable any other people to improve their condition, the Indians will be prosperous.

One difficulty, among others, and not the least serious which is felt all over the Indian country, is the lamentation of some among us for "the fate of the poor Indians, who are destined," they say, "to be driven still further west by our Government." The tribes have, for very good reasons, felt their removal to the West to be a great hardship. On this account, and many others, it cannot be expected that they will soon have entire confidence in the sincerity of our declarations, that they shall not again be disturbed. They are not yet fully prepared to appreciate the causes which have induced their removal; and hence, judging from the past, they look with suspicion on the future; and nothing so effectually checks the march of improvement as doubts concerning the permanency of their settlements. Their fears are ever on the alert, and they watch, with jealous anxiety, every movement of our Government in relation to them. While, therefore, public prints and public speakers, professedly mourning over the calamities of the Indians, predict that they will still be driven from place to place, and protest that the tribes are as insecure on the west, as they were on the east of the Mississippi, they are fostering the groundless jealousies of the Indians, and inflicting upon them positive and extensive injury.

For reasons to which we have referred, we can excuse the Indian for his fears, but not the citizen of the United States, who has an opportunity of contemplating the subject under circumstances very different from the former. He must be blind, indeed, who can perceive no difference in the tenure by which Indians hold lands now, and that by which they held lands within the chartered limits of States. It is beyond contradiction, that the General Government never has had power, since its organization, to give to any of the tribes a perpetual residence on

the east side of the Mississippi river. *Here it has power to secure them in their homes forever.*

“But the avarice of our citizens,” you say, “is so strong that they will covet the Indian lands, and their cruelty is so great that they will wrest it from them.” These assertions we deny, and justify the denial by the fact that emigrations to this territory, since the Government conceived the design of making the Indians’ residence permanent, have not been produced by the avarice and the cruelty presupposed. That our citizens have manifested avarice and cruelty, no one pretends to deny; but these passions have never acquired strength to remove one single tribe. The cause which produced removal was, that the very existence of our Government was predicated upon the supposition that the Indian had no landed rights on the east of the Mississippi. By an European sovereign that country had all been conveyed to his subjects, and, in changing masters, these claimants never relinquished their claims. These claims were recognised in the formation of our Government, and have been confirmed by a continuous policy, in which every State in the Union concurred.

We admit that our citizens might become so corrupt that they would force the Indians from their homes without the sanction of law. At the same time we deny that any such instance of cruelty has occurred since the scheme of colonizing them has been conceived.

Again, we do not live in an age of increasing cruelty to the Indians. Public sympathy never was so much excited in behalf of them as at present. Kindness of feeling in those who have managed the affairs of our Government has been increasing for many years, particularly since the feasibility of rescuing the tribes from extinction has been perceived in the present plan. In proof of this, we need only compare latter with former treaties. In these we discover an increasing liberality towards the Indians. Now the Government will give half a million of dollars to a tribe for considerations which, twenty years ago, would have been thought dear at twenty thousand.

When, therefore, the Government has it in its power to secure the tribes in their settlements in the territory, while it is pursuing measures for this purpose, and while it is endeavouring to make amends for past wrongs suffered by these people, by increasing kindness in future, it is exceedingly unfair, and, in regard to the Indians, cruelly unkind, to cherish their fears that they shall soon be driven from their homes.

Intimately connected with the views of precarious settlement which we have noticed, is that to which we have already referred, the tendency of which is similarly pernicious, to wit, the supposition that the Indians are perishing, and that their decline cannot be arrested. Lectures on the manners and customs of the Indians, whether consisting of encomium or censure, usually wind up with a prediction of the utter extinction of the race.

Speakers in benevolent associations, after telling of the wrongs the Indians have endured, and the sufferings to which they have been subjected, and giving, perhaps, a florid description of the noble traits of character which they fancy they have discovered in the man of nature, often leave last and uppermost on the minds of their audience the impression that these noble but suffering people are doomed to utter destruction. The effect of all this would be the less hurtful, were it not done under the profession of great regard for the Indians. Well might all the tribes adopt the prayer, "From the sympathies of such friends, good Lord deliver us." They have much sympathy for the *poor Indians*, and yet they can hinder them from making themselves comfortable, by telling them that they will soon be driven from their houses and fields. By discouraging improvement among them, they cherish ignorance and wretchedness, and thus increase their liability to be imposed upon. They check the ardor essential to improvement, by predicting their constant decline and ultimate extinction; and they discourage our citizens, whether statesmen or churchmen, from earnestly seeking the relief of the Indians—"for all efforts are to fail—they must be driven—they must disappear."

The rhetorical flourish, borrowed from Indian life, has become stale with time and use, that "the council fires of the tribes are about to be extinguished." Yes. The council fires of the Choctaws have already been extinguished, and those of other tribes are expiring; but the tribes are neither dead nor dying. They have exchanged the council fire for the legal institutions of a civilized community.

Nothing is better calculated to cherish in the Indians hostile feelings towards the United States than to persuade them that we design to drive them from their present residences. Confirm them in this belief, and war will be induced, and on their part it would be a war of desperation.

Another error into which some good men have fallen is, that the Indians must necessarily perish, because they are "driven from the graves of their fathers." Or, if separation from the

graves of their fathers should not be certainly destructive, it is necessarily cruel. Better let them remain at the "graves of their fathers" and *die*, than to go to a country of their own and *live*. Now, concerning the hardship of being compelled to leave a place to which they had become attached by a long residence, and to locate in one chosen for them by others, there can be but one opinion. We all agree, too, that the whites started wrong in Indian matters at first, and introduced an unjust policy, which was the source and has been the support of all the evils which have been particularly destructive to these people, not even excepting the evil of intemperance. Happy would it have been for us if our ancestors had corrected this error. But they did it not; that work has been reserved for the present generation. The reform has been commenced, and it is progressing in the only possible way that has been suggested, and we rejoice that the deeply lamented evils—real, not imaginary evils—involved in the matter of emigration from the east to the west of the Mississippi, are being overruled for good. Evils, the force of which drove the pilgrim fathers from Europe to America, were real. The laws which allowed of their persecution were unjust. These good men might have remained by the "graves of their fathers," and have died under their oppressions, but they made a wiser choice, and soon discovered that the evil was made to them a blessing.

While we have much to lament in the case of the Indians, we have these substantial consolations, that their country is good; the latitudes they respectively inhabit nearly the same as those from which they came; that the causes which occasioned their removal from their former residences do not reach their present ones, and that notwithstanding it has been constantly reiterated in their hearing, that "they need not try to live, for the Indian race must become extinct—they need not improve their lands, for they will soon be driven from them;" they no sooner reach their country here, than they exchange the *hunter* for the *farmer*. So far from being naturally averse to improvement, as has been a thousand times reported, they as naturally commence improving as soon as they are placed in circumstances which render it possible, as a bird expands its wings for flight as soon as its cage is opened.

Here, then, we have the elements of that state of society which all who desire their happiness wish to see established among the Indians. In regard to the propriety of some measures which have been employed to transfer these people to this

country, there have been honest differences of opinion in the United States. These things are now matters of history. The Indians *are here*, and afford an opportunity for action. In acts of justice and humanity, all may unite. That it is our duty now to endeavour to afford assistance, none can doubt, and it is hardly possible for us to disagree in the choice of measures. Only suppose Indians to be like all other human beings—like ourselves, for instance—and all becomes plain and easy. We have only to apply for their relief such measures as our own citizens need when they locate in new and wilderness countries.

