INDIAN TRIBES

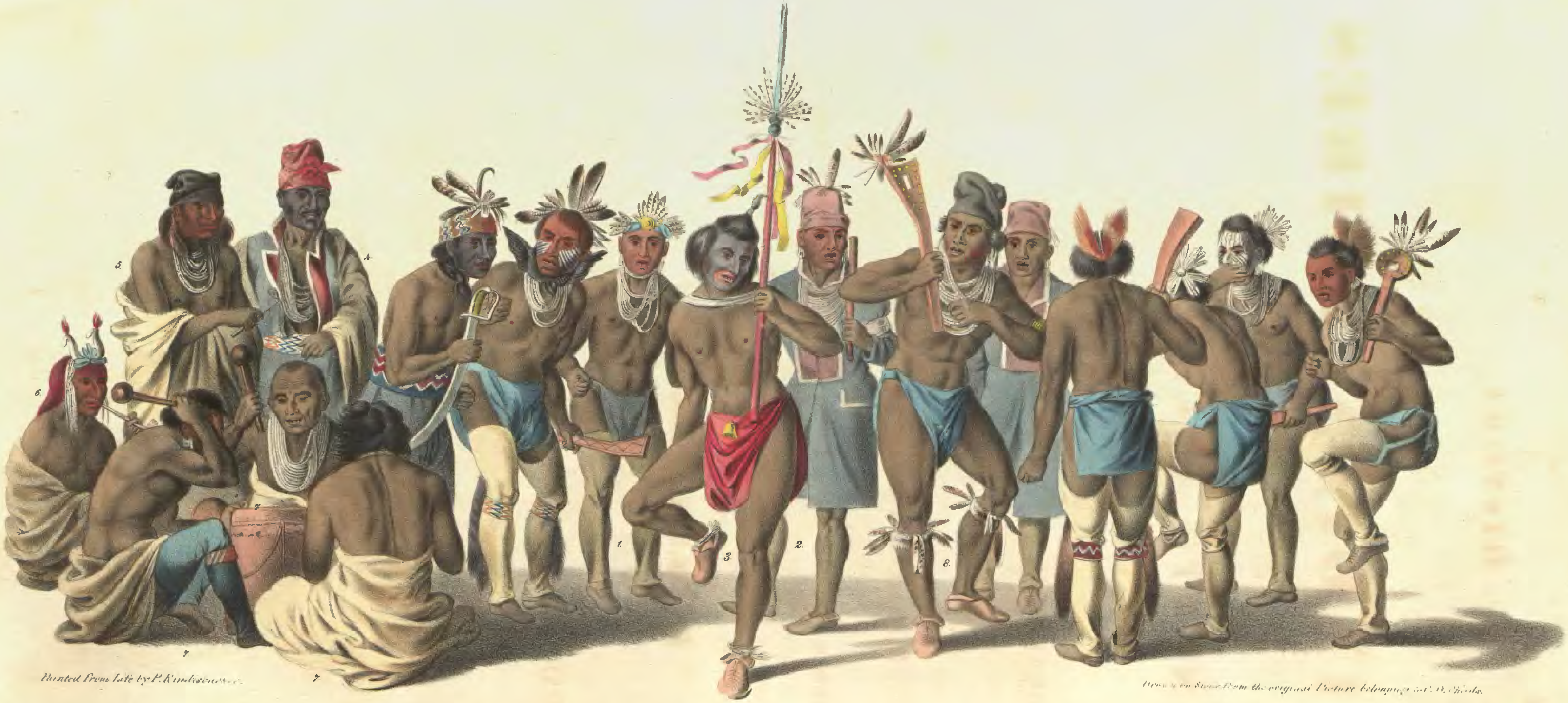
THOS. L. McKENNEY
AND
JAMES HALL

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA
1838

HAUD IMPUNE LAESUS

W. J. De Renne.



Painted from Life by P. Rindisbacher.

Drawn on Stone from the original Picture belonging to C. O. Childs.

WAR DANCE OF THE SAUKS AND FOXES.

Lehman & Duval Lith.rs

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle.

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1837 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

HISTORY
OF
THE INDIAN TRIBES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES
OF THE
PRINCIPAL CHIEFS.
EMBELLISHED WITH ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY PORTRAITS,
FROM THE
INDIAN GALLERY
IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF WAR, AT WASHINGTON.

BY THOMAS L. M'KENNEY,
LATE OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
AND JAMES HALL, ESQ.
OF CINCINNATI.

VOLUME I.

PHILADELPHIA:
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WAR DANCE.

DANCING is among the most prominent of the aboriginal ceremonies. There is no tribe in which it is not practised. The Indians have their war dance and their peace dance, their dance of mourning for the dead, their begging dance, their pipe dance, their green corn dance, and their wabana. Each of these is distinguished by some peculiarity appropriate to the occasion, though to a stranger they appear much alike, except the last. In the war dance the actors are distinguished by a more free use of red and black paint, except in mimic representations in time of peace, when the colours are not so closely adhered to; in the peace dance by a display of white and green; in that for the dead by black; and generally in the other dances, except the wabana, black prevails, mingled with other colours.

The paint, in all the dances, is put on according to the fancy of each individual. A line is sometimes drawn dividing the body, from the forehead, and from the back of the head downwards, on either side of which different figures are drawn, representing beasts, birds, fish, snakes, &c. Frequently the hand is smeared with paint and pressed on either cheek, the breast, and the sides. It rarely happens that two of a group are painted alike.

The music consists of a monotonous thumping with sticks upon a rude drum, accompanied by the voices of the dancers, and mingled with the rattling of gourds containing pebbles, and the jingling of small bells and pieces of tin, worn as ornaments.

The Wabana is an offering to the devil, and, like some others, the green corn dance for example, winds up with a feast.

The picture which we have selected as a frontispiece for the first number of our series, is an accurate representation of one of the war dances of the Winnebagoes,* drawn by Rhinedesbacher, a young Swiss artist, who resided for some years on the frontier, and attained a happy facility in sketching both the Indians and the wild animals of that region. This drawing is considered as one of his best efforts, and is valuable not so much as a specimen of art, in which respect it is in some particulars defective, as on account of the correct impression which it conveys of the scene intended to be represented. It was drawn on the spot as the scene was actually exhibited. The actors are persons of some note, and the faces are faithful likenesses.

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* The person from whom we received the painting of the War Dance stated it to be a representation of a war dance of the Sauks and Foxes. This was an error, which we now correct.

The war dances are pantomimic representations of the incidents of border warfare, and, although by no means attractive in themselves, become highly picturesque when contemplated in connection with their significant meaning. The persons engaged are warriors, the leaders of the tribe, and the great men of the day; and the allusions are to the heroic deeds or subtle stratagems of themselves, or their ancestors, or to some danger that threatens, or some act of violence about to be perpetrated.

The dances of the Indians are not designed to be graceful amusements, nor healthful exercises, and bear no resemblance to the elegant and joyous scenes of the ball room. The music, the lights, the women, and above all the charms thrown about the hilarious exhibition by the courtesy and gallantry of the parties—all these are wanting in the war dance, in which the warriors only engage. It is a ceremony, not a recreation, and is conducted with the seriousness belonging to an important public duty. The music is a monotonous beating upon a rude drum, without melody or tune; the movements exhibit neither grace nor agility, and the dancers pass round in a circle with their bodies uncouthly bent forward, as they appear in the print, uttering low, dismal, syllabic sounds, which they repeat with but little perceptible variation throughout the exhibition. The songs are, in fact, short, disjointed sentences, which allude to some victory, or appeal to the passion of revenge, and the object of which is to keep alive the recollection of injury, and excite the hatred of the tribe against their enemies. From the monotony of most of these dances there are, of course, exceptions. Sometimes the excitement of a recent event gives unwonted life and spirit to the ceremony; and occasionally an individual, throwing talent and originality into the representation, dramatises a scene with wonderful force and truth. Keeokuk, the chief of the Saukies, is considered a great dancer, because he brings his fine oratorical talents to bear on such occasions, and counterfeits, with singular energy and fidelity, the different passions to which he refers in his recitative, while Shaumonekussee, the celebrated Oto chief, threw a rich fund of humour into these displays, and enacted many practical jokes, to the infinite delight of the spectators. Sometimes the dance is suspended, as it were, for a few moments, and a prominent actor in it addresses his companions in a short speech, when the dance is renewed with increased activity. But it seems to be chiefly by their expressive countenances, and significant gestures, that they convey ideas on these occasions, and produce an interest in the savage assemblage of spectators, who, like most other human beings, are ready to applaud whatever is done by their chiefs and leading men.

HISTORY

OF

THE INDIAN TRIBES

OF

NORTH AMERICA.

THE earlier historians, who recorded the efforts and progress of the European adventurers that sought in the new world those favours which fortune had denied them in the old, have not left us much precise information respecting the condition of the Indian tribes who then occupied this part of the continent. The external appearance of the Indians, and their mode of life, differing so widely from every thing which Europeans had previously seen, seem to have arrested their attention, and withdrawn it from objects of inquiry, which, to us, are so much more important.

Could we bring back the three centuries that have elapsed since the discovery by Columbus, how much might we hope to recall of the history, tradition, and institutions of the Indians which have for ever passed away! Still much remains—and if all who have opportunities for observation would devote themselves to these researches, a race of men not more insulated in their position, than peculiar in their opinions and customs, would be rescued from that comparative oblivion in which we fear they are destined, under present circumstances, speedily to become involved.

Whence the Indians of America derived their origin, is a question long discussed; and although the particular causes, and route, and circumstances of their migration can never be ascertained, yet there is little doubt, at this day, that they are branches of the great Tartar stock. In arriving at this conclusion, we do not give much weight to any casual coincidences that may be discerned between the Asiatic and American dialects. Of all the sources of information by which the descent of nations can be traced, we consider the deductions of comparative etymology, when applied to a written language, the most uncertain. It is difficult in such cases to fix, with accuracy, the true sound of words; and it is well known that coincidences exist in many languages, radically different from one another, and spoken by communities whose separation from any common stock precedes all historic monuments. Such coincidences are either

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accidental, or the analogous words are the common relics of that universal tongue which was lost in the miraculous interposition upon the plains of Shinar.

There is a fact illustrative of this position, within our own knowledge, which demonstrates the futility of any conclusion drawn from such premises. It is well known that the practice of dividing fields in England, by ditches, was introduced in the last century. When it was first adopted, the common people were suddenly arrested in their walks upon the brink of these ditches, without being aware of their existence, until they approached them. Their surprise was manifested by the exclamation, "*ha, ha*," and eventually the ditches themselves were denominated *ha, ha*. Among the *Sioux*, the Falls of St. Anthony are called *ha, ha*. These falls, approached from below, are not visible, until a projecting point is passed, when they burst upon the traveller in all their grandeur. The Indians, no doubt, struck with the sudden and glorious prospect, marked their surprise, as did the English peasants, with the same exclamation—*ha, ha;* and this exclamation has become the name of the cataract. But he who would deduce from this coincidence the common origin of the English and Sioux, would reason as logically as many of those who arrange the branches of the human family into classes because a few doubtful resemblances in their vocabularies are discovered.

Some curious observations on this topic were made by the celebrated American traveller, John Ledyard. The wide extent of his travels among savage nations in almost every region of the globe, together with his remarkable sagacity in discriminating, and facility in recording, the peculiarities of savage manners and character, gives a value to his opinions and remarks on this subject, which those of few other persons can claim. The following extract is from his Journal, written in Siberia:

"I have not as yet taken any vocabularies of the Tartar language. If I take any, they will be very short ones. Nothing is more apt to deceive than vocabularies, when taken by an entire stranger. Men of scientific curiosity make use of them in investigating questions of philosophy as well as history, and I think often with too much confidence, since nothing is more difficult than to take a vocabulary, that shall answer any good ends for such a purpose. The different sounds of the same letters, and of the same combinations of letters, in the languages of Europe, present an insurmountable obstacle to making a vocabulary, which shall be of general use. The different manner, also, in which persons of the same language would write the words of a new language, would be such, that a stranger might suppose them to be two languages.

"Most uncultivated languages are very difficult to be *orthographized* in another language. They are generally guttural; but when not so, the ear of a foreigner cannot accommodate itself to the inflection of the speaker's voice soon enough to catch the true sound. This must be done instantaneously; and even in a language with which we are acquainted, we are not able to do it for several years. I seize, for instance, the accidental moment, when a savage is inclined to give me the names of things. The medium of this conversation is only signs. The savage may wish to give me the word for *head*, and lays his hand on the top of his head. I am not certain whether he means *the head*, or *the top of the head*, or perhaps *the hair* of the head. He may wish to say *leg*, and puts his hand to the calf. I cannot tell whether he means *the leg*, or *the calf*, or *flesh*, or *the flesh*. There are other difficulties. The island of Onalaska is on the coast of America, opposite to Asia. There are few traders on it. Being there with Captain Cook, I was walking one day on the shore in company with a native, who spoke the Russian language. I did not understand it. I was writing the names of several things, and pointed to the ship, supposing he would understand that I wanted the name of it. He answered me in a phrase, which in Russ meant, *I know*. I wrote down, *a ship*. I gave him some snuff, which he took, and held out his hand for more, making use of a word which signified in Russ, *a little*. I wrote, *more*."—See *Sparks's Life of John Ledyard*, p. 148, first edition.

The claims of our primitive people to an Asiatic descent are founded upon other and stronger testimony;—upon the general resemblance which they bear, in many points of character, manners, customs, and institutions—circumstances not easily changed, or easily mistaken—to the various tribes occupying the great table lands of Tartary. We feel no disposition to examine the details of this question. It has been long before the literary world, and all the facts and considerations connected with it have been carefully investigated, discussed, and considered. To revive it were idle, for its interest can never be revived, nor is there reason to suppose that any new or more accurate views of the subject will ever be presented.

After stating many curious particulars and striking facts on this subject, Ledyard adds, by way of conclusion from the whole—

"I know of no people among whom there is such a uniformity of features, (except the Chinese, the Jews, and the Negroes) as among the Asiatic Tartars. They are distinguished, indeed, by different tribes, but this is only nominal. Nature has not acknowledged the distinction, but, on the contrary, marked them, wherever found, with the indisputable stamp of Tartars. Whether in Nova Zembla, Mongolia, Greenland, or on the banks of the Mississippi, they are the same people, forming the most numerous, and, if we must except the Chinese, the most ancient nation on the globe. But I, for myself, do not except the Chinese, because I have no doubt of their being of the same family."

Again, he says: "I am certain that all the people you call *red* people on the continent of America, and on the continents of Europe and Asia, as far south as the southern parts of China, are all one people, by whatever names distinguished, and that the best general name would be *Tartar*. I suspect that *all* red people are of the same family. I am satisfied that America was peopled from Asia, and had some, if not all, its animals from thence."—*Life of Ledyard*, pp. 246, 255.

Equally idle would it be to indulge in speculations concerning the causes, or motives, or circumstances, which led to this exodus from the eastern to the western continent. How long it had occurred previously to the discovery, is, and must remain a matter of conjecture—the facts in our possession are not sufficient to enable us to form even a plausible conjecture upon the subject. It is evident, however, that many ages must have passed away between the first settlement of America and its discovery by Europeans.

With the exception of the half civilised empires of Mexico and Peru, the aboriginal inhabitants were roving barbarians, little advanced from a state of nature, and depending solely upon the chase for the means of subsistence. They seem to have been spread pretty equally over the continent, leaving no portion of the country without inhabitants, nor any with a dense population. Barbarous tribes, under such circumstances, increase slowly. The life of a hunter is not favourable to a rapid increase of population. If he sometimes possesses an abundance, he is often exposed to famine.

In forming a correct estimate of the early condition of the Indians, much allowance must be made for the spirit of exaggeration visible in the narratives of the first travellers and adventurers. They seem to have surveyed the objects before them under the influence of a mirage, which not only distorted the features, but increased their numbers and proportions. In addition to this predisposition, the fault in some measure of the age, the soldiers of fortune who hazarded life and fame in their efforts to subdue the native inhabitants, were led, in the statement of their own claims and services, to overrate the number, and power, and resources, of their enemies. There are many evidences of this spirit, particularly among the Spanish conquerors, and he who reads the account of their expeditions, and compares them with the habits and condition of the people they describe, as these are now known to us, must be satisfied, that if the leading facts are true, the details are entitled to little credit. It is difficult, at this distance of time and place to point to particular instances of this habit of misrepresentation. The conclusion must be deduced rather from a general view of the subject, than from single facts. But there is one gross exaggeration which we are able to detect, by a comparison of the descriptions which have come to us, with the actual customs of the Indians of the present day.

Every one must recollect the wonderful accounts which have been given of the hieroglyphical pictures of the Mexicans, and these have been often referred to, as evidence of the advances made by those people in knowledge and civilisation. In Dr. Robertson's History of America, accurate representations are given of those paintings; and they resemble, in every particular, the rude drawings made by the *Sioux*, and other western Indians, upon the fleshy side of their buffalo skins. The exact resemblance cannot be mistaken, as every one may satisfy himself who will compare the reduced fac similes given by Dr. Robertson, with those which accompany Dr. James's account of Colonel Long's travels to the Rocky Mountains.

In the region extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, and from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, there were numerous tribes wandering over the country and dividing it among them by very indefinite boundaries, and an imperfect possession. It is impossible to form an enumeration of these tribes, as they existed at the era of the discovery. We have ourselves collected not less than two hundred and seventy-two names* of different tribes which are found in the early narratives and histories; and how many more would have been disclosed by further research, we presume not to say. Upon what principle these appellations were originally given, it is impossible to ascertain. They far exceed any actual divisions among the Indians, either social or political, which could have existed; and it would be vain to inquire to what tribes or bands many of them were given. Then, as now, the Indians were doubtless separated into many communities, occupying different regions, and with interests which were, or were supposed to be, various and sometimes adverse. Whether

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* Dubois,
Cheveux relevez,
Quatoghies,
Adnondecks,
Capiga,
Bull heads,
Mussisakies,
Esopus,

Cheveux ou Port leué,
Andata honato,
Oneidas,
Canastoga,
Calmawas,
Arogisti,
Sinodouwas,
Dewagamas,
Lenehas,
Onondagos,
Cayugas,
Wayanoak,
Chictaghicks,
Iwikties,
Utawawas,
Ouyslanous,
Kaskaskias,
Mitchigamuas,
Renais,
Outagamies,
Sioux,
Saks,
Kickapoos,
Tamawas,
Chactas, or Choctaws,
Peauguicheas, or Peahushaws, supposed to be Peanguicheas, or Piankeshaws.
Alibamous,
Taskikis,
Outachepas,
Tomeas,
Abchas,
Talapenches,
Conchakus,
Pakauds,
Kaoutyas, or Cowetas,
Ouanchas,
Chenakisses,
Escaamba,
Souriquois,
Cambas,
Peskadaneeoukkanti,
Twightwes,
Salanas,
Shawanous,
Outagamies,
Kehabous,
Maskuticks,
Mahekandes,
Potawatimies,
Walhominies,
Puans,
Dionoudadie,
Owenagungas,
Ouiagies,
Ponacocks,
Schahooks,
Agonnousioni,
Canabas,
Etecheneus, or Etchmins,
Malicetes,
Baisimetes,
Papinachois,
Oumamioucks,
Eves, or Chats,
L'Ecureuil,
Mohingaus, supposed to be Mohingans or Mohicans.
Nez percez,
Kareses,
Mousonis,
Cawittas,
Tallpoosas,
Coosas,
Apalachias,
Coushaes, or Coosades,
Oakmulgis,
Oconis,
Ockhoys,
Alibam,
Weetumkees,
Paleanas,
Tacusas,
Chacsihoomis,
Alickas,
Odsinachies,
Aunies,
Tuscaroras,
Nehkereages,
Tahsagroudie,
Conestogoe,
Canoyeas, or Nantihokes,
Conoyucksuchroona,
Cochnewwasroonaw,
Tehoanoughroonaw,
Sachdagughroonaw,
Catawbas,
Chenkus,
Conoy, living among the Tuscaroras,
Aquelon pissas, or Colla pissas,
Tiaoux,
Oaktashippas,
Wyogtami,
Shogleys,
Musquakey,
Assinais,
Adaies, or Adayes,
Pammahas,
Epesengles,
Avoyelles,
Chatots,
Thomez,
Chacci Oumas,
Oufe Agoulas,
Tapoussas,
Bayouc Agoulas,
Oque Loussas,
Avoyels,
Otheues,
Wampano,
Wamanus,
Chihokokis,
Wapingeis,
Connecedegas,
Rondaxes,
Wasses, mentioned by Long.
Hawoyazask, or Musquash,
Minisuk,
Shawendadies,
Wateree,
Eano,
Charah,
Chowan,
Nachee,
Yamasee,
Coosah,
Callapipas,
Oumas,
Tomkas,
Natches,
Anhawas,
Pehenguichias,
Pr,
Casco,
Pigwachet,
Piscataquas,
Newickawanacks,
Wiscasset,
Passamaquoddy,
St. Francois,
Quinaquous,
Ipati,
Hannetons,
Oua,
Tentouha,
Nadouesteaus, supposed to be Nadowessies,
Arsenipoits,
Chougaskabees,
Aisnous,
Tangibao,
Ouabaches,
Biscatonges,
Chininoas,
Choumaus,
Nassonis,
Quanoatinos,
Tarahas,
Palaquessous,
Nabari,

they all descended from a common stock is a question not easily answered. Even at this day, our information concerning the Indian languages is very imperfect. The principles which regulate them are but partially known, and much more severe investigations into their construction will be necessary before we are enabled to ascertain all the points of resemblance which they bear to one another, and all the anomalies they exhibit when compared with the more methodised and finished tongues of the old world. Many of the Indian languages are evidently cognate dialects, but in attempting to ascend to their common origin, we soon become involved in uncertainty.

The great division of the French writers was into the Huron, or Wyandot, the Algonquin, and the Sioux stocks. These comprehended almost all the tribes known to them, and they yet comprehend much the larger portion of the tribes known to us. But besides these, the present state of our information upon the subject leads to the conclusion that there are three primitive languages spoken by the southern tribes. Of these the Chactaws and Chickasaws form one; the Creek, or Muskogee, another; and the Cherokee a third. West of the Mississippi the primitive dialects appear to be the Minataree, the Pawnee, the Chayenne, the Blackfeet, and the Padoucee, making eleven original stocks between the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Rocky Mountains. But it is by no means certain that all these great families are radically different one from another. Further investigations may exhibit resemblances not yet discovered, and reduce to cognate dialects, languages now supposed to be radically dissimilar.

Montagnes, supposed to be Montagnard, or Montagues.
Ochasteguins,
Ontaouonones,
Andastonez,
Bussenmeus,
Altihamaguez,
Gaspesiens,
Iroquets,
Nation neuht,
Sokoki,
Abenaquis,
Ozembogus,
Tangeboas,
Ostonoos,
Mausalea,
Mousa,
Ossotoues,
Chachachouma,
Yataches,
Onodo,
Napgitache,
Quonantino,
Epicerinis, or Sorciers,
Kiscakous,
Mosookees,
Ouachas,
Caouachas,
Chitimachas,
Hoomas,
Mobilians,
Pasca Oocolos,
Hattahappas, supposed to be Atakapas.
Uchees,
Biloxis,
Ybitoopas,
Mistapnis,
Pascagoulas,
Bayagoulas,
Quinnepas,
Mongontatchas,
Tonicas,
Otchagras,
Sahohes,
Amikones, or Castor,
Malecites,
Poualakes,
Onyapes,
Apineus,
Mattaugwessawacks,
Nihanticks,
Nepnet,
Dassa Monpeake,
Chickahominies,
Yamassees,
Nipmuck,
Nianticks,
Norredgewock,
Wewenocks,
Androscoggins, or Anasaguntacooks,
Tomez,
Corrois,
Offogoulas,
Teoux,
Castachas,
Atakapas,
Ounontcharonnous,
Plats cotez de chiens,
Savanois,
Gaspesiens,
Bersiamitts,
Papenachois,
Montagnez,
Naausi,
Naichoas,
Ouadiches,
Cabinoios,
Mentous,
Ozotheoa,
Dogenga,
Panivacha,
Pera,
Panaloga,
Malatautes,
Tichenos,
Nepissings,
Tamescamengs,
Têtes de boule,
Nation du Castor,
Tetes plates,
Octotates,
Aïouez,
Omaus,
Montagnais,
Torimas,
Topingas,
Sothoues,
Kappas.

It is highly probable that duplicates occur in this list. Montagnez, for example, may mean the same as Montagnais, &c.