Suppose a population of ninety-five thousand of our citizens, suddenly thrown together on some part of our frontiers; that which would seem to claim first attention would be the establishment of rules of order—the adoption of measures of *law*, for mutual protection. It would not be sufficient for each prominent man to form a clan and adopt laws for themselves, in all respects distinct from others. Such local regulations might properly be made, but they would not supersede the necessity for laws of a more general nature, which would harmonize the whole community. In such a community as we have supposed, the institution of schools and of religious worship would early claim attention. Industry, as well as literature and religion, should be encouraged. All this would be *plain*, in regard to ourselves, and the whole would be equally appropriate for the Indians. Government, for various reasons, exercises over them a general superintendency and guardianship; it is therefore proper that it should take measures for uniting them harmoniously under the influence of regulations of intercourse. The tribes have never been in this manner united; it is not easy, therefore, for them to form an union without assistance.

But leave them to remain in their present incoherent condition, and the result will be what we would expect from ninety thousand of our own citizens, settled in a body, without law—difficulties among themselves, and trouble to their neighbours, which would end in destruction. In no other way than this can the Indian be deprived of his country. Let quarrels arise between the tribes, and liability to lose their country will follow.

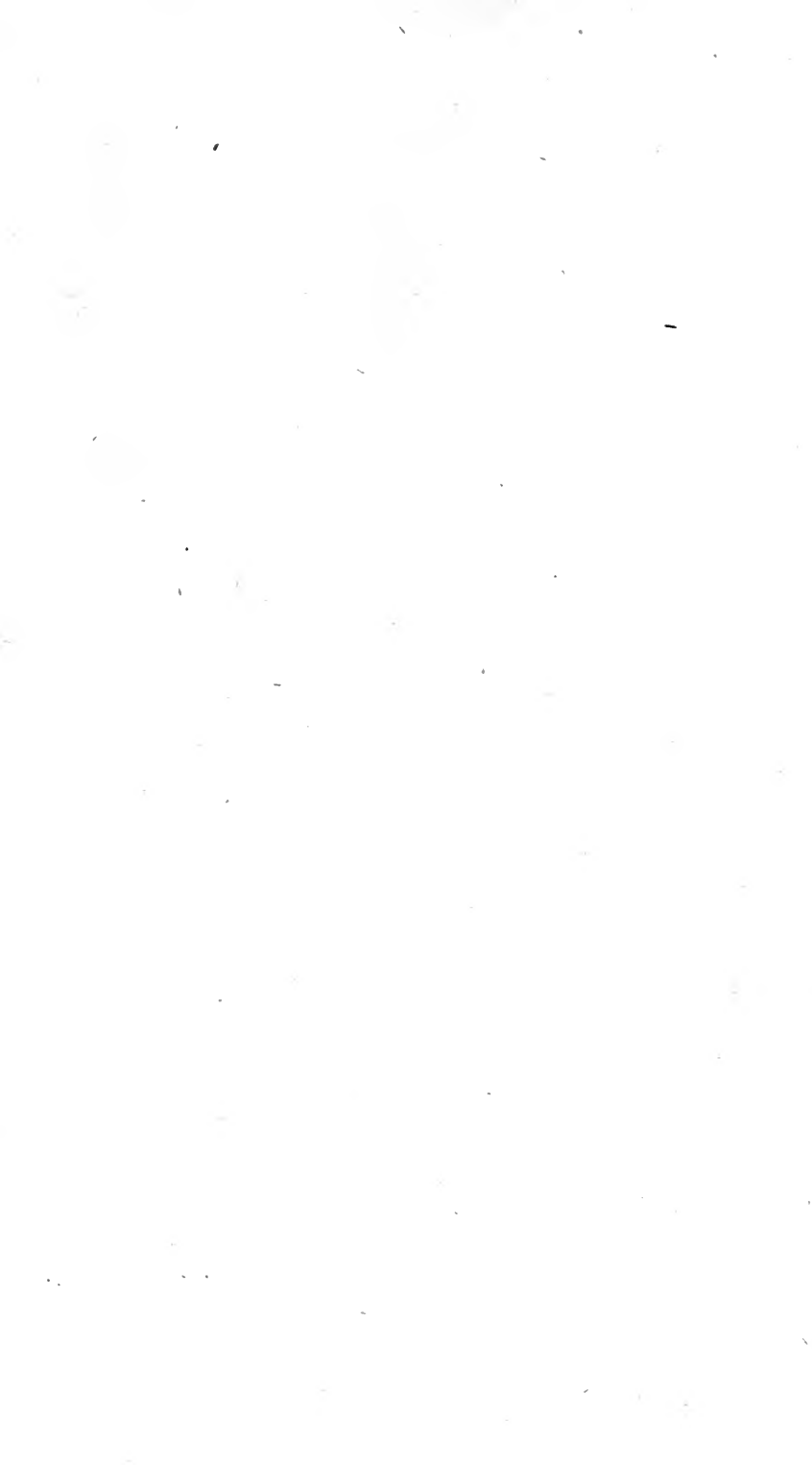
The original inhabitants, who have reluctantly been yielding their places to us for two or three centuries, and, as they receded, diminished in numbers, and sunk deeper in accumulating woes, have at length found a resting place; and, like the bird of Noah, have found the flood of their afflictions retiring, and the olive emblem of peace and tranquillity accessible; or, like

the long imprisoned tenants of the ark, when they issued forth with pious hilarity to plough and plant, the Indian unstrings his bow, and gears his plough-horse.

The measures now contemplated by the Government will not be limited in their salutary effects to the few broken Indian nations near us. They combine the elements of a grand scheme of deliverance, embracing all the tribes. The vast region uninhabited by men of European descent, and lying westward and northward of their long line of settlements, is the sphere destined to be filled. Success in the present experiment will arouse benevolent enterprise to form colonies elsewhere, and it will not be long in carrying messages of joy to the most distant and degraded hordes. Once fully established in practice the design under consideration, and, like the prophet's rock from the mountain, imperishable in its nature, it will magnify commensurate to the sphere of wretchedness for which it is adapted. Who would not co-operate in a work so magnificent! Shall we call it a revolution? It deserves a better name than one implying only a change of one form of Government for another, or one corps of rulers for another. Here is to be the *establishment of Government among men who never before enjoyed it*. It is not a mere improvement in condition, but a rescue from extinction. The events of our own American revolution acquire interest as time develops their importance to the world; and the hand which but tremblingly signed our Declaration of Independence is now looked back upon with a kind of veneration, as if it had been guided by some influence from Heaven. The excellence of our institutions, then introduced, acquires brilliancy by having led us to feel, and act, for others, far more distressed than we were then—to make them free and happy as ourselves.

Christians, will you awaken from your lethargy, and without delay come forward, with prayer, and faith, and zeal, to the glorious work of elevating the depressed aborigines to the privileges of citizens and the virtues of Christianity? Can you imagine a crisis of more thrilling interest than the present? Should the experiment of an Indian colony, by opposing obstacles, fail, will not the predictions of "the fearful and unbelieving" be fulfilled in the extermination of the Indian race? But in its success an achievement of Christian enterprise is anticipated, than which none is more noble. Here is latitude for the exercise of sympathy, and the discharge of duties which justice demands—the payment of debts too long delayed. While the scale trembles between hope and despair in the public mind,

cast in your influence of prayer, benevolence, and personal effort. Missionaries, as well as means, are needed—faithful, energetic missionaries, divested of sinister motives, and devoted to labours of disinterested benevolence. Both the preacher and the layman can here find room to work to good advantage; nor is the work of females in leading their red sisters in the paths of virtuous refinement, and to the house of God, the least important. Why do you stand aloof? Three centuries have elapsed since the discovery of this country by our ancestors, and what have we done for them? Alas, what damage we have done them! What have they suffered at our hands! Now, ninety-five thousand implore assistance, which, if promptly and amply afforded, will probably reach, in its living and spreading influence, every horde of natives, from Mexico to the northern extremity of the continent. The field is extensive and whitening for harvest, and tens of thousands of this almost ruined race stand ready to join you in shouting, “Hallelujah, for the Lord, God, Omnipotent, reigneth!”