This great diversity of speech among a race of men presenting in other respects features almost identical, is a subject of curious and interesting speculation. Every one who has surveyed the Indians must have been struck with the general resemblance they bear to each other. In all those physical characteristics which divide them from the other great branches of the human family, they form one people. The facial angle is the same, and so is the colour, general stature, form of the face, appearance, and colour of the eyes, and the common impression which is made, by the whole, upon the spectator. These facts indicate a common origin. But we find among a people occupying the same general region, and with similar habits and modes of life, and unbroken communication, eleven languages, among which no verbal resemblance has been discovered. And yet, as far as we are acquainted with them, one common principle of construction pervades the whole. Whence this unity of form and diversity of expression? Are they to be traced to the facility with which the words of unwritten languages are changed, and to the tenacity with which we adhere to the process by which our ideas are formed and disclosed? If so, these languages have descended from a common origin, and the tribes must have separated from one another at periods more or less remote, as their dialects approach, or recede from, each other. But this conjecture does not accord with the local relations and established intercourse between many of the tribes. Some of those speaking languages radically different live, and have lived for ages, in juxtaposition, and the most confidential relations have been established among them. This is particularly the case with the Winnebagoes speaking a dialect of the Sioux stock, and the Menomines speaking a dialect of the Algonquin stock; and such is also the case with the Hurons, or Wyandots, and the Ottawas. And it is well known that the Shawanese, whose language is similar to that spoken by the Kickapoo, and other northern tribes, emigrated from the South, and were, when they became first known to the Europeans, planted among the Creeks upon the streams flowing through Florida. The patronymic appellations used by the various tribes indicate a connexion very different from that which we should be led to deduce from a comparison of their dialects. We cannot trace these claims of affinity to any known source; but like many usages which have survived the causes that gave birth to them, they were doubtless founded upon established relations existing at the time. The Wyandots claim to be the uncle of all the other tribes; and the Delawares to be the grandfather. But the Delawares acknowledge themselves to be the nephew of the Wyandots, and these two tribes speak languages which have not the most remote resemblance. Whether we shall ever be able to settle these questions is doubtful. At any rate we can only hope to do it by observation, and by a rigid abstinence from idle speculations until our collection of facts shall be greatly enlarged.

In looking back upon the condition of the Indians previously to the arrival of the Europeans, and to the introduction of their manufactures among them, we shall find that He who "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb" had provided them with means of subsistence, and sources of enjoyment suited to their situation and wants. They were divided, as we have seen, into many different tribes, subdivided into various bands or families. This subdivision was an important branch of Indian polity. It would be idle to recount the traditions respecting the origin and objects of this institution. We must be satisfied with surveying them, as they are, or rather as they were, leaving the causes which induced them, whether accidental or designed, among the mysteries of the fabulous period of their history.

The number of these bands among the various tribes was different, and perhaps indefinite. They usually extended, however, from five or six, to twelve or fifteen. Each had a distinct appellative, derived from some familiar animal, as the bear tribe, &c.; and the figure of the animal giving name to the tribe became the *totem*, or armorial bearing of every individual belonging thereto. When it became necessary to identify a person in any of their rude drawings, or to affix his mark to any instrument prepared by the white man, his totem was first made, and then any particular characteristic added which might apply individually to him. The animal itself thus selected for a manitou, or guardian spirit, or at least certain parts of it, were not used for food by any of the tribe, although free for any other person. All those belonging to the same tribe were considered as near relations, and intermarriage among them was strictly prohibited. Among some of these Indian communities, the village or peace chiefs of one tribe were chosen by the other tribes; and these subdivisions had an important operation upon their government and institutions.

In the autumn, when the flesh and furs of the animals used by the Indians became in season, the various bands or families separated, and repaired to their proper districts for hunting. Huts were erected of bark, or logs, in favourable and sheltered situations, and here the families resided, the different individuals following their respective employments. The men devoted themselves to the chase, with zeal and assiduity. And while the game was abundant they provided a surplus, which in cold weather was preserved by freezing, and in moderate weather by drying or jerking it. No man was excused from this first and great duty. Boys were anxious to become hunters, and old men to remain hunters. The pride of both was enlisted, for both were despised, if unequal to the task.

With the necessary supply of food, however, the labour of the men ceased. All other duties devolved on the women. These, as may well be supposed, were arduous enough. Such has always been the fate of the weaker sex among barbarous tribes, and it was probably never more severe than among the North American Indians. They procured the fuel, which was cut with stone tomahawks, and transported it to the camps upon their backs. They cooked the provisions, dressed the skins, made the canoes, and performed all the labour not directly connected with those hunting or hostile excursions which constituted the occupation of the men. In these employments the winter was passed away, and industrious and provident families generally accumulated a considerable stock of dried meat, and a quantity of furs and skins sufficient for their wants during the year.

As the spring approached the hunting camps were evacuated, and the various families collected together in their villages. These were generally situated upon small streams, where the land was of the best quality. Here corn was planted, rudely, and in small quantities, but still enough to supply them with food for a short time in the latter part of the summer, and the beginning of autumn. The corn was cultivated entirely by the women. Indelible disgrace would have attached to the warrior who could so far forget himself as to aid in the performance of this, or any other duty requiring manual labour. As they had no domestic animals, no fences were necessary; and the rude instruments then in use allowed them to do little more than plant and cover the seed.

This was the principal season for amusements, for business, and for warlike expeditions. Their whole population was brought together. Days and nights were frequently devoted to feasts, to dances, and athletic games. The young men were engaged in these pastimes, and the others in the discussion and consideration of affairs involving the general interest or security. Difficulties and feuds in the tribe were terminated. If war existed it was prosecuted with vigour, or proposals for peace were made or received. These few months formed, indeed, the social life of the Indian. At all other periods he was a solitary animal, engaged like most other animals in the great duty of self-preservation.

It is easy to conceive that this annual round of employment might be occasionally interrupted—it, no doubt, was so. A successful or a disastrous war changed essentially the condition of a tribe, stimulating or depressing them. An unfavourable season for hunting increased the labour of the men, and added to the privations of their families. There can be little doubt also that all tribes, before the discovery, lived in a state of great insecurity. No fact in their whole history is better established than the universal prevalence of war among them; and their wars were too often wars *ad internecionem.* They fought, like the animals around them, to destroy, and not to subdue. The war-flag was always flying, and the war-drum sounding. Their villages were generally enclosed with palisades, composed of the trunks and limbs of trees, burnt at the proper length, and secured, not by being placed in a ditch, but by having earth carried and deposited against them. This earth was doubtless taken from the soil around, equally, and not by making holes, (because in these an enemy could shelter himself,) and was carried to the place of deposit by the squaws in skins. And in this way, by an accumulation of earth for a succession of ages, we are satisfied, that the earthen parapets, which so often strike the traveller with wonder in the solitary forests of the West, have been formed. They are certainly monuments of aboriginal labour, but of labour expended for safety and existence during many generations. In the narrative of Cartier's voyage to the St. Lawrence, is a minute description of one of these fortified villages, occupying the present site of Montreal, and there called *Hochelaga.* The process of attack and defence is stated, and the whole corresponds with the account we have given, and with all we know of the manners and condition of the Indians.

Their government was then, as it is now, essentially a government of opinion. It is not probable that any punishments were ever judicially affixed to crimes. But their circumstances were such, that few crimes could be committed. Ardent spirits, the bane of civilised and of savage life, were unknown among them. No facts have come down to us indicating that any intoxicating liquor was ever used by them, consequently their passions were never excited or inflamed, as they now are, by this destructive habit. Of real property they had none—for theirs was a perpetual community in the possession of their lands; and their personal property was of very trifling value, consisting of little more than the skins in which they were clothed. There were no motives, therefore, to violate the rights of property, and few to disturb the rights of persons. Murder was almost the only offence which, by universal consent, was followed by punishment; and this punishment, if such it can be called, was the right which the friends of the deceased person possessed to take the life of the offender, or to commute, by receiving some valuable article.

Each tribe had two descriptions of officers, performing different duties, and acting independent of one another. The village, or peace chiefs, directed the civil concerns of the government. They were usually hereditary, or elected from particular families. Among some of the tribes the descent was in the direct line from father to son; among others it was in the collateral line, from the uncle to the nephew—the son of his sister—and where this was the case, the reason given was to insure the succession to the blood of the first chief, which object was certainly attained by selecting the sister's son to succeed each chief. Women were sometimes, but not often, eligible to authority. All these elections and successions were regulated by established rules, as were the ceremonials attending them. The rank of these chiefs was fixed, and generally one of them was the acknowledged head of the tribe, and the others were his counsellors. The external form of the government was arbitrary, but in its practical operation it was a democracy. No question was decided but upon full discussion and deliberation among the chiefs, and doubtless the public opinion produced its effect upon them. These chiefs adjusted any disputes existing among the individuals or families of the tribe; assigned to all their proper hunting districts; received and transmitted messages from and to other tribes; conducted and controlled their great feasts and religious festivals, and concluded peace.

But with the declaration of war terminated these duties, and all the authority of these conscript fathers. Like the decree of the Roman senate, which declared the republic in danger and prostrated all other power before the dictator, the commencement of hostilities suspended all the authority of the village chiefs, and substituted that of the war chiefs. In the selection of these warriors the accident of birth had no influence. Reckless valour; the ability to do and to suffer; the power to lead and command, all proved and displayed in many a bloody combat, could alone elevate an Indian to the command of his countrymen, which dignity conferred little else than the right to lead, and to be the first in every desperate enterprise. Their tactics embraced no combination of movement, none of that system of manœuvres which teaches every combatant that he is a part of a great machine, ruled and regulated by one presiding spirit. Their battles, like those described by Homer, were single combats, in which physical force and courage prevailed.

It is not easy to ascertain their mythological opinions, or their religious doctrines. Almost all the tribes have been more or less the objects of instruction by the missionaries sent among them by various religious societies, established among the Christian nations who have planted colonies on the continent. The effect of the doctrines taught by these missionaries upon the traditions and opinions of the Indians is visible; and it is difficult to separate what they have thus received, from what they have inherited from their forefathers. Nothing can be more crude than these fables and notions, which are certainly their own, and which constitute their system of theology. They probably had an indistinct idea of a future existence, but it was doubtful, shadowy, unproductive, the mere wreck of a revelation made in the early ages of the world, adhered to without knowledge, and without hope. Every object in nature had a familiar spirit, some for good and some for evil. And the Creator, in their view, seems to have been a gigantic undefined being, contending with the elements, sometimes subduing, and sometimes subdued by them.

It is impossible to reconcile the inconsistent opinions of his power and other attributes, to be deduced from the traditionary fables which they repeat and believe. Under the name *Nanibujo*, or some similar appellative, he is known to the tribes of the Algonquin stock, and the idlest and wildest tales are told of his prowess and contests, sometimes with the deluge, which seems to form an era in all traditions, and sometimes with the imaginary animals with which the water and the land were filled.* We feel no disposition to repeat these stories here. They would scarcely serve the purpose of amusing the reader, and only add to the many existing proofs of the folly to which man is prone in an unenlightened state.

The intellectual acquirements of the Indians were as low as they are recorded to have been among any people on the face of the earth. They had no letters and no learning. Not the slightest rudiments of a single science were known among them. The sun, and moon, and stars, were balls of light set in the heavens. The earth was an island. Their pathology referred every disorder to a spirit which was to be driven out by the noise and incantations of the jugglers, which constituted their whole medical science. Their arithmetic enabled them to count to a hundred, and here, generally, their power over numbers ceased. Their arts consisted in making a bow and arrow and canoe, and in taking their game upon the land and in the water. We presume there was scarcely an Indian on the continent who could comprehend an abstract idea, and at this day the process is neither common nor easy. The great business of their lives was to procure food, and devour it; and to subdue their enemies, and scalp them.

Such, in general, was the condition of the Indians when the Europeans arrived among them. Their sources of enjoyment were few and simple, and it is possible, notwithstanding the state of their society was such as we have depicted it, that they enjoyed some proportion of happiness. Why they had advanced so little in all that constitutes the progress of society, it is not easy to conjecture. The question presents one of the most difficult problems to be found in the whole history of mankind. Here was a people in the rudest condition, knowing nothing, and attentive to nothing but their physical wants; without metallic instruments, agriculture, manufactures, or education; and with the means only of supplying their most indispensable animal necessities. Such, doubtless, had been their condition for ages. It certainly could not have been worse at any period of their previous history; if it had been, they must have been more helpless than the animals around them, and from entire improvidence, and the absence of power to protect and perpetuate existence, have become extinct.

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* See M'Kenney's Tour to the Lakes, pp. 302, 3, 4, 5, &c.