APPENDIX.

[No. 1.]

Extracts from the speech of the Hon. WILSON LUMPKIN, in the House of Representatives, in Congress, on the bill for the removal of the Indians, May 17th, 1830. See anterior page 400.

MR. LUMPKIN said his life had never been free from care and responsibility, but on no former occasion had he ever felt more deeply impressed with a sense of that responsibility to God and his country, than he did at the present moment. The great importance, said Mr. L., which I attach to the decision of the House upon this bill now under consideration, does not arise from any apprehension of material effects being produced in relation to any of the States interested; but to those remnant tribes of Indians whose good we seek, the subject before you is of vital importance—it is a measure of life and death. Pass the bill on your table, and you save them; reject it, and you leave them to perish. Reject this bill, and you thereby encourage delusory hopes in the Indians, which will never be realized. They will be encouraged to acts of indiscretion, which will bring upon them injury which will be deplored by every friend of virtue and humanity. I therefore call upon you to avoid these evil consequences while you may. Delay is pregnant with great danger to the Indians; what you do, *do quickly*, before the evil day approaches.

I differ from my friend in regard to Indian civilization. I entertain no doubt that a remnant of these people may be entirely reclaimed from their native savage habits, and be brought into the full enjoyment of all the blessings of civilized society. We have too many instances of improvement among the various tribes, to hesitate any longer in determining whether the Indians are susceptible of civilization. Use the proper means, and success will crown your efforts. My views of legislation upon this subject have been founded in an ardent desire to better the condition of these remnant tribes. At the same time, an object of my solicitude and labour has been to relieve the States from the

perplexities, heart-burnings, conflicts, and strifes, which are connected with this Indian subject. I introduced into the twentieth Congress a resolution, which resulted in an appropriation to defray the expense of preparing for the emigration of the Indians west of the Mississippi. The details of the exploring tour of the agents who examined the country west of the Mississippi, with a view of ascertaining the quality of the country contemplated for the permanent abode of the Indians, having been given by my friend, (Mr. Bell,) I will only say, a suitable and sufficient country has been found—a country admirably adapted to the interest and condition of the emigrating Indians. That there is a good country for all the Indians to emigrate to, can no longer be doubted.

I am greatly surprised to hear the opponents of the proposed policy speak of the measure as being fraught with danger and ruin to the Indians. Mr. Monroe, [President of the United States,] in his message of January 27th, 1825, says: “The removal of the tribes from the territory which they now inhabit, to that which was designated in the message at the commencement of the session, under a well digested plan for their government and civilization, which would be agreeable to themselves, would not only shield them from impending ruin, but promote their welfare and happiness. Experience has clearly demonstrated that, in their present state, it is impossible to incorporate them in such masses, in any form whatever, into our system. It has also demonstrated, with equal certainty, that without a timely anticipation of, and provision against, the dangers to which they are exposed, under causes which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to control, their degradation and extermination will be inevitable.”

Such were the opinions of President Monroe in 1825, supported by an able report by Secretary Calhoun. I will give the following short extract from the report: “There are now in most of the tribes well educated, sober, and reflecting individuals, who are afflicted at the present condition of the Indians, and despondent at their future prospects. Under the operation of existing causes, they behold the certain degradation, misery, and even final annihilation of their race, and, no doubt, would gladly embrace any arrangement which would promise to elevate them in the scale of civilization, and arrest the destruction which now awaits them.”

Mr. Adams, with great force of argument, while President of the United States, sustained these doctrines and opinions. His two Secretaries, Governour Barbour and General Porter,

with great ability, repeatedly enforced the same doctrines and principles. Our most enlightened superintendents and agents of Indian affairs have all become converts to Indian emigration; our most pious and candid missionaries have also added their testimony in our favour. One of the most devoted and pious missionaries, (the Rev. Isaac McCoy,) with whom I am acquainted, has said, "What plan will most likely be successful in accomplishing the reformation of the Indians?" He answers, "I offer for consideration the plan recommended to Congress by Mr. Monroe, late President of the United States." The same gentleman says, "We are well aware of some formidable obstacles opposed to the removal of the Indians: these will not derive their origin or their support from the Indians themselves, but both will be found in the avarice of white men, near to and mingling with the Indians, whose interest it is for the Indians to remain where they are, and in their present condition. I deeply regret the necessity of mentioning this circumstance, but justice to my subject, to the Indians, and to my own conscience, demands it of me. We may prepare to encounter a host of opposers, consisting of traders, both licensed and unlicensed, many of them speaking the Indian language fluently, and in habits of daily intercourse with them, often allied by marriage, and otherwise by blood; and from many others who profit more or less by a commission from our Government, for the performance of services in the Indian department. Remove the Indians, and the fountain fails. The story, perhaps, has never been, nor will it now be plainly told, that scarce a treaty with the Indians occurs, in which the commissioners of the United States are not obliged to shape some part of it to suit the convenience of some of this class of persons."

I ask special attention to the foregoing extracts, as well as to the source from whence they are taken. They are the deliberate opinions of one of our most experienced, pious, and persevering missionaries, who is resolved to devote his whole life in sustaining the missionary cause among the Indians. The Baptists have, through their organs, the officers of their religious boards, conventions, and associations, for years past, at every session of Congress, reminded you of the interest they feel, and the labours they have bestowed, towards the great object of Indian civilization. Moreover, they have expressed their convictions that your emigration plan affords the best and most permanent prospect of success to their missionary efforts.

Whatever doctrines may have been advanced by theoretical writers upon this subject, the practical comment of all nations

will sustain the doctrines contained in the message of President Jackson, at the commencement of the present session of Congress, as follows :

“The condition and ulterior destiny of the Indian tribes, within the limits of some of our States, have become objects of much interest and importance. It has long been the policy of Government to introduce among them the arts of civilization, in the hope of gradually reclaiming them from a wandering life. This policy has been coupled with another, wholly incompatible with its success. Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have, at the same time, lost no opportunity to purchase their lands, and thrust them further into the wilderness. By this means they have not only been kept in a wandering state, but have been led to look upon us as unjust and indifferent to their fate. Thus, though lavish in its expenditures upon the subject, Government has constantly defeated its own policy, and the Indians in general, receding further and further to the west, have retained their savage habits. A portion, however, of the southern tribes, having made some progress in the arts of civilized life, have lately attempted to erect an independent government within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. These States, claiming to be the only sovereigns within their territories, extended their laws over the Indians, which induced the latter to call upon the United States for protection.

“Our conduct towards these people is deeply interesting to our national character. Their present condition, contrasted with what they once were, makes a powerful appeal to our sympathies. Our ancestors found them the uncontrolled possessors of these vast regions. By persuasion and force, they have been made to retire from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until some of the tribes have become extinct, and others have but remnants to preserve for a while their once terrible names. Surrounded by the whites, with their arts of civilization, which, by destroying the resources of the savage, doom him to weakness and decay, the fate of the Mohegan, the Narragansett, and the Delaware, is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them, if they remain within the limits of the States, does not admit of a doubt. Humanity and national honour demand that every effort should be made to avert so great a calamity. It is too late to inquire whether it was just in the United States to include them and their territory within the bounds of new States, whose limits they could not control. That step cannot be retraced. A State cannot be dismembered by Congress, or re-

stricted in the exercise of her constitutional power. But the people of those States, and of every State, actuated by feelings of justice and regard for our national honour, submit to you the interesting question, whether something cannot be done, consistently with the rights of the States, to preserve this much injured race.

“As a means of effecting this end, I suggest for your consideration the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or Territory now formed, to be guarantied to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it; each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use. There they may be secured in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes. There the benevolent may endeavour to teach them the arts of civilization, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race, and to attest the humanity and justice of the Government.

“This emigration should be voluntary; for it would be as cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers, and seek a home in a distant land. But they should be distinctly informed, that if they remain within the limits of the States, they must be subject to their laws.”

In all the acts—first by the Colonies, and afterwards by the State Governments—the fundamental principle, that the Indians had no right either to the soil or sovereignty of the countries they occupied, has never been abandoned, either expressly or by implication. The rigour of the rule for excluding savages from the soil, to make room for agriculturists, has been mitigated. Hence we find reservations made for the Indians in most of the old States, as well as by the Federal Government. It is believed, that no respectable jurist would risk his reputation by contending that a right to land could be maintained before any of our courts, State or Federal, where the title has been derived from Indians, unless the lands had been granted or patented by the Federal or State Governments.

The practice of buying Indian lands is nothing more than the substitute of humanity and benevolence, and has been resorted to in preference to the sword. When the Indians, in any Colony or State, were numerous, powerful, and warlike, it has been the practice of all to conciliate them by entering into compacts and treaties, and thus effect by prudence what they were unable

to perform by force. By all the old States, except Georgia, this kind of *treaty legislation* has long since been abandoned, and *direct legislation*, for the control and government of the Indians, substituted in lieu thereof. The opinion of the Supreme Court, referred to by my friend [Mr. Bell] from Tennessee, I believe is received and considered orthodox by every State in the Union, in which the distinguished and learned Judge Spencer declared, "that he knew of no half-way doctrine on this subject. If a State has jurisdiction at all, it has complete and entire jurisdiction. The principle upon which jurisdiction is assumed does not admit of division."

Much has been said and written with a view of maintaining the doctrine of Indian sovereignty; and I admit many of the acts of the General and State Governments may be selected, apart from their general policy, which would seem to afford support to this position. Yet, when we take the whole policy and history of these Governments, as exhibiting an entire system, it must be admitted they have never hesitated to extend their sovereignty over the Indians, in their respective spheres, when it was deemed expedient to bring them under their laws and jurisdiction; unless, indeed, we find this hesitancy in the absence of physical power. Here I will remark, that the only reason why any State in this Union permitted the interference or sought the aid of the General Government in the management and control of the Indian tribes residing within their respective boundaries, has been on account of their physical weakness; and they have, therefore, looked to this Government for that aid and succour, to afford which it was established by the several States of this Union. In all the States we find, so soon as the Indians were reduced to a condition that no danger was to be apprehended from their power and hostility, the States have invariably taken their Indian affairs into their own hands, and no longer looked to the federal arm for aid. While the population of a State is small and its territory extensive, large tracts of country are permitted to remain, for the use and privilege of the Indians to hunt and roam from place to place. They are also left to regulate their own affairs according to their own customs, without any interference on the part of the State. But when this state of things becomes changed, the State is of necessity compelled to assert and maintain her rights of sovereignty and jurisdiction.

While I would scorn to be heard in the tone of supplication, in reference to the rights of my constituents, I would, nevertheless, as the sincere and candid friend of the Cherokee Indians, use the language of expostulation in their behalf. A crisis has

arrived which calls for action. Things can no longer remain in their present state. Some acknowledged competent authority must be sustained in what is called the Cherokee country. In its absence, we may daily expect to hear of anarchy and blood. It is not only intruders from Georgia, but from various other States, who have recently rushed into the Cherokee country. Give your support to the bill under consideration. Hold out no vain and delusive hopes to these sons of the forest. The history of the past gives them strong claims on our sympathy, benevolence, and liberality. Join us in this great effort to save the remnant tribes of the aborigines. They are a peculiar people. They look back to the time when they were the undisputed masters of this mighty continent. They see in the future no reward for ambition or exertion, unless you plant them in permanent homes, where the extended views of their true friends and benefactors may systematically go forward with some prospect of success.

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[No. 2.]

The following, with the exception of one unimportant paragraph, is the Report of the Committee on Indian Missions of the Baptist General [Missionary] Convention of the United States, submitted to, but not adopted by the Convention. See page 447.

The progress and result of measures heretofore adopted for the promotion of Indian reform awaken both gratitude and regret. With devout gratitude to God, we, the Committee, have contemplated the generous sympathies of the benevolent for the overwhelming sufferings of the aborigines of our country. They appreciate the energetic efforts which have been put forth to save from utter extermination this injured, neglected, and perishing race, and the untiring perseverance of your board and their missionaries in the prosecution of their humane plans, though constantly beset with difficulties and surrounded by discouragements. But while they rejoice, with the angels of God, over a few penitent natives rescued from the deepest degradation and the most complicated misery, who are now mingling their prayers with those of the saints on earth, or swelling the song of the redeemed in heaven, we are filled with regret to see the mass of Indian population borne away by the unchecked tide of desolation. That our laborious and expensive operations in behalf of this unhappy people have been attended with so limited success, is

a lamentable fact, which must be ascribed to the peculiarity of their situation, to which the world affords no parallel. Deprived of their ancient inheritance—remote from the settlements of their fathers—cut off from their chosen employments—abased by dependance—denied a rank among nations—slighted by their neighbours—irritated by frequent insults—wounded by repeated injuries, their spirit has been broken down, and they have sunk into sullen sadness, while an unbroken cloud of impenetrable darkness has rested upon all their prospects. Thus situated, they have had no spur to ambition, no inducement to effort, and we have possessed no moral fulcrum by which to effect their elevation. More than eight years ago it was perceived that little hope remained of missionary operations conferring extensive and lasting benefits on the Indians, until they should become united among themselves and fixed in their residence. The Committee are cheered by the prospect that so desirable an end is about to be accomplished. The Government of the United States have proposed to give them a permanent home in the region west of Arkansas Territory and State of Missouri, and southwest of Missouri river, embracing an extent of country six hundred by two hundred miles, fertile and adapted to the production of all the necessaries and most of the comforts of life—where their title to the soil is to be secured by the same tenure that gives security to the possessions of white citizens of the United States, and where no collision will exist between State and national claims. Fourteen tribes, or parts of tribes, are already upon the ground, viz: Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Senecas, Osages, Shawanoes, Kauzaus, Delawares, Weas, Piankashas, Peorias, Otoes, Omahas, and Pawnees, while many thousands are emigrating and preparing to emigrate. The rapid accumulation of Indian population in that country is opening a wide and promising field for missionary labours. This inviting prospect of usefulness has already occasioned proposals to be made to, and aid solicited from Government, to establish missions in nine tribes. To supply these, twice that number of missionaries are requisite—only five of whom are yet provided. Thirteen, in addition to the present number, are wanted immediately—all of whom, it is believed, could be employed under circumstances peculiarly auspicious to their lasting usefulness.

The Committee are aware that, to enable the Board to avail themselves of the favourable opening in the Indian territory, an appeal must be made to the benevolence of our denomination, nor can they doubt the success of such an appeal on so impor-

tant an occasion. Such an opportunity for benefiting this long neglected and deeply afflicted race has never before been presented to our view, and if neglected may never recur. The last experiment in this cause of benevolence is now demanded. A solitary star of hope now gleams on the dark horizon of Indian prospects—the fond expectation is cherished of their being consolidated into one friendly community, and ultimately becoming a representative part of our great Republic. It is devoutly hoped that the readiness of some to offer themselves for the work of missionaries, and of others to furnish the means of their support, will be proportioned to the urgency of the call.

The Committee are unable to suppress their sympathy for the Pawnee tribe, more than half of whom have, within a short time, perished by the ravages of the small-pox; and are happy to learn that Government will probably interpose an effectual barrier to its progress by vaccination.