What then prevented their advancement? Why was experience lost upon them? Knowing that the alternations of the seasons would bring with them abundance and scarcity, why did they not provide for the one when they possessed the other? The accumulation of knowledge forms the distinguishing characteristic between men and brutes. The boundary which divides reason and instinct is not always well defined, nor easily ascertained. Indeed, who can determine where instinct terminates and reason begins? In some important respects instinct is a less fallible guide than reason. But as instinct was at the creation, so it is now. It exerts the same influence over the same varieties of living beings, and under the same modifications now as heretofore:—whereas reason is now, and has always been, susceptible of indefinite, perhaps infinite improvement. The treasures of knowledge accumulated by those who have gone before us have descended to us. Their experience has become our experience, and we are taught by it what to embrace and what to avoid. But of all this the aboriginal inhabitants of America exhibited no example. They were stationary, looking upon life as a scene of physical exertion, without improving, or attempting to improve. With the exception of the half civilised empires of Mexico and Peru, the condition and improvement of which we are satisfied were grossly exaggerated by the early adventurers, all the primitive inhabitants, from the straits of Magellan to Hudson's bay, were in this state of helpless ignorance and imbecility. Whether they inhabited the mild and genial climates, were burned by the vertical sun of the tropics, or by a still harder fate were condemned to the bleak and sterile regions of the north, all were equally stationary and improvident. Ages passed by and made no impression upon them. The experience of the past, and the aspiration of the future, were alike unheeded. Their existence was confined to the present. We confess our inability to explain this enigma, and we leave it without further observation.

Their previous history and progress are utterly lost—lost in that long interval of darkness which precedes authentic history amongst all nations—it rests, and probably will ever rest, upon the Indians.

In what direction the current of emigration traversed the continent, and when and where it sent out its lateral branches to form distinct communities, and eventually to speak different languages, we have no means of ascertaining. Some of the Indian traditions refer to an eastern, and some to a western origin, but most of the tribes trace their descent to the soil they inhabit, and believe their ancestors emerged from the earth. Nothing can be more uncertain, and more unworthy, we will not say of credit, but of consideration, than their earlier traditions; and probably there is not a single fact in all their history, supported by satisfactory evidence, which occurred half a century previously to the establishment of the Europeans. It is well known that important incidents are communicated, and their remembrance preserved, by belts of wampum formed of strings of beads originally made of white clay, in a rude manner, by themselves, but now manufactured for them from shells. These beads were variously coloured, and so arranged as to bear a distant resemblance to the objects intended to be delineated. The belts were particularly devoted to the preservation of speeches, the proceedings of councils, and the formation of treaties. One of the principal counsellors was the *custos rotulorum;* and it was his duty to repeat, from time to time, the speeches and narratives connected with these belts; to impress them fully upon his memory, and to transmit them to his successor. At a certain season every year they were taken from their places of deposit, and exposed to the whole tribe, while the history of each was publicly recited. It is obvious, that by the principles of association these belts would enable those whose duty it was, to preserve with more certainty and facility the traditionary narratives; and they were memorials of the events themselves, like the sacred relics which the Jews were directed to deposit in the ark of the covenant. How far the intercourse between the various tribes extended, cannot be known. There is reason to believe that the victorious Iroquois carried their arms to Mexico. It has been stated by Mr. Stickney, an intelligent observer, well acquainted with the Indians (having been formerly Indian agent at Fort Wayne), that he once saw a very ancient belt among the Wyandots, which they told him had come from a large Indian nation in the southwest. At the time of its reception, as ever since, the Wyandots were the leading tribe in this quarter of the continent. Placed at the head of the great Indian commonwealth by circumstances which even their tradition does not record, they held the great council fire, and possessed the right of convening the various tribes around it, whenever any important occurrence required general deliberation. This belt had been specially transmitted to them, and from the attendant circumstances and accompanying narrative, Mr. Stickney had no doubt but it was sent by the Mexican emperor, at the period of the invasion of that country by Cortez. The speech stated, in substance, that a new and strange animal had appeared upon the coast, describing him like the fabled centaurs of antiquity, as part man and part quadruped; and adding, that he commanded the thunder and lightning. The object seemed to be to put the Indians on their guard against this terrible monster, wherever he might appear.

Could a collection of these ancient belts be now made, and the accompanying narratives recorded, it would afford curious and interesting materials, reflecting, no doubt, much light upon the former situation and history of the Indians. But it is vain to expect such a discovery. In the mutations and migrations of the various tribes, misfortunes have pressed so heavily upon them, that they have been unable to preserve their people or their country, much less the memorials of their former power. These have perished in the general wreck of their fortunes—lost, as have been the sites of their council fires, and the graves of their fathers.

When the French first entered the St. Lawrence, the great war had commenced between the Wyandots and the Iroquois, which terminated in the entire discomfiture of the former, and produced important effects upon all the tribes within the sphere of its operation. The origin of this war is variously related, but the more probable account refers it to the murder of a small party of Iroquois hunters by some of the young Wyandots, jealous of their success. Previously to this event, the Iroquois had been rebuked by the superior genius and fortune of their rivals, and lived peaceably in their vicinity, without competition, if not without envy, and devoting themselves to the chase. This unprovoked outrage roused their resentment, and finding that no satisfaction could be obtained; that their representations were slighted, and themselves treated with scorn, they took up arms. No contest at its commencement could have appeared more hopeless. Experience, character, influence, numbers, all were in favour of their enemies. And yet this war, commenced under such inauspicious circumstances, ended in the utter prostration, and almost in the extinction of the Wyandots; entailed upon them a series of calamities unexampled in any history, and elevated the Iroquois to the summit of aboriginal power and fame. It produced, also, the most important consequences upon the whole course of Indian events during more than a century of desperate valour and enterprise. Little did they think, who commenced this war with arrows pointed with flints, and with war-clubs rudely made from the hard knots of trees, that before its termination a new race of men would arrive among them, destined to exert a final and decisive influence upon their fate, and bringing with them new weapons, terrific in their appearance and sound, and more terrible still by their invisible operation and bloody effects.

In the sunlight of the Indian condition, there were redeeming circumstances which did much to balance the evil resulting from their peculiar condition and institutions. Their solemn assemblies and grave deliberations around their council fires presented imposing spectacles. From some of the facts incidentally stated by the early French historians, it is obvious that the chiefs were then treated with much more respect than is now paid them. It was the duty of the young hunters to provide them with the food and furs necessary for the support and clothing of their families. It was, in fact, a tax levied under the conciliatory name of present. The sieur Perrot, who was sent in 1671 with messages from the governor-general of Canada to many of the western tribes, states that the great chief of the Miamies then lived at Chicago, upon Lake Michigan. That he was constantly attended by a guard of forty young warriors, as well for state as for security, and the ceremonies of introduction to him were grave and imposing. All this evinces the consideration then attached to the chiefs, which gave to them much personal influence, and to their opinions much weight and authority. This deference served to counteract the democratic tendency of their institutions, and operated in the same manner as the more artificial checks in civilised governments. Age, and wisdom, and experience, were thus protected from rude interruption, and the rashness of youth, as well as from those sudden tempests of passion, to which they are as easily exposed as their own lakes to the tempests that sweep over them.

In comparing the present situation of the Indians with their condition before the discovery, great allowances must be made for the changes which have been produced, and for their general deterioration in manners, in morals, and in extrinsic circumstances. There are, and no doubt always have been, radical defects in their institutions—defects peculiar to themselves, and which have made them a phenomenon among the human family. That there are varieties in the human race, is a physiological truth which will not be questioned. The controversy begins only when the causes of this diversity are investigated, and their extent and effects are estimated. This wide field of discussion we shall not enter. And it must be left to future inquirers to ascertain whether the physical differences so obviously discernible in comparisons between the Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, Malay, and other varieties, are the cause or the consequence of the peculiar moral characteristics by which the various races of men are distinguished.

The aboriginal inhabitants of America are marked by external features peculiar to themselves, and which distinguish them from all the other descendants of Adam. They are marked too by peculiar opinions, habits, manners, and institutions. The effect of the coming of the Europeans among them cannot be doubted. They have diminished in numbers, deteriorated in morals, and lost all the most prominent and striking traits of their character. It were vain to speculate now upon the position they would have occupied, had they abandoned their own institutions, and coalesced with the strangers who came among them.

But these more general observations can give but an indefinite idea of the circumstances and situation of the Indians. We must not only survey them as one people, possessing similar characteristics, but we must view them also in detached groups, as they actually lived, and occupied different portions of the country, each pursuing their course independent of, and too often at war with, their neighbours. But in this general sketch we shall not attempt to trace the history of all the tribes whose names have come down to us. Such a task would be alike hopeless and unprofitable. We shall confine ourselves to the more prominent divisions, whose progress, condition, and fate, are best known to us.

The tribes occupying that part of the United States east of the Hudson river, were known to the other Indians under the general name of *Wabenauki*, or men of the east. Their languages were cognate dialects, branches of the Algonquin stock, and bearing a very perceptible resemblance to one another. It cannot be doubted that all these tribes had one origin; and that their separation into distinct communities had taken place at no very remote period when our acquaintance with them first commenced.

Heavily indeed have time and circumstances pressed upon them. They may all be considered as extinct, for the few wretched individuals who survive have lost all that was worth possessing of their own character, without acquiring any thing that is estimable in ours. As the great destroyer has thus blighted the relations which once existed between these Indians and our forefathers, it does not fall within our plan to review their former condition, and to trace the history of the numerous small bands into which they appear to have been divided. Little besides the names of many of them is now known, and these have probably been multiplied by the ignorance and carelessness of observers but imperfectly acquainted with them. The Narragansets and the Pequods are the two tribes with whose names and deeds we are most familiar. The former from their skill in the manufacture of wampum, earthen vessels, and other articles, originally used by the Indians; and the latter from their prowess in war, and from the desperate resistance they made to the progress of the white men. Their principal chief, known to us by the English name Philip, appears to have been an able and intrepid man, contending under the most discouraging circumstances against invaders of his country, and falling with the fall of all that was dear to him, when further resistance was impracticable. His name, with the names of Pontiac and Tecumthe, and a few others, seem alone destined to survive the oblivion which rests upon the forest warriors, and upon their deeds.

The Mohegans occupied most of the country upon the Hudson river, and between that river and the Connecticut. Conflicting accounts are given of their language and origin, but since more accurate investigations have been made into the general subject of our Indian relations, we know that they are a branch of the Delaware family, and closely connected with the parent stocks. So far as our information extends, this was their original country, for the wild traditions which have been gravely recorded and repeated, respecting the migrations and fortunes of this great aboriginal family, are unworthy of serious consideration. A few hundreds of this tribe are yet remaining, but they abandoned their primitive seats many years ago, and attached themselves to some of their kindred bands. A few of them have passed the Mississippi, and others are residing in Upper Canada, but the larger portion have established themselves at Green Bay.

The Six Nations, known to the French as the Iroquois, and to the English as the Mingoes, were the most powerful tribe of Indians upon the continent. They originally occupied the country north of Lake Ontario, but after the commencement of hostilities between them and the Wyandots, and their allies, the Algonquins, they removed to the south of that lake, and established their residence in what is now the western part of the state of New York. At the commencement of this contest, they were so unequal to their adversaries that they withdrew beyond the sphere of their operations, and engaged in hostilities with the Shawanese, then living upon the southern shore of Lake Erie. Their efforts were here successful, and they expelled this tribe from their country, and took possession. Emboldened by success, and having acquired experience in war, from which they had long refrained, they turned their arms against their enemies to revenge the injuries they had received. A long and bloody contest ensued, and it was raging when the French occupied the banks of the St. Lawrence. They took part with the Wyandots and Algonquins, and Champlain accompanied a war party in one of their expeditions, and upon the shore of the lake which bears his name, fought a battle with the Iroquois, and defeated them by the use of fire-arms, which then became first known to these aborigines. But the latter were soon furnished with the destructive weapon of European warfare by the English and Dutch, and their career of conquest extended to the Mississippi. The Wyandots and Algonquins were almost exterminated, and the feeble remnant were compelled to seek refuge in the Manitoulin Islands, which line the northern coast of Lake Huron. Their inexorable enemies followed them into these secluded regions, and finally compelled them to flee among the Sioux, then living west of Lake Superior.

During almost a century they harassed the French settlements, impeded their progress, and even bearded them under the walls of Quebec. It has been thought that Champlain and his successors in authority, who controlled the destiny of New France, committed a great political error in identifying their cause with that of either of the hostile parties. But a neutral course was impracticable. Aboriginal politics necessarily associated with the great contest for supremacy, then pending between the Iroquois and their enemies. It was the absorbing topic of discussion, and those who were friendly to one party, were of course hostile to the other. Had the French declined the overtures of both, they would have acquired the confidence of neither, and probably have furnished another proof of the inefficacy of temporising measures in great questions of public policy. They naturally attached themselves to those of their own immediate vicinity, and the others were as naturally thrown into the arms of the English. During the long contest between these two European powers for supremacy upon the continent, the Iroquois were generally found in the English interest, and the other tribes in the French.

History furnishes few examples of more desperate valour, more daring enterprise, or more patriotic devotion, than are found in these wars, first waged by the Iroquois for that revenge which they regarded as justice, but afterwards for conquest.