Your Committee believe that it has been too common to estimate our obligations to the aborigines of our country by their number only, and to feel and act as if an equal number of heathen in any quarter of the globe had an equal claim upon our missionary efforts. But if the fact be considered that these tribes numbered millions while in the peaceful occupation of the land we now inhabit, and that by our injustice they have been almost extirpated, it would appear that for us to neglect them at this critical moment, when their preservation or total extinction seems, under God, to depend on the part we shall act towards them, would be to fill up the measure of our iniquity, and to provoke the judgment of Heaven upon us!

Your Committee would also express gratitude to God for his protection of your valuable missionary, Isaac McCoy, in his hazardous labours in surveying the Indian country, and the success of his efforts to procure for them a permanent home.

An intimation having been given that funds may be obtained to establish a printing press in the Indian territory, your Committee, fully impressed with the importance of so powerful a means of enlightening that ignorant people, recommend the adopting of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Board be requested to establish a printing press in the newly acquired Indian territory, provided it can be done without using funds appropriated to other objects.

Your Committee recommend that agents be appointed in various places to receive and forward such articles of clothing,

bedding, books, &c., as will be needed at Indian stations; and that information of their appointments be given in the Baptist periodicals.

In behalf of the Committee :

J. L. DAGG, *Chairman.*

[No. 3.]

Extracts from the speech of the Hon. A. H. SEVIER, of Arkansas, on the bill "to provide for the security and protection of the emigrant and other Indian tribes west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas," delivered in the Senate of the United States, February 23, 1839.

MR. PRESIDENT: The object of the bill now under consideration is, what its title purports, "to provide for the security and protection of the emigrant and other Indian tribes west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas." And I might add, that its object is also to provide for the security and protection of the frontier settlements of those States, and for the civilization and general welfare of the North American Indian race.

These, Mr. President, are the objects of the bill; and, to accomplish them effectually, the bill proposes to establish, in the country set apart, by our laws and our treaties, for the permanent residence of the Indian tribes, an Indian Territorial Government.

That such an organization, for such a population, under our authority, is new, I am ready to admit; but should it appear, in the progress of this discussion, that such an establishment, on the score of efficiency and economy, is probably, of all others, the best calculated to secure and protect the Indians against each other, as well as our own citizens in their vicinity, I feel assured that, though the measure may be new, it will receive, as it did at the last session of Congress, the marked and decided approbation of this body. The country proposed to be organized into a territory is described in the first section of the bill. This country, it will be perceived, is beyond the boundaries of any State or organized Territory, or white settlement; its average breadth is something over two hundred miles, and its length about six hundred. It contains an area of about eighty millions of acres, and is healthy, well watered, and a great deal of it remarkably fertile, and is well adapted for agricultural and pastoral purposes. Lead ore, iron ore, coal, and salt springs, have

been discovered in it. In short, all those who reside there, as far as my knowledge extends, are well pleased with their situation. This is a short description of the country, which is held by them, by virtue of our treaties, in fee simple, and which, consequently, is forever beyond our reach, except in the double contingency of its abandonment by the tribes, or of their extinction; in either of which events, it reverts to the United States, and comes once more into our possession, and is subject to our disposal, as other public land. This perpetual tenure is reaffirmed in the first section of this bill.

Until recently, a vast majority of these Indians resided within the limits of the States, and, while in that condition, it was not in our power to do much for them; and the uncertain tenure by which they held their lands, their embarrassment by State legislation, and the constant encroachment upon their soil by the whites, dissuaded them from doing much for themselves. Most happily, these difficulties no longer exist. In pursuance of a wise, humane, and salutary policy, these Indians have been sent out from among us, and are placed, side by side of each other in their new homes, beyond the reach of further encroachment or intrusion. In this location, for the first time since the revolution, we feel ourselves unrestrained, in our legislation for them, by any question of jurisdiction, or power, or policy; and, on their part, they have imbibed a stimulus to exertion, in feeling that they have a permanent home—in feeling untrammelled by State laws, and unmolested by unwelcome intruders. Their location is fortunate for us on another account. They are now remote from any unfriendly foreign influence in time of war, and in time of peace we find them a great convenience in carrying on, through their country, a profitable commerce to Santa Fe.

Being thus permanently settled, it now becomes our duty to view them in their new position, and to shape our legislation accordingly. We must now give up our temporary measures, and place our relations with them upon a firm and solid basis. We are bound by solemn treaty obligations to them—we are bound by duty to our own people in their vicinity—to provide permanently and effectually for the mutual peace and protection of all parties; and, to succeed in the accomplishment of these high national obligations, something else is required at our hands than forts, and troops, and bayonets, or agencies, or superintendencies, or the potent eloquence of annuities; and that is, the adoption of some *binding international laws or regulations*, for the amicable adjustment of all the differences which may

occur among the respective tribes. The commission of fraud, or trespass, or felony, by an individual of one tribe upon an individual of another tribe, *must cease* to be a justifiable cause for war among them; these injuries must be redressed by *law*, in a peaceable manner.

Sir, previous to the commencement of the policy of locating the Indians west, it must be borne in mind that the indigenous tribes of that region, from time immemorial, had been engaged in wars not only among themselves, but with the tribes east of the Mississippi river; with some of the identical Indians we have located in their immediate neighbourhood. For example, the Osages, who were once formidable, frequently sent out war parties east of that river; and these tribes, thus assailed, in their turn, invaded the Osage country west of that river.

The remembrance of these long-existing feuds and mutual injuries is yet fresh in the recollection of all of them of the present day, and these reminiscences but too frequently display themselves in acts of open murder and secret assassination.

We have not only these indigenous tribes—who have never been substantially at *peace*—to govern, but we have also some seventeen or eighteen immigrant tribes to manage and control; and of the latter of these we have good reason to anticipate some trouble, on account of the ill feeling some of them bear us, arising from causes occurring previous to their removal; and these causes, whether real or imaginary, are not likely to be soon forgotten.

The tribes now residing in this territory do not feel bound to *peace* by the existence of any international law. The only law at this time which they understand or appreciate is that which, of all others, is the most destructive—the law of *retaliation*.

There are now in the territory about ninety-five thousand Indians, belonging to twenty-two separate tribes, and speaking as many different languages. Some few of these—the Choc-taws, the Chickasaws, and Cherokees—have, to some extent, written laws for the internal government of their respective tribes; and the Delawares, I understand, are about imitating their example. With these exceptions, the whole of these ninety-five thousand Indians, who are divided into upwards of twenty tribes, who speak different languages, who reside adjoining each other, and many of whom entertain for each other mutual hereditary animosities, have for their government no international law.

To avoid the disastrous consequences which must inevitably

result from this critical condition of things, this bill is proposed, by which it is thought these twenty-two tribes may be induced to adopt some general code by which their differences, of whatever character, may be amicably adjusted.

This important object, the Committee on Indian Affairs believe, can be effected under the auspices and influence of the United States, and not without their countenance and support.

This important view of this subject seems to have been taken by the proper department some years ago. In 1833, a commission was constituted by our Government, the object of which was to promote harmony and good feeling among the Indian tribes. In 1834, similar efforts for similar purposes were made by the Government, and with some success. The chiefs of different tribes were brought together in council, and, through the instrumentality of our agent, mutual engagements of peace and friendship were entered into by those chiefs, and, for twelve or eighteen months, these engagements had a most salutary effect; but for the last year or two, for some cause or other unknown to me, these councils have ceased to command the *special attention* of the Government; and, losing that support and patronage, they have been abandoned by the chiefs themselves, and hence depredations on property have been repeated, and murders committed.

To show you, sir, to what extent these things are carried on in that quarter, I will trouble you with reading a few paragraphs from a work to which, in the course of my remarks, I shall have occasion frequently to refer. The work is entitled "An Annual Register of Indian Affairs in the Indian Territory," and is edited by the Rev. Isaac McCoy, with whom it is my good fortune to be acquainted: a gentleman of extensive information, of fervent piety, of active enterprise; one who has devoted the last twenty years of his life in the laudable efforts of striving to civilize, Christianize, educate, and improve the moral condition of the Indian. It is from the printed work of such an author that I will now read to the Senate a few paragraphs. He states that—

"In 1833, the Government convened councils of a general nature, of delegates from various tribes, and induced them to exchange mutual promises to be at peace with one another. This measure, though it touched the subject but slightly, nevertheless, produced a good effect. All parties, for some time, abstained from depredation and murder. These councils not being repeated, the parties felt less restraint, and ultimately returned to their former unkind treatment of one another, and

thefts and murders have become more frequent with each succeeding year.

“The Osages are accused of destroying hogs and cattle belonging to the neighbouring tribes, to a considerable amount. Horse stealing is frequent in divers places, carried on by the worthless of different tribes. By some, the work is almost reduced to system; they will steal horses in the southern parts of the territory, or in Texas, and convey them north, and there steal others, and take back on their return.

“But, besides the renegadoes, whose crimes are disapproved by their well principled countrymen, there are others engaged in these and in worse practices, for which they are honoured by their respective tribes, according to Indian custom. The Kauzaus have brought into their villages at least thirty stolen horses, within the last summer and autumn. The Osages have stolen, perhaps, a greater number, among which are some valuable horses belonging to the citizens of the United States. In August last, a large drove of horses was stolen from one of the Osage villages.

“In April, 1838, a few Pawnees made a friendly visit to the Sauks and Ioways, on Missouri. As they were returning to their homes, a party of Kauzaus fell in with them and attacked them, and killed one.

“In August last, the Kauzaus and Osages sent out a war party, consisting of about eighty warriors. They surprised a party of Pawnees, and took eleven scalps. Four of their men were killed, and two wounded. A few of the united party separated from the main body. These, also, had a battle, and took five scalps, making seventeen killed by those tribes, of whom we have obtained certain information. Reports of other murders committed by other tribes have been in circulation. On the 1st September last, a war party of about twenty Kauzaus were out, the result of which we have not heard.

“In the months of June, July, and August, the Rev. M. Merrill, missionary to the Otoes, accompanied that tribe on their buffalo hunt, which lasted more than two months.* They saw three war parties of Pawnees; the first was a party of thirty, who had been to the Cheyennes to steal horses. They had, first, a skirmish with the Cheyennes, and had been defeated, with the loss of one killed and one badly wounded. They next fell in with a party of Osages, and were again defeated, with the loss of two men killed.

* This party consisted of eight hundred souls, men, women, and children. They killed hundreds of buffaloes.

“The second was a party of ten, which had started to the Osage villages to steal horses. One of their party was bitten by a snake, which induced them to return without accomplishing any thing.

“The third party said they were going to the Cheyennes to steal horses, but it was believed that they designed committing depredations upon the Osages.

“Near the western boundary of the Cherokee country, a bloody battle was fought the last summer, (1838,) between the Kiawas and Camanches on the one side, and the Cheyennes on the other.”

The Committee on Indian Affairs, viewing this subject in the light I have endeavoured to present it to the Senate, and wishing to furnish the remedy for the existing evil, offer this bill for your acceptance. They offer it as a measure of *peace*, and one which, in their opinion, is amply sufficient, if faithfully administered by the Executive authorities, to preserve from extermination the wretched fragment of the Indian race. These are among the leading objects of the bill, but they are not the only objects. We desire something more. We desire to civilize and improve the condition of the Indian, by imparting to him our institutions, and religion, and our arts and sciences; and to do this successfully, he must have peace and repose.

Sir, when we remember who these Indians *were*, and what they *are*, we anticipate, in this most noble, disinterested, and benevolent enterprise, the efficient aid of the Senate. Let us, upon this occasion, lift ourselves above our prejudices, and forget the history of the bloody and exterminating wars which were carried on upon this continent for several centuries, between our ancestors and the natives of this country; contests, as we all know, which have resulted in the subjugation and overthrow of the one race, by the arms, and skill, and courage, of the other. The millions of these natives who once inhabited the Atlantic coast are, at this day, no where here to be found; and this extensive and invaluable country, which was theirs, and for which they fought, is ours now. We hold undisputed dominion over it; we have derived it from them by gift, or by purchase, or by conquest. No descendant of theirs, if there be descendants of the original proprietors, is found to question our title to it. Let us remember the kind and hospitable reception of our ancestors by the natives of this country—a reception which has been perpetuated by carved figures in the walls of the rotundo of the capitol. And in remembering these things, let us this day step forward and do something for our

wretched dependants, worthy of a great, a merciful, and generous Christian people. Public sentiment will sustain us in such an effort. Our intercourse with the Indian, which has met with the approbation of our constituents, has undergone, during the last few years, a very material change. We no longer purchase his lands for beads, and tobacco, and paints, and strouding, and beaver traps, and other such worthless gewgaws. No—we give him now a fair equivalent in something more substantial; we give him implements of husbandry, cattle, hogs, houses, farmers, mechanics, and teachers, and heap up to him money in almost countless thousands. And what, Mr. President, have been the happy results growing out of this new, though just and liberal, policy? It is most grateful to the heart of humanity to contemplate it. Results have sprung from it which no one, a few years ago, ever contemplated.

In 1817, a little upwards of twenty years ago, when the first effective step was taken to colonize the Indians west of the Mississippi, we find it stated in the preamble to the Cherokee treaty of that date, that the object of this colonization, as understood and expressed by both parties, was exclusively *for hunting*. Improvement or civilization of these immigrants was not dreamed of by the worthy negotiators of that instrument. We find in the sixth article of that treaty these words: “*The United States do also bind themselves to give to all of the poor warriors who may remove to the west side of the Mississippi, one rifle gun and ammunition, one blanket, and one brass kettle, or, in lieu of it, one beaver trap, which is to be considered a full compensation for the improvements which they leave.*” They went thither with the avowed purpose, and with the necessary accoutrements, for remaining in their original barbarity and ignorance, and to enjoy unmolested their savage propensities for war and for the chase.

The number of those who emigrated was about three thousand. Instead of pursuing the chase, as was anticipated, they went to work; and in 1835, in the space of about eighteen years, they had increased to four thousand; they had acquired property, had become agriculturists, and had become civilized to a great degree, as I will show you by referring again to the Register of Indian Affairs.

Mr. McCoy says:

“They own numerous salt springs, three of which are worked by Cherokees. The amount of salt manufactured is probably about one hundred bushels per day.

“They also own two lead mines. Their salt works and their

lead mines are in the eastern portion of their country; and all the settlements yet formed are within this eastern portion, which embraces about two and a half millions of acres.

“Like the Choctaw, the Cherokee nation embraces all conceivable conditions between refinement, intelligence, and wealth, and the opposite extremes, but little removed from the original state. The earlier immigrants are, perhaps, in more comfortable condition than the same proportion of any other tribe within the territory. But with the large accession of late immigrants, there has necessarily been an augmentation of uncomfortable-ness.

“Some of them own immense herds of cattle. We counted upwards of two hundred at one time within sight, grazing on the prairies, belonging to one man; and it was thought he owned about one hundred more. It was thought by some intelligent white men in their country, that within five years past, they had sold between six and seven thousand head of cattle.

“They probably own three thousand horses, fifteen thousand five hundred hogs, six hundred sheep, one hundred and ten wagons, a plough, and often several ploughs, to each farm, several hundred spinning-wheels, and one hundred looms.

“They cultivate all kinds of culinary vegetables common to the western country; raise corn in abundance, and have commenced the growing of wheat. Their fields are enclosed with rail fences. They have, generally, good log dwellings, (for a new country,) many of which have stone chimneys to them, with plank floors, all erected by themselves. Their houses are furnished with plain tables, chairs, and bedsteads; and with table and kitchen furniture, nearly or quite equal to the dwellings of white people in new countries.