Those Indians present the only example of intimate union recorded in aboriginal history. They consisted originally of five tribes, namely, the *Mohawks*, the *Onondagos*, the *Senecas*, the *Oneidas*, and the *Cayugas*. About the year 1717, the *Tuscaroras* joined the confederacy, and formed the sixth tribe—from this period the Iroquois were sometimes known as the Five Nations, and sometimes as the Six Nations.

The origin of this confederacy is unknown to us. It existed when they became first known to the whites. So imperfect were the investigations made into these subjects, that the principles of their union are but little understood. Each tribe probably managed its internal concerns independent of all the others. But the whole seem to have formed an Amphictyonic league, in which subjects of general interest were discussed and determined. The Tuscarora tribe had occupied a portion of North Carolina, but they became involved in difficulties with the people of that province, and after a series of disasters were compelled to abandon it. Their language resembles that spoken by the other tribes of the confederacy, and there is little doubt but at some former period they had been united by an intimate connection, and probably by the ties of consanguinity. They must have separated from the kindred stock, and been led by circumstances, now unknown, to migrate to North Carolina; and thence perhaps after a lapse of ages, they were driven back to their ancient possessions. Dr. Williamson has observed, that "this migration of the Tuscarora Indians, and other migrations of

Indian tribes, well attested, do not accord with Lord Kames's observation, that 'savages are remarkably attached to their native soil.' " There are many instances in the history of the Indians where their primitive country has been abandoned, and a new one obtained by favour or by power. These migrations, however, have seldom, perhaps never, been voluntary, but the result of untoward circumstances, submitted to with great reluctance. They are certainly far from drawing in question the accuracy of the observation referred to.

Of this once powerful confederacy, about six thousand individuals now remain. The larger portion of them live upon a reservation near Buffalo in the state of New York: a few are found in Pennsylvania, and some in Ohio, at Green Bay, and in Canada.

The Delawares were situated principally upon tide-water in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Their own appellation of *Lenne Lenape*, or original people, has been almost forgotten by themselves, and is never used by the other tribes. This is the family about which so many fables have been related, and credited. Occupying the country between the Hudson and Potomac rivers, and between the eastern slope of the Alleghany Mountains and the ocean, they became early known to the Moravians, and engaged the care and attention of the zealous missionaries employed by those exemplary Christians. The whole subject of Indian relations was fresh and new to them. They seem never to have known, or to have heeded, that enterprising, sagacious, and learned men, had long preceded them in these investigations, and had traversed the continent, surveying the condition of its inhabitants, and inquiring into the changes they had undergone. All that the Delawares told of themselves seems to have been received without suspicion, and recorded and repeated without scrutiny. It is easy for those who have formed much acquaintance with the Indians, to trace the circumstances which gave to the legends of the Delawares such authority, and to the teachers of the Delawares such credulity.

The Moravians were first planted among these Indians. Their inoffensive lives, and disinterested efforts to improve them, soon created mutual confidence and attachment. The Moravians followed them in their various migrations, from the Susquehannah to the Ohio, from the Ohio to the Muskingum, from the Muskingum to Lake St. Clair, and thence in many of their wanderings, that have at last terminated in their passage across the Mississippi, which, like the fabled river, dividing the living from the dead can never be recrossed by an Indian community.

During this long, frequently perilous, and always pious intercourse, the attention of the missionaries was directed exclusively to their neophytes. The manners, customs, and condition of the other tribes were a sealed book to them. And when the old Delaware chief recounted their transactions, dwelling with fond regret upon the fallen fortunes of their nation, and explaining the subtle policy of the Iroquois, by which the Delawares were reduced to the condition of women, it was perhaps natural that the tale should be believed. Its utter inconsistency with the whole course of Indian conduct, and with the authentic series of events, as they appear in the early French narratives, before this pretended self-abasement, was unknown to these unsuspecting, worthy men. He who has heard Indian traditions, related by age, and listened to by youth, in the midst of an Indian camp, with every eye upon the speaker, and "all appliances to boot," must be sensible of the impression they are calculated to make. And we may well excuse the spirit in which they were received.

The Delawares, at the period when our knowledge of them commenced, had yielded to the ascendancy of the Iroquois; and were apparently contented with their submission. The circumstances of the conquest are entirely unknown to us. But of the result there is no doubt. The proceedings of a council, recorded by Colden, held with the Iroquois and Delawares, at Philadelphia, in 1742, by the governor of Pennsylvania, is conclusive upon this point. The Iroquois appealed to the governor, as the acknowledged, paramount authority, to remove the Delawares from a tract of land which they had ceded to Pennsylvania many years before, but the possession of which they refused to relinquish. The complaint was made in open council, at which the Iroquois and Delawares were both present, and at the next sitting it was answered by the former in these words;—"We have concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the river Delaware, &c.;" and then turning to the Delawares, the speaker said:—"Cousins, let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and stretched severely till you recover your senses and become sober. But how came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women, and is it fit that you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it? The land you claim is expended; you have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like children, as you are. And for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you the liberty to think about it. Don't deliberate, but remove away, and take this belt of wampum."

"This being interpreted by Conrad Wesir into English, and by Cornelius Spring into the Delaware language, Canepitigo, taking a string of wampum, added further:—

"After our just reproof, and absolute order to depart from the lands, you have now to take notice of what we have further to say to you. This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children, and grandchildren, to the latest posterity, for ever, meddling in land affairs; neither you, nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any land. For which purpose you are to preserve this string, in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren, (the whites) and therefore depart the council, and consider what has been said to you."

He who can believe, after this, the idle tales related of the power and prowess of the Delawares, must be left to his credulity.

The principal portion of this tribe emigrated from Pennsylvania many years since, and established themselves in Ohio. Thence they removed to White river, in Indiana a few years ago they crossed the Mississippi, and now occupy a reservation secured to them in the southwestern part of Missouri.

The Wyandots stood at the head of the great Indian confederacy. How this pre-eminence was acquired, or how long it had been enjoyed there are none to tell. They were originally established on the St. Lawrence, but during their long and disastrous contests with the Iroquois they were greatly reduced, and compelled to flee before these victorious enemies. From their local position, they engaged the care and attention of the Roman Catholic missionaries at a very early period, and their history, for upwards of two centuries, is better known than that of any other tribe. After the Iroquois began to gain the ascendency, the calamities endured by the Wyandots are unparalleled in the history of nations. Their enemies pursued them with the most unrelenting rigour, and without attempting to trace the incidents of this war, we shall merely observe, that the Wyandots were driven to seek protection from the Sioux, at the western extremity of Lake Superior. They here remained until the Iroquois were crippled by their wars with the French, when they returned to Lake Huron, and established themselves for a short time in the vicinity of Michilimackinac. Dissatisfied with that sterile region, they descended the Detroit river about the period when the French formed their first settlements in that quarter, and afterwards took possession of the Sandusky plains, in Ohio. A small portion of the tribe yet live upon the river *aux Canards*, in Upper Canada; and a still smaller portion upon the river Huron of Lake Erie, in the Michigan territory. The principal part, however, occupy the country upon the Sandusky river, in Ohio. Their entire population, at this period, is about seven hundred.

This tribe was not unworthy of the pre-eminence it enjoyed. The French historians describe them as superior, in all the essential characteristics of savage life, to any other Indians upon the continent. And at this day, their intrepidity, their general deportment, and their lofty bearing, confirm the accounts which have been given to us. In all the wars upon our borders, until the conclusion of Wayne's treaty, they acted a conspicuous part, and their advice in council, and conduct in action, were worthy of their ancient renown.

They possessed the right to convene the several tribes at the great council fire, always burning at the lodge of their principal chief, called *Sarstantzee*, who lived at Brownstown, at the mouth of the Detroit river. Whenever any subject involving the general interest of the tribes required discussion, they despatched messages to the country, demanding the attendance of their chiefs, and they opened and presided at the deliberations of the council.

The ingenuity of vengeance has perhaps never devised a more horrible punishment than that provided among this tribe for murder. The corpse of the murdered man was placed upon a scaffold, and the murderer extended upon his back, and tied below. He was here left, with barely food enough to support life, until the remains of the murdered subject above him became a mass of putridity, falling upon him, and then all food was withheld, when he perished thus miserably. There were no traces of a similar punishment among any other tribe.

The Ottawas were the faithful allies of the Wyandots, during all their misfortunes, and accompanied them in their various peregrinations. They are now much scattered, occupying positions upon the Maumee, upon the Grand river of Lake Michigan, upon the eastern and western coasts of that lake, and upon the heads of the Illinois river. Their number is about four thousand.

To this tribe belonged the celebrated Pontiac. He was born about the year 1714, and while a young man distinguished himself in the various wars in which the Ottawas were engaged. He gradually acquired an ascendency over his countrymen, and his name and actions became known to all the tribes in the northwest. He was a faithful adherent to the French interest, and a determined enemy of the English. During many years of the long contest between those powers, which terminated in the utter subversion of the French empire in America, he was present in all the important actions, stimulating his countrymen by his authority and example. Major Rogers states in his narrative, that when he marched into the Ottawa country with his first detachment, which took possession of the posts in the northwest, Pontiac met him with a party of his warriors, and told him he stood in his path, and would not suffer him to advance. By amicable professions, however, Major Rogers conciliated him, and for a short time he appeared to be friendly. But his attachment to the French, and hostility to the British, were too deeply rooted to be eradicated, and he concerted a scheme for the overthrow of the latter, and for their expulsion from the country. No plan formed by the Indians for defence or revenge, since the discovery of the continent, can be compared with this, in the ability displayed in its formation, or in the vigour with which it was prosecuted. The British had then eleven military posts covering that frontier: at Niagara, at Presque Isle, at Le Boeuf, at Pittsburgh, at Sandusky, at the Maumee, at Detroit, at Michilimackinac, at Green Bay, and at St. Joseph. Pontiac meditated a contemporaneous attack upon all these posts, and after their reduction, a permanent confederacy among the Indians, and a perpetual exclusion of the British from the country. Like Tecumthe, he called the superstition of the Indians to the aid of his projects, and disclosed to them the will of the Great Spirit, which he prevailed on them to believe had been revealed to him by the various prophets over whom he had acquired an influence. One great object was to render his people independent of the white men, by persuading them to resume their ancient mode of life.

To follow the History of Pontiac in his eventful career, would lead us too far from the course we have prescribed for ourselves. Some of the principal facts are recorded in the journals of that day, but these are the mere outlines. All that gives interest to the picture lives only in the Indian and Canadian tradition, and in the few manuscript notices of these transactions, which have been accidentally preserved.

Eight of these posts were captured. But Niagara, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, were successfully defended. The siege of the latter is by far the most extraordinary effort ever made by the Indians in any of their wars. It commenced in May, 1763, and continued with more or less vigour, until the place was relieved by general Bradstreet in 1764. During this period many of the events seem more like the incidents of romance, than the occurrences of an Indian campaign. Among these were the attempt to gain possession of the town by treachery, and its providential disclosure; the attack upon one of the British armed vessels by a fleet of canoes, and the precipitate retreat of the assailants, after gaining possession of the vessel, in consequence of orders being given by the captain to fire the magazine, which were overheard, and communicated to the Indians by a white man, who had been taken captive by them early in life; the battle of the Bloody Bridge, well named from this sanguinary action, in which an aid-de-camp of Sir Jeffrey Amherst commanded and fell, and the desperate efforts twice made by blazing rafts to set fire to the armed vessels anchored in front of the town—these, among many events of subordinate interest, give a character of perseverance and of systematic effort to this siege, for which we shall in vain look elsewhere in Indian history. If contemporary accounts and traditionary recollections can be credited, all these were the result of the superior genius of Pontiac, and of the ascendency he had gained over his countrymen.

The subsequent fate of this warrior chief did not correspond with the heroic spirit he displayed in his efforts against the British. After their power upon the frontier was re-established, he left the country and took refuge among the Indians upon the Illinois. From some trivial cause a quarrel arose between him and a Peoria Indian, which terminated in his assassination.

Such was the respect in which his memory was held, that the other tribes united in a crusade against the Peorias to revenge his death, and that tribe was, in effect, exterminated.

The Chippewas (or Ojibwas) reach from Lake Erie to the Lake of the Woods, possessing a country of great extent, much of which, however, is sterile in its soil, and bleak in its climate. They possess the coasts of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, the heads of the Mississippi, some of the western coast of Lake Michigan, and have a joint interest with the Ottawas and Potawatimies in the country of the Fox and Des Pleines rivers in Illinois. Their numbers are computed at fifteen thousand.

These Indians live generally upon the great lakes, and upon the streams flowing into them. Fish forms an important article of their food, and they are expert in the manufacture of bark canoes, the only kind used by them, and in their management. In cleanliness, in docility, and in provident arrangement, they are inferior to many of the other tribes; and those in the immediate vicinity of our frontier posts and settlements, furnish melancholy examples of the effect of the introduction of spirituous liquors among them. All the bands extending to the arctic circle, and occupying the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, appear to be branches of this great family. The principal seat of their power and government was formerly at Point Chegoimegon upon Lake Superior, and from the accounts of the Catholic missionaries stationed among them, they were then a prosperous and influential tribe.

The Potawatimies are situated principally in the northern parts of Indiana and Illinois, in the southwestern section of Lake Michigan, and in the country between that lake and the Mississippi. They are estimated at about six thousand five hundred.

This was formerly the most popular tribe north of the Ohio. They are remarkable for their stature, symmetry, and fine personal appearance. Their original country was along the southern shore of Lake Michigan, but they extended themselves to the White river in Indiana on the south, to the Detroit river on the east, and to the Rock river on the west. And they first interposed an effectual barrier to the victorious career of the Iroquois.

Between these three last named tribes, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatimies, a more intimate union existed than between any of the other tribes, not actually forming a strict confederacy. Their languages approach so near, that they understand one another without difficulty, They have but one council fire, in other words, but one assemblage of chiefs, in which their important business is managed. And until recently they were unwilling to conclude any important affair, unless around this common council fire. But this institution, like many of their other peculiar customs, is fast mouldering away. Many of the circumstances which gave influence and authority to these grave convocations, have long since disappeared. The ashes of their council fires are scattered over the land, and the plough has turned up the bones of their forefathers.

The Shawanese for more than a century have been much separated, and their bands have resided in different parts of the country. A considerable portion of them live upon a reservation at Waupaukonetta in Ohio, but a majority have crossed the Mississippi, and have recommenced the life of warriors and hunters, in hostile attacks upon the Osages, and in the pursuit of the buffalo. This transmigration commenced during our revolutionary war. They made their first settlement, on their removal, near Cape Girardeau. This position they have since relinquished, and they are now much dispersed in Louisiana, in Arkansas, and in Missouri. The tribe numbers about two thousand persons.

Much obscurity rests upon the history of the Shawanese. Their manners, customs, and language indicate a northern origin, and upwards of two centuries ago they held the country south of Lake Erie. They were the first tribe which felt the force, and yielded to the superiority of the Iroquois. Conquered by them, they migrated to the south, and from fear or favour, were allowed to take possession of a region upon Savannah river, but what part of that river, whether in Georgia or Florida, is not known—it is presumed, the former. How long they resided there, we have not the means of ascertaining; nor have we any account of the incidents of their history in that country, or of the causes of their leaving it. One, if not more of their bands removed from thence to Pennsylvania, but the larger portion took possession of the country upon the Miami and Sciota rivers in Ohio, a fertile region, where their habits, more industrious than those of their race generally, enabled them to live comfortably.

This is the only tribe among all our Indians, who claim for themselves a foreign origin. Most of the aborigines of the continent believe their forefathers ascended from holes in the earth, and many of them assign a *local habitation* to these traditionary places of nativity of their race. Resembling, in this respect, some of the traditions of antiquity, and derived, perhaps, from that remote period, when barbarous tribes were troglodytes, subsisting upon the spontaneous productions of the earth. The Shawanese believe their ancestors inhabited a foreign land, which, from some unknown cause, they determined to abandon. They collected their people together, and marched to the seashore. Here various persons were selected to lead them, but they declined the duty, until it was undertaken by one of the Turtle tribe. He placed himself at the head of the procession, and walked into the sea. The waters immediately divided, and they passed along the bottom of the ocean, until they reached this "*island*."

The Shawanese have one institution peculiar to themselves. Their nation was originally divided into twelve tribes or bands, bearing different names. Each of these tribes was subdivided, in the usual manner, into families of the Eagle, the Turtle, &c., these animals constituting their *totems*. Two of these tribes have become extinct, and their names are forgotten. The names of the other ten are preserved, but only four of these are now kept distinct. These are the Makostrake, the Pickaway, the Kickapoo, and the Chilicothe tribes. Of the six whose names are preserved, but whose separate characters are lost, no descendants of one of them, the Wauphauthawonaukee, now survive. The remains of the other five have become incorporated with the four subsisting tribes. Even to this day, each of the four sides of their council houses is assigned to one of these tribes, and is invariably occupied by it. Although, to us, they appear the same people, yet they pretend to possess the power of discerning, at sight, to which tribe an individual belongs.

The celebrated Tecumthe, and his brother *Tens-kwau-ta-waw*, more generally known by the appellation of the prophet, were Shawanese, and sprung from the Kickapoo tribe. They belonged to the family, or *totem*, of the Panther, to the males of which alone was the name *Tecumthe*, or *Flying across*, given.

Their paternal grandfather was a Creek, and their grandmother a Shawanese. The name of their father was Pukeshinwau, who was born among the Creeks, but removed with his tribe to Chilicothe upon the Sciota. Tecumthe, his fourth son, was born upon the journey. Pukeshinwau was killed at the battle at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kenhawa, in 1774, and the Prophet was one of three posthumous children, born at the same birth, a few months afterwards.

We shall not here relate the incidents of the lives of these two men, who exercised, for many years, such a powerful influence over the minds of their countrymen—one by his prowess, and reputation as a warrior, and the other by his shrewdness, and by the pretensions to a direct intercourse with the Great Spirit, and to the character and qualifications of a prophet. The elevation and authority of Tecumthe resulted from the operation of causes which are felt among all nations, and at all times—resource and energy in war, and success in battle.

This is the Tecumthe who fell in the late war between the United States and Great Britain, in the memorable battle of the Thames, in Upper Canada, and, as we believe, by the hand of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

The influence acquired by the Prophet arose from circumstances peculiar to the Indians, characteristic of the state of their society, and of the superstitious notions prevalent among them. The title of prophet, as conferred by us upon this sagacious impostor and fanatic, conveys a very inadequate idea of his pretensions. Every tribe has its prophets, who perform distinguished parts in all public transactions. Their celebrity and influence are sometimes confined to their own tribe, and sometimes extended to those which are circumjacent, depending upon the success of their power of vaticination. But of all these magicians or prophets, no one ever attained equal fame, or exercised equal authority with the Shawanese prophet, at first called Sau-te-was-e-kaw, but afterwards Tens-kwaw-ta-waw, or the *open door*. His name, and the accounts of his miracles, spread from Lake Superior to Florida, and there was not a tribe of Indians in all this vast extent, that did not steadily direct their attention to this man, looking for some signal interposition to check the ascendency of the whites, and to restore the Indians to their former and better condition. During a few of the first years of this century, great agitation prevailed among the Indians, and they were evidently looking for some great and immediate crisis in their affairs. This feeling was manifested in the alarm upon the frontiers, and, united with other causes, the most prominent of which was foreign influence, led to the battle of Tippecanoe, and eventually to the co-operation of some of the tribes with the British.

The history of this paroxysm of fanaticism would exhibit many curious and interesting traits of human character, and might be compared with similar delusions which have prevailed in more civilised communities. The Prophet established himself at Greenville, upon the Miami of the Ohio, where he was attended by delegates from various tribes. He recommended to the Indians to refrain from the use of whiskey, and to free themselves from all dependence upon the whites, by resuming, as far as possible, their ancient habits of life. Under the pretence of extirpating witchcraft, he inflamed the minds of the Indians against every enemy or rival, and procured their destruction. He gathered round him a band of faithful believers, prepared to execute his orders upon friend or foe. Universal panic prevailed among the Indians, and had not still stronger apprehensions overpowered their delusion, by the critical relations between the United States and Great Britain, and the evident approach of war, the Shawanese prophet might have become the *Mahamet* of his race.

In how much of all this he was an impostor, and how much a fanatic, it is impossible to tell, and was perhaps unkown to himself. The progress of delusion over ourselves is established by the whole history of mankind, and the confines of fanaticism and imposture are separated by imperceptible boundaries. In the relations which he gave of his intentions, opinions, and history, he appears to have been candid, and willing to disclose every thing known to him. But we shall not fatigue the reader with this narrative.

The Prophet is yet living, but has removed west of the Mississippi, and joined the Shawanese of that region. Wherever he may be, his talents will give him influence over the Indians.

The Kickapoos were doubtless united with the Shawanese at a period not very distant. The traditions of each tribe contain similar accounts of their union and separation; and the identity of their language furnishes irrefragable evidence of their consanguinity. We are inclined to believe that when the Shawanese were overpowered by the Iroquois, and abandoned their country upon Lake Erie, they separated into two great divisions; one of which, preserving their original appellation, fled into Florida, and the other, now known to us as the Kickapoos, returned to the west, and established themselves among the Illinois Indians, upon the extensive prairies on that river, and between it and the Mississippi. This region they have, however, relinquished to the United States, and have emigrated to Missouri, near the centre of which state a reservation has been secured to them. This tribe numbers about two thousand two hundred.

The Miamies, when first known to the French, were living around Chicago, upon Lake Michigan. It was the chief of this tribe, whose state and attendance were depicted by the sieur Perrot in such strong colours; Charlevoix, without vouching for the entire accuracy of the relation, observes, that in his time there was more deference paid by the Miamies to their chiefs, than by any other Indians.

This tribe removed from Lake Michigan to the Wabash, where they yet retain an extensive tract of country upon which they reside. A kindred tribe, the Weas, more properly called the Newcalenous, long lived with the Miamies. But they have recently separated from them, and crossed the Mississippi. Their whole number does not exceed three hundred and fifty. Of the Miamies, about one thousand yet remain.

This tribe was formerly known to the English as the Twighwees. They appear to have been the only Indians in the west, with the exception of one other tribe, the Foxes, who at an early period were attached to the English interest. The causes which led to this union are unknown, but for many years they produced a decisive effect upon the fortunes of the Miamies.

That strangest of all institutions in the history of human waywardness, the man-eating society, existed among this tribe. It extended also to the Kickapoos, but to how many others we do not know. It appears to have been the duty of the members of this society to eat any captives who were taken, and delivered to them for that purpose. The subject itself is so revolting at this day, even to the Indians, that it is difficult to collect the traditionary details concerning this institution. Its duties and its privileges, for it had both, were regulated by long usage, and its whole ceremonial was prescribed by a horrible ritual! Its members belonged to one family, and inherited this odious distinction. The society was a religious one, and its great festivals were celebrated in the presence of the whole tribe. During the existence of the present generation, this society has flourished, and performed its shocking duties, but they are now wholly discontinued, and will be ere long forgotten.

The various tribes on the Illinois river were known to the French as the Illinois Indians, but the appellation was rather descriptive of their general residence, than of any intimate union, political or social, subsisting among them. And it is not easy to ascertain precisely the tribes which were included under this term. The Kaskias, the Cahokias, the Peorias, the Michigamies, the Tamorias, the Piankeshaws, inhabited that region, and all spoke dialects bearing a close resemblance to one another, and nearly allied to the language of the Miamies and Weas. Some of these tribes are extinct, and others are reduced to a few individuals. The Piankeshaws are the most numerous, and they number but three hundred and fifty individuals. The whole have passed over the Mississippi.

When the French first explored the country on the Illinois, the buffalo were so numerous that they were denominated the Illinois ox. All the accounts of that early period concur in representing the aboriginal population as abundant. One of the tribes, called the Mascontires, or people of the prairie, has disappeared. They make a considerable figure in the earlier journals, and were probably a branch of the Potawatimies.

The Illinois river furnished, for many years, the principal communication between the lakes and the Mississippi, and was the connecting ligament which held together the French possessions in Canada and Louisiana. The Indians, therefore, upon this line, were early known to the French, who devoted great care and attention to them. No circumstance ever occurred to interrupt their mutual harmony, and the Illinois Indians appear to have been among the mildest of the aboriginal race. They gathered round the French posts, anxious to secure protection—but a series of calamities pursued them, unexampled even in the aboriginal history, and which finally led to their entire destruction. Before the power of the Iroquois was broken, these fierce people carried their victorious arms to the prairies of the Illinois, as well as to the sands of Florida, the rugged hills of New-England, and the deep forests of Canada. The villages and camps of these comparatively mild people were frequently attacked, and the inhabitants destroyed; and for many years it was considered dangerous to pass along the Illinois river, lest the *Mengue* should start from some secret covert, or projecting point, to do their deeds of horror. After the decline of the confederacy, a war commenced between the Illinois Indians and the Winnebagoes, and the latter sent many war parties into the territories of their enemies. In one of these, which took the route of Lake Michigan in canoes, tradition says that a violent storm arose, in which six hundred Winnebago warriors perished. Mutual exhaustion, however, led to the decline of this contest, but peace did not visit these fair and fertile regions. The Saukies and Foxes, unable to live a life of peace, after their signal discomfiture by the French and their confederated allies upon Fox river, took up the tomahawk against the Illinois tribes, and prosecuted the warfare with equal vigour and fury. They poured their war parties over the whole country—burning, murdering, and destroying. The Illinois Indians were almost exterminated. The feeble remnant that survived endeavoured to interest the French in their favour, and they sought protection under the guns of their posts. But the French did not consider it politic to interfere between the contending parties, or perhaps felt unable to stay the tide of victory, and these unfortunate Indians were abandoned to their merciless enemies.