“They have seven native merchants, one regular physician, and, *unfortunately*, several steam doctors. Several of them have, at divers times, become partners in large contracts for furnishing the United States' army and immigrant Indians. The traveller finds among them houses of public entertainment, with neat and comfortable accommodations.

“The Cherokee Government, though highly creditable to them, is not fully systematic and judicious, like that of the Choctaws. This may be accounted for by the unsettled condition of the affairs of the Cherokees for some years past. The laws extant in the Territory are such as have been adopted by the earlier immigrants, since their settlement in this country, and are not a transfer of the code to which the larger portion of the tribe were subordinate on the east of the Mississippi.

“Their settlements are divided into four districts, each of which elects, for the term of two years, two members of the national council, the title of which is, ‘the General Council of the Cherokee Nation.’ By law, it meets annually on the first Monday in October. They have three chiefs, which, till lately, have been chosen by the General Council. Hereafter they are to be elected by the people. The approval of the chiefs is necessary to the passage of a law; but an act upon which they have fixed their veto may become a law by the vote of two-thirds of the council. The council consists of two branches. The lower is denominated the *Committee*, and the upper the *Council*. The concurrence of both is necessary to the passage of a law. The chiefs may call a council at pleasure, and in several other respects they retain, in some degree, the authority common to Indian chiefs. Two judges belong to each district, which hold courts when necessary. Two officers, denominated light-horsemen, in each district, perform the duties of sheriffs. A company of six or seven, denominated light-horsemen, the leader of whom is styled Captain, constitute a national corps of regulators, to prevent infractions of the law, and to bring to justice offenders.”

This, Mr. President, is the present condition of those three thousand Indians who in 1819 went, as I have already told you, west of the Mississippi. These are they, the wildest of their tribe, who, about twenty years ago, left behind them their own people, their hallowed homes, and the graves of their forefathers, because their offensive enemy, *civilization*, was successfully approaching their wigwams.

The poorest and most miserable of the indigenous tribes of that region, in consequence of a change in our policy towards them, and in consequence of having a permanent home, and of being undisturbed by our people, seem to have imbibed a spirit of industry and improvement, and to be rapidly rising up from their prostrated state of degradation. Yes, the poor Otoe, whose naked body was never covered, until lately, with any other garment than a buffalo skin, is now seen holding the handles of a plough, and is to be seen busily engaged in tilling the earth, for the subsistence of himself, his wife, and children.

The principal and most influential, and, with a few individual exceptions, by far the best informed and civilized, of the tribes within the limits of the proposed territory, are the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, and Creeks. Many of these have learned our language, our religion, our literature, our agricultural pursuits, and mechanic arts. Some of them have

studied our forms of government, and have organized their government for their respective tribes, in imitation of ours. They have printing presses among them; they publish newspapers in the English and Indian languages. They print their school books and almanacs, &c.; and Guess, a full-blooded Cherokee, an untutored savage, has had the lasting honour of inventing for the Cherokees their alphabet. Several of the tribes have provided for the establishment of schools, several of which are now in operation, and at which some hundreds of Indian youths are annually educated. Some tribes have set apart large sums of money, forever, of which our Government is the trustee, for purposes of education. These tribes have among them several shrewd, intelligent, wealthy, native merchants, who annually import into the country many thousand dollars worth of merchandise.

They have mills and gins, and cotton farms, and in 1837 the Choctaws made and sent to market six hundred bales of cotton, worth upwards of twenty thousand dollars.

They raise every year a large surplus of corn, hogs, and cattle, which they dispose of, in part, by contract, to Government, to feed the emigrating Indians, and supply the troops of our garrisons. But, as this inquiry must be interesting to the Senate, I will be more particular, and read a few extracts from the work I have previously referred to. Speaking of the Choctaws, the author of this work says:

“They are improving in civilization and comfort. Their houses and fields indicate a good degree of industry. Many have large farms. They own much live stock, such as horses, cattle, sheep, and swine; are pretty well supplied with farming utensils. They own about six hundred negro slaves.

“They own three flouring mills, two cotton gins, eighty-eight looms, and two hundred and twenty spinning-wheels. They have thirteen native merchants, besides white men, engaged in the same business.

“In respect to civilization, there is great difference among them. Some have fully adopted the habits of civilized man, many are in comfortable circumstances in life, and some may be said to be wealthy. From these more favourable circumstances all grades of condition exist, down to the Indian who is advanced but little in civilization.”

Of the Creeks, he states: “They cultivate corn, and all the vegetables common to the climate and country. They spin, weave, sew, and follow other pursuits of industry. Their fields and dwellings resemble those of white people in new settlements.

Many of them have large stocks of cattle. The contractors for furnishing supplies to immigrant Indians have purchased of the earlier immigrants vast quantities of corn; among others, the annexed amounts of purchases have been made from the following persons, prior to the crop of 1837:

Of Lewis Perryman,	-	-	-	\$3,650	worth of corn.
“ Mr. Hardrich,	-	-	-	4,500	“ “
“ Daniel Grayson,	-	-	-	1,500	“ “
“ Richard Grayson,	-	-	-	1,500	“ “
“ George Grayson,	-	-	-	1,500	“ “
“ Mrs. J. McIntosh, (widow,)	-	-	-	1,400	“ “

In all, \$14,050 worth of corn.

“ Before the crop of 1837 had been harvested, contracts were made for upwards of \$25,000 worth of corn. Vast quantities still remain unsold. Even the latter immigrants, who arrived in their country the winter and spring previous to the cropping season of 1837, though they had to prepare new fields, in the months of September and October, of the same year, sold to the contractors \$10,000 worth of corn. They have two native merchants.

“ Notwithstanding the Creeks, as a people, are in the rear of the Choctaws and Cherokees, in regard to civilization, there is much intelligence, refinement, and wealth, among them.”

Mr. President, these are the people in whose behalf the Committee on Indian Affairs invoke your legislation. These are the people whom we desire, in the faithful discharge of our covenants with them, to preserve from exterminating wars among themselves. These are they whom we desire to civilize and improve, and to keep from falling back into their original state of savageism, from which they have so recently and but so partially emerged.

Here, Mr. President, I should conclude my remarks, were it not that an impression seems to prevail in the minds of some gentlemen that the Indians will not willingly accept of this bill, or comply voluntarily with the terms it proposes. If no attempts had been made to ascertain their sentiments upon this subject, I should say, with great confidence, from my knowledge of the Indian character, that such impressions are not well founded.

The Senate will recollect that this is the third time this bill has been introduced into this body, and that the Indians have been very minutely apprized of our movements upon this, as they are, generally, upon all subjects connected with their inter-

ests. Many of them have seen copies of this bill, and have had its several provisions explained to them. Those who understood it have given their assent to it in the most unequivocal manner. Eleven of the tribes have assented to the terms of this bill, and, should it become a law, are ready to comply with each and all of its provisions. But it is true, as I understand, that the Choc-taws look upon it with jealousy, and have been induced to consider it as the first step for their removal further towards the "setting sun;" and, *on that account*, disapprove of it. Sir, let them understand this bill, and our motives in passing it, and I will guarantee that they will accept of it most gratefully. Why should they, of all others the most interested in such a measure, refuse or be unwilling to meet their brethren in council, to form a confederacy for general purposes? I can see no good reason for their refusal.

By the fifth section of this bill it is made the duty of the superintendent to "invite the chiefs of the various tribes, or parts of tribes, embraced in this act, to unite in a general council, for the purpose of forming a confederation, for regulating the intercourse and preserving peace with each other, and for their assent to such of the provisions of this act as may require their co-operation or assent; and such articles of confederation and such assent shall not be binding on any tribe, unless subsequently assented to by such tribe in council, or by its delegates duly authorized for that purpose.