The Sauks and Foxes, known to the French as the Saukies and Ottagamies, were originally distinct tribes. Circumstances have produced an intimate union between them, and in their relations with the other Indians, they may be considered as forming but one tribe. The distinction between them is every day giving way to time and to mutual intercourse, and in a few years all difference will be unknown. Their country is upon the Mississippi, extending from the *Des Moines* to the Ioway river, and stretching westwardly beyond the Council Bluffs upon the Missouri, and into the immense prairies* periodically visited by the buffalo. The Sauks and Foxes, like all the Indians occupying regions where these animals resort, annually hunt them in the proper season. This is their harvest, yielding them abundance of meat, which they dry and transport to their villages for the subsistence of their families. At those periods those immense level plains are literally alive with countless thousands of those animals, when the whole Indian population engages in the animating task of hunting them. Their flesh is the Indians' food; and their skins furnish clothing and tents. With the unconquerable aversion of the Indians to labour, it is difficult to conceive how they could subsist, were it not for these living and abundant harvets, sent in the hour of need.

The principal residence of the Foxes is about Dubuque's mines on the Mississippi; of the Sacs, near the mouth of Rock river. The mineral region designated by the above title, extends westward of the Mississippi. The Indians have learned the value of lead ore; their women dig it in considerable quantities, and sell it to the traders. These Indians are remarkable for the symmetry of their form, and fine personal appearance. Few of the tribes resemble them in these particulars; still fewer equal their intrepidity. They are, physically and morally, among the most striking of their race. Their history abounds with daring and desperate adventures and romantic incidents, far beyond the usual course of Indian exertion. Their population is about six thousand six hundred.

By the earliest accounts of those tribes that have come down to us, they appear to have occupied a part of the peninsula of Michigan. Saginau Bay is named from the Sauks, *Saukie-now*, or Sauk Town—that having been the principal seat of their power. The Foxes, or Ottagamies, were always restless and discontented Ishmaelites of the lakes, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them. From some cause unknown to us, probably from their own turbulent and jealous disposition, they were early dissatisfied with the French, and avowed their attachment to the English. They intrigued with the other tribes to expel the French from the country, and by their efforts a British detachment under Major Gregory, towards the close of the seventeenth century, entered Lake Huron with a view to establish trading regulations with the Indians. They were, however, attacked, though in a time of peace, by their vigilant rivals, and compelled to abandon the country.

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* Prairies, as the reader knows, are extensive, uncultivated tracts of unwooded, level country. They abound in grass, and in flowers of every hue. So extensive are most of them, as to present nothing but the horizon for the eye to rest upon, save here and there a grove of trees, resembling small islands in the ocean; and sometimes a tongue of woodland, looking like a cape stretches in upon the unbroken surface. These serve the traveller for landing places. He rejoices at sight of them, as does the mariner at sight of land. They shelter him from the sun and dews, and supply his fuel.

Few sights are so beautiful as these savannas, when their luxuriant crop is put in motion by the wind. The undulations are literally flowery billows.

The growth of the prairies we have crossed, averaged in height about five feet. Sometimes, however, it reaches to six and seven feet.

The French commenced a permanent establishment upon the Detroit river in 1701, and the attempt was early regarded with jealousy by the Foxes. In 1712 they attacked the place, then weak, both in its defences and its garrison. They were, however, repulsed in an effort to carry it by a *coup de main;* and then endeavoured to set it on fire by discharging lighted arrows into the roofs, which were thatched with straw. In this too they were frustrated by the vigilance of the French, but not discouraged. They took a position adjoining the town, determined to harass the garrison, and eventually to compel their surrender. This position they fortified, and in it secured their families and provisions. But while this was doing, the French were not idle. They despatched messengers to the various tribes upon whom they could rely—to the Wyandots, the Ottawas, Pottawatimies, and the Chippewas, stating their perilous condition, and requiring their assistance. These tribes soon collected their warriors, and poured them in to the assistance of the French. The Foxes were driven into their entrenched positions, and reduced to extremity. At the moment of their greatest hazard, a violent storm arose, during which they abandoned their fort and fled to a *presque isle,* which advances into Lake St. Clair. Here, however, they were pursued, and after a vigorous resistance their enemies overcame them, put a thousand of their warriors to death, and led the women and children into captivity. From the narrative of these occurrences it appears that at this time an intimate union did not exist between these tribes, for a part of the Sauks had joined the Foxes, and a part of them took up arms with the allied tribes for the defence and relief of the French.

After this severe calamity, the remainder of the Foxes, together with the Sauks, migrated to the country between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and established themselves upon Fox river. But it is as difficult for them to change their habits, as it would be for the buffalo of their own plains to submit its neck to the yoke. Their turbulent spirit accompanied them, and in a short time their war parties were sent out in all directions, and they seriously menaced the safety, if not the existence, of the French power. A formidable expedition was prepared for their reduction, and the neighbouring Indians were invited to accompany it. To this they cheerfully assented, and the confederated forces invested the principal fort of the Sauks and Foxes, at the *Butte des Morts,* or the hill of the dead, so called from the signal chastisement they received, and the numerous bodies of the slain that were buried in a mound there. The survivors were here reduced to unconditional submission, and their power and spirits wholly broken.

By their valour and enterprise they have secured a desirable region for themselves. But they are involved in almost perpetual hostilities with the Sioux. More than one peace has been concluded between these tribes under the auspices of the United States, but they have really been but temporary terms, broken by the ever restless disposition of the Sauks and Foxes. Their numbers are much inferior to those of the Sioux, but they are better armed, and their force is more concentrated. The Sioux are divided into large bands, without a very intimate political connection, and their power is spread over a very extensive region. The Sauks and Foxes have the farther advantage of greater courage and confidence, a higher reputation, and greater experience in war. It is probable, therefore, that hostilities will long continue between them, without any very decided advantage on either side.

The Menominies, or *Folles Avoines*, occupy the country upon Fox river, and generally roam over the district between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and by permission of the Chippewas and Sioux, extend their periodical migrations into the prairies in pursuit of the buffalo. Few of our tribes have fallen from their high estate more lamentably than these Indians. They are, for the most part, a race of fine looking men, and have sustained a high character among the tribes around them. But the curse of ardent spirits has passed over them, and withered them. They have yielded to the destructive pleasures of this withering charm, with an eagerness and a recklessness beyond the ordinary career of even savages. There is, perhaps, no tribe upon all our borders so utterly abandoned to the vice of intoxication as the Menominies; nor any so degraded in their habits, and so improvident in all their concerns.

Their language has long furnished a subject of doubt and discussion, among those engaged in investigations into the philology of the Indians. By many it has been supposed that their language is an original one, peculiar to themselves, and having no affinity with those spoken by the Indians of that quarter; and that in their communication with the neighbouring tribes, they use a dialect of the Chippewa language, which among the northwestern Indians, is what the French language is upon the continent of Europe—a general medium of communication. We are, however, satisfied that the proper Menominie is itself but a branch of this great stock. Its mode of pronunciation among themselves gives it a peculiar character, and almost conceals its resemblance to the cognate dialect. It is accompanied by singular guttural sounds, not harsh, like that of the Wyandots or the Sioux, but rather pleasant; and the accent is placed differently from that of all the other families of this stock. Those who are not aware of the change which can be made in a language, by changing the accent upon every word, may easily satisfy themselves by making the experiment in English. It will be found that in our polysyllabic words particularly, the accent may be so changed as to disguise them entirely, and to render it difficult to discern the original form. When to this peculiar guttural sound, and this system of accentuation, are added the other causes, constantly operating upon the Indian languages, and producing their recession from one another, we shall find all the circumstances that have contributed to the existing characteristics of the Menominie language.

These Indians derive their name, *Folles Avoines*, or false oats, from the means of subsistence furnished to them by the wild rice. Their country abounds with it. Providence has given this vegetable to the northern regions. It is sown without hands, raised without care, and gathered with little trouble. It is an annual plant which delights in the still, shallow lakes, formed by numerous streams that wind their way through the level countries of the northwest. When ripe the grain falls into the water, and gradually sinking to the bottom, remains there during the winter, when it germinates. It rises above the water to ripen, but does not possess the quality which belongs to many aquatic plants, of accommodating itself to the rise and fall of the waters, and thus coming to perfection equally well in dry and in wet seasons. It sometimes happens that the waters rise above the grain, when it perishes, which produces great distress among the Indians. This grain ripens in the last of August and beginning of September. It is gathered by the females, who move amidst this harvest in bark canoes, and bending the stalks over their sides, shake the grain from the ear, or beat it off with sticks. They separate the husk by putting the whole in a skin, where, after it is dry enough, it is trodden out.

We have traversed these lakes in the same kind of vessels employed by the Indians, when to the eye they put on the appearance of immense fields, the surface of the water being entirely invisible, except immediately around the canoe, as it was forced through this rich and waving harvest. The grain is very palatable, and makes a nutritious article of food, and when threshed out without being placed in a skin, or submitted to the action of smoke, it is as pleasant as the cultivated rice.

Although the labour of gathering and preserving this article is very little, yet such is the indolence of those to whom it has been sent, that the few bags full which each family may secure, become soon exhausted. It rarely happens, however, that any thing is gained by the experience of these people, for the wants of one season never operate to produce greater exertions in gathering the rice, or additional economy in the use of it, in a succeeding one. The produce of millions of acres of this precious production annually perishes. It is allowed to waste itself upon the waters, because the Indians are too indolent and too improvident to receive it from the hand of nature. They have less industry and provident arrangement than the beaver or the ant. He who is enamoured of savage life, or who believes that all the misery of our aboriginal people is owing to the coming of the whites among them, may easily change these opinions by surveying their condition, starving and dying during the winter, because they are too lazy to stretch out their hands in autumn, and gather the harvest which a beneficent Providence has placed before them.

The Menominies occupy the same situation now that they did when they first became known to the whites. They seem to be favourites with all the adjoining Indians, and hunt upon their own land, and upon that of others, without hesitation and without complaint. They are reduced to about four thousand two hundred persons.

All the tribes whose history we have slighty sketched, belong to two different stocks—the Wyandot, or Huron; and the Chippewa, or Algonquin. But the Sioux appear to have not the slightest affinity with either of these families, and include a separate class of tribes and languages. Their original, and even to this day their principal residence, is west of the Mississippi, but the patronymic tribe itself occupies considerable territories east of that river; and one of the cognate branches, the Winnebagoes, is entirely east of it. These two tribes, therefore, are brought within the geographical limits we have prescribed to ourselves.

The Sioux seem to occupy a similar position with relation to the tribes west of the Mississippi which the Chippewas occupy to those east of that river. Both extend over an immense region of country, and the language spoken by each appears to be the root from which the affiliated dialects of the stock have sprung. With a knowledge of the Chippewa, a traveller might hold communication with most of the tribes within the original territory of the United States; and with a knowledge of the Sioux, he might also communicate with a great majority of the tribes in the trans-Mississippi country. Their languages, however, are radically different, and in the present state of our knowledge of the subject, may be considered primitive.

The Sioux, so called by the French, from the last syllable of ***Naudawessie***, the Chippewa term for enemy, and emphatically applied by the Chippewas to their hereditary enemies, are known to themselves, also, under the designation of ***Dahcotah***.

This nation is now divided into two great and independent families, with no political connection, and, until very recently, engaged in a long course of hostilities. There are the Dahcotah proper, and the Assiniboins, or, as they call themselves, ***Hohay***. The separation took place at no distant period, and, no doubt, originated in one of those domestic feuds to which all barbarous people, having no regular code of law, morals, or religion, are peculiarly liable. The story is very freshly remembered, and each party repeats its own version of it. The Assiniboins detached themselves from their kindred bands, and emigrated to the country upon the Assiniboin river. Here they reside, stretching into the Hudson Bay territories on the one side, and to the Missouri on the other. Their numbers are estimated at eight thousand. In their habits they are erratic. They raise no agricultural article, but subsist entirely on the buffalo, whose countless herds roam over those trackless regions, obeying the invariable laws of nature, which impel them from south to north, and from north to south, as the great processes of subsistence and reproduction require. The mode described by travellers, of driving these animals into a kind of enclosure made by poles stuck into the ground, each pole surrounded by a piece of turf, and diverging into two lines from a point, seems to have originated with the Assiniboins, if it is not peculiar to them. These poles are placed in the ground at the distance of about six feet from each other. It is upon these the powerful and furious animal rushes, and becomes imprisoned, without any effort to pass the feeble barrier. The Indians follow on horseback, and slaughter them in immense numbers.

The Sioux, or Dahcotah proper, occupy the country between the Missouri and Mississippi, extending from the possessions of the Sauks and Foxes, to those of the Assiniboins and Chippewas, touching west upon the Omahaws, the Arichares, and Mandans. They are divided into seven great bands—the Mendewahkautoan, or Lower Sioux, or *Gens du Lac;* the Waukpakoote, or people who shoot in the leaves; the *Gens de la Feuillestirees;* the Waukpatone; the Sistasoons, or people who travel on foot; the Yanctons, or people who live out of doors; the Tetons, or people of the prairies, and the Eahpawaunetoter, or people who never fall. By others, however, these divisions are differently represented, and the names are rather indicative of local situation, or some accidental habit, than of any political associations. The Sioux are one people, perfectly homogeneous in their language, character, habits, and institutions.

They are wanderers over the prairies, pursuing the buffalo as constantly as the Assiniboins. Only one of their bands, the Lower Sioux, has any fixed villages, or permanent habitations. The others are restless, reckless, and homeless, traversing a region almost as extensive and unbroken as the ocean itself. Owing to their remote position, and wandering habits, it is difficult to ascertain their numbers. They are generally estimated at fifteen thousand.

A beneficent Providence has made provision in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, under every variety of situation, suited to the climate, and adapted to the wants and support of men. Before civilisation, that great destroyer of natural distinctions, has taught them the value of industry, and the comfort of prudent foresight, barbarous tribes having few objects to engage their attention, and being chiefly engaged in the supply of their physical wants, soon acquire a perfect knowledge of the animals that roam with them over the country, and of the best methods of taking and killing them. Their own customs are strongly marked by their dependence upon these sources, and their domestic institutions partake of the character thus impressed upon them. It is difficult to conceive how the arid deserts of Asia and Africa could be traversed without the aid of the patient and docile camel; how the Laplander could subsist, if nature had not given him the reindeer; or the miserable Esquimeau, who warms his snow hut with train oil, and subsists upon the carcasses of the aquatic monsters stranded upon his coast, could live amidst his inhospitable wilds, were not these supplies providentially sent for his support.

In like manner, the buffalo has been provided for the aboriginal tenants of our great western prairies. These animals supply houses, clothing, food, and fuel. So numerous are they, as to defy the quickest eye, follow them as it may over these vast plains, to count them. Nor are they less regular in their habits and movements, than the shoals of migratory fishes, which, coming from the recesses of the deep, visit different coasts, furnishing a cheap and abundant supply of food.

The Indians of all those regions depend entirely upon the buffalo for subsistence, and are very expert in the destruction of them. Mounted on fleet horses they pursue these animals, and seldom fail to transfix them with their arrows. Thus equipped they pursue a herd until as many are killed as are wanted, when they return, and collecting the tongues, and bunches upon the back, which are esteemed the most precious parts, they leave the carcass to the beasts and birds of prey.

In stature, the Sioux exceed our other northwestern tribes. They are, in general, well formed, with rather slender limbs, and exhibit, as is usual among the Indians, few examples of deformity, either natural or accidental. Until lately they were clad entirely in buffalo skins, as are yet many of their remote tribes. But those in the vicinity of our posts and settlements, have learned the superiority of woollen clothing, and the means of acquiring it by the traffic in furs. The habit which prevails among many of them of wearing the hair long, and dividing it into separate braids, gives them a singular and repulsive appearance.

Their domestic animals are the horse and the dog; of these they have great numbers.

When they remove their encampments, their tents of skins, poles, and other articles are packed up by the women, and drawn by the horses and dogs. All are employed in this labour, except the men. As such business would be dishonourable to them, they precede the caravan, without labour and without trouble.

Most of their political institutions resemble those of the other tribes. They have little of either law or government. The chiefs can advise, but not command—recommend, but not enforce. There is a sort of public opinion which marks the course a person should pursue under certain circumstances. If he conform, it is well; and if he do not, except when an act is committed exciting revenge, or requiring expiation, it is equally well. In such an emergency, the law of the strongest too often decides the controversy. Much, however, depends upon the personal character of the chief who happens to be at the head of the band. If he is a man of prudence and firmness, his representations will generally have weight, and his interference will go far towards checking, or satisfying the injury. The chieftainship is hereditary, rather in families than in direct descent. If a son is well qualified he succeeds his father; if he is not, some other member of the family takes the post without any formal election, but with tacit acquiescence, induced by respect for talents and experience.

The same uncertainty, which rests upon the religious opinions of the great Algonquin family, rests also upon those of the Sioux, and their cognate tribes. Indeed, it is a subject upon which they seem not to reflect, and which they cannot rationally explain. Some undefined notion appears to be entertained that there are other beings, corporeal, but unseen, who exert an influence upon the affairs of this life, and these they clothe with all the attributes that hope and fear can supply. They are propitiated with offerings, and contemplated as objects of terror, not of love—they are feared, but never adored. The storm, the lightning, the earthquake, is each a *Wah-kon*, or spirit, and so is every unusual occurrence of nature around them. They have not the slightest conception of an overruling Providence, controlling and directing the great operations of matter and of mind: nor do their notions upon these subjects, such as they are, produce the slightest favourable effect upon their sentiments or conduct. If the hunter sees a large stone of unusual appearance, he recognises a Wah-kon, makes an offering of a piece of tobacco, and passes on. If a canoe is in danger, he who has charge of it throws out, as a sacrifice, some article, to appease the offended spirit, and often the frail vessel glides down, leaving no memorial of the danger, or the rescue. A rattlesnake is a Wah-kon, and must not be killed: even after he has inflicted his terrible wound he is suffered to live, lest his kindred should revenge his death! It is doubtful whether any Indian, whose original impressions had not been changed by intercourse with white men, ever voluntarily killed a snake. To call this religion, is to prostitute the term. It produces no salutary effect upon the head or heart. These puerile observances or superstitions, are insulated facts. They form no part of any system, but are aberrations of the human understanding, conscious of its connection with another state of being, and mistaking the delusions of imagination for the instinctive dictates of reason.

The Sioux have occupied, since they first became known to the Europeans, much of the country where they now reside. For a long period they have been engaged in hostilities with the Chippewas, and although truces have been often made, no permanent reconciliation has been effected. In this long contest, the advantage seems to have been on the side of the Chippewas, for we are told by the French travellers, that the Sioux at one time occupied the coasts of Lake Superior. From this region they have been driven for generations, and the Chippewas have obtained permanent possession of the upper Mississippi, and will probably push their rivals still farther west. In that direction also the buffalo is receding; and where he goes, the Sioux must follow, for without these animals, the plains of the Mississippi and Missouri would be as uninhabitable to the Indians as the most sterile regions of the globe.

The Winnebagoes occupy the region between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and a considerable extent of country upon this river, above Prairie du Chien. Here seems to have been, during a century and a half, the period that they have been known to us, the seat of their power and population. The early French travellers found them at Green Bay, and they were here when Carver performed his adventurous journey. They have been long known among the Canadians by the designation of *Puans*, which has become their familiar appellation, and doubtless owes its origin to their filthy and unseemly habits, which have given them a disgusting pre-eminence among all the tribes that roam over the continent.

If their own tradition can be credited, they came originally from the southwest; and some of their peculiar manners and customs, together with their language, indicate that they are not now among the tribes with whom they have been most nearly connected. The Chippewas, Menominies, Sauks, Foxes, and Pottawatimies, by whom they are almost surrounded, and with whom they are in habits of daily intercourse, are all tribes of the Algonquin stock, speaking dialects more or less removed from that parent tongue. While the Winnebagoes are evidently a branch of the Sioux family, their language is allied to that spoken by the numerous tribes of this descent who roam over the immense plains of the Missouri and Mississippi. It is harsh and guttural, and the articulation is indistinct to a stranger. It is not easily acquired by persons of mature age, and there are few of the Canadians who live among them, by whom it is well spoken.

As a people their physical conformation is good. They are large, athletic, and well made—not handsome, but with symmetrical forms, rather fleshy than slender. They will bear a favourable comparison, in these respects, with any of the aboriginal family.

Their country is intersected with numerous streams, lakes, and marshes, in which the wild rice abounds. The same subsistence is offered to them as to the Menominies, and the same use is made of it. Equally indolent and improvident, they are the subjects of the same wants and sufferings.

The Winnebagoes are fierce and desperate warriors, possessing high notions of their own prowess, and when once engaged in warlike enterprises, reckless of all consequences. During the difficulties upon the Mississippi, a few years ago, there were instances of daring and devotion among them, which may bear a comparison with the loftiest descriptions of Indian magnanimity that have been recorded.* In former times they were engaged in hostilities with the Illinois tribes, and, associated with the Sauks and Foxes, they carried dismay even to the gates of Kaskaskias. In this long and active warfare the Illinois Indians were almost exterminated. Many of their bands have

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* Certain murders were committed at Prairie du Chien, on the upper Mississippi, in 1827, by a party of Indians, headed by the famous Winnebago chief, Red Bird. Measures were taken to capture the offenders, and secure the peace of the frontier. Military movements were made from Green Bay, and from Jefferson Barracks, on the Mississippi—the object being to form a junction at the Portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers, and decide upon ulterior measures. Information of these movements was given to the Indians, at a council then holding at the Butte des Morts, on Fox river, and of the determination of the United States government to punish those who had shed the blood of our people at Prairie du Chien. The Indians were faithfully warned of the impending danger, and told, if the murderers were not surrendered, war would be carried in among them, and a way cut through their country, not with axes, but guns. They were advised to procure a surrender of the guilty persons, and by so doing, save the innocent from suffering. Runners were despatched, bearing the intelligence of this information among their bands. Our troops were put in motion. The Indians saw, in the movement of the troops, the storm that was hanging over them. On arriving at the Portage, distant about one hundred and forty miles from the Butte des Morts, we found ourselves within nine miles of a village, at which, we were informed, were two of the murderers, Red Bird, the principal, and We-kaw, together with a large party of warriors. The Indians, apprehending an attack, sent a messenger to our encampment. He arrived, and seated himself at our tent door. On inquiring what he wanted, he answered, "*Do not strike. When the sun gets up there,* (pointing to a certain part of the heavens) *they will come in.*" To the question, who will come in?—he answered, "*Red Bird, and We-kaw.*" Having thus delivered his message, he rose, wrapped his blanket around him, and returned. This was about noon. At three o'clock another Indian came, seated himself in the same place, and being questioned, gave the same answer. At sundown another came, and repeated what the others had said.

The amount of the information intended to be conveyed in this novel manner, was that the Red Bird and We-kaw had determined to devote themselves, by surrendering their persons and their lives, rather than by a resistance, involve the peace of their people, or subject them to the consequences of an attack. The heroic character of this act will be more clearly perceived, when we assert, on our own knowledge, that the murders committed at Prairie du Chien, were in retaliation for wrongs which had been long inflicted on the tribes to which those Indians and their warriors belonged. It is true, those killed by them at Prairie du Chien were innocent of any wrong done to the Indians. But Indian retaliation does not require that he, who commits a wrong, shall, alone, suffer for it.

The following extract of a letter, written on the occasion of this voluntary surrender, is introduced in this place for the purpose of making the reader acquainted with the details of that interesting occurrence, and the ceremonies attending it. It was addressed to the Honourable James Barbour, then Secretary of War, though not as forming any part of the official correspondence. We have omitted parts of the extract, as published at the time, and supplied additional incidents, which, in the hurry of the preparation, were omitted.

Portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin Rivers,
Monday, 4th September, 1827.

My dear sir:—It would afford me sincere pleasure, did the circumstances, by which I find myself surrounded, allow me better opportunities and more leisure, because I could then, and would most cheerfully, enter into those minute details which are in some sort necessary to exhibit things and occurrences to you as they are seen by me. I will, notwithstanding, in this letter, from the spot on which the *Red Bird* and *We-kaw* surrendered themselves, give you some account of that interesting occasion, and of *every thing* just as it occurred. It all interested me, and will, doubtless, you.

You are already informed of our arrival at this place on the 31st ultimo, and that no movement was made to capture the two murderers, who were reported to us to be at the village nine miles above, on account of an order received by Major Whistler from General Atkinson, directing him to wait his arrival, and mean time to make no movement of *any* kind. We were, therefore, after the necessary arrangements for defence and security, &c. idly, but anxiously waiting his arrival, when, at about one o'clock to-day we descried, coming in the direction