Is there any thing in this section, Mr. President, (and this section is the essence of the whole bill,) which looks like the first step for driving them further to the west? And by the first section of the bill, after describing the boundary of the territory, and giving it a name, it is stipulated that those lands "shall be, and the same are hereby, reserved for the use of the various Indian tribes who have, or may have, a right to the same; and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that such parts of said Indian Territory as have been or shall be granted or ceded to any of the Indian tribes, are and shall be secured to them and their descendants; and the United States will cause patents to be issued to said tribes, respectively, according to the terms of such grants or cessions." Has this the appearance of a disposition, on our part, of harbouring the treacherous design of driving our red brethren further to the west? No, sir; no such base treachery and violation of our plighted faith, I am proud to say, has ever yet sullied the escutcheon of an American Senate. The Senate is incapable of stooping to such degradation, or of packing upon their consciences such a load of infamy.

We have no such views; our object is to benefit, and not to injure; to preserve, and not to destroy. Permit me to inform my red brethren, that if ever they are intruded upon by our citizens, that intrusion will approach them from the west, or from the shores of the Pacific, beyond the Rocky mountains. Let them look for the "pale faces" in that direction, for they have nothing to fear from them from any other quarter. In short, they object to the bill, not for what it contains, but for what it does not contain.

In any event, this will be a harmless measure, as it can operate only upon those who voluntarily assent to it. And should it be rejected, after fully understanding it, and, in consequence of that rejection, the evils we anticipate should fall upon those unfortunate human beings, it will, at least, be a consolation for us to reflect that, as humane guardians, we have done our duty in trying to avoid those calamities.

By the eighth section of the bill, we give to the confederated tribes a delegate, to reside at the seat of Government. Being a member of that committee whose duty it is to take cognizance of all subjects relating to Indian affairs, I feel authorized in saying, that I have no doubt that the interests, both of the United States and of the confederated tribes, would be promoted by having a delegate here to consult and advise with. Such a boon, addressed to aspiring ambition, it is thought, would also have a happy tendency.

Before concluding my remarks, it is proper for me to say a word or two upon the subject of administering the Indian Territorial Government. And upon this particular branch of the inquiry, I beg leave to avail myself of the estimates of my friend and late colleague upon the committee, [General TIPTON,] who, from his superior knowledge, and the great time he has devoted to the consideration of this subject, in all its various bearings, is much more to be relied upon than are any calculations of mine.

"At the end of the first four years after the Territorial Government goes into operation, one-half of the agents, sub-agents, and interpreters, may be dispensed with; and after the expiration of eight years, every agent, sub-agent, and interpreter, may be discharged, leaving to the superintendent, the chiefs, and the general council, the management of the entire business of the Territory. Among the immigrant tribes, there are a number of young men of talent, well educated, and wanting employment. These men, with the assistance of the superintendent and council, will be able to manage all the business for their people within their Territory. Offices will be created for them to aspire

to, and it will, I have no doubt, be found the interest of both our Government and the Indians, at no distant day, to withdraw every white man holding an office from the Territory, leaving the Indians to manage their own concerns for themselves.

“The expenditures will soon be still further reduced, by discontinuing the artisans at present employed among the Indians, under treaty stipulations, as above stated, all of whom, excepting two, are engaged for limited periods. Some of them have been several years engaged, and may soon be discharged. In the year 1859, the term of service for the longest engagements will expire. At that period we can withdraw the last of our mechanics from the service of the Indians, and it is proper that we should do so.

“It will become the duty of the head of the Indian Department to inform the Indians that our Government will, at the end of the present engagements for white mechanics, discontinue them. The superintendent and all other officers of the Territory will see the necessity of placing Indian youths in workshops, either within their Territory or elsewhere, to learn all branches of mechanism, to be prepared for the time when our present engagements to furnish them will have expired.”

MEMORANDUM

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FROM : [Illegible]

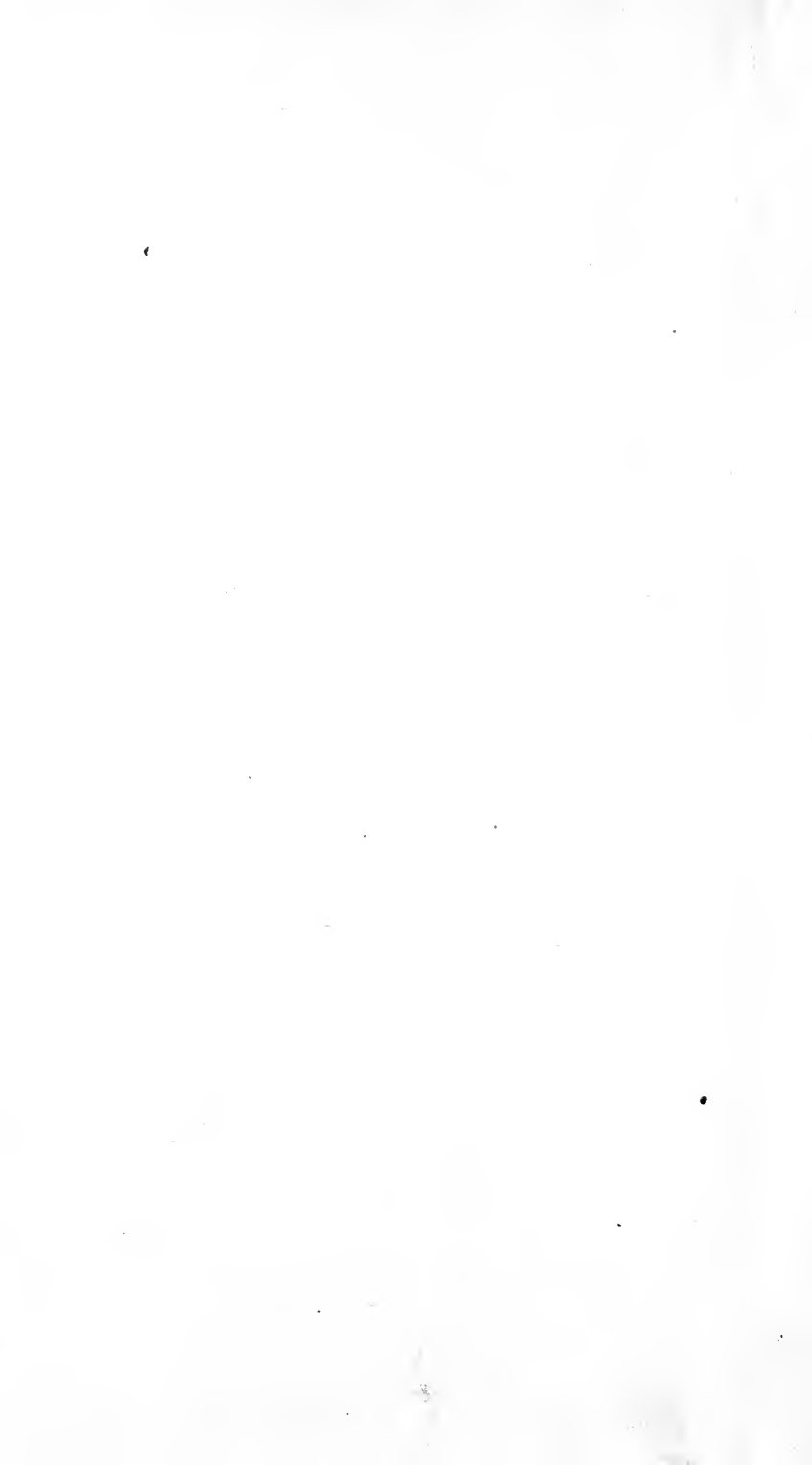
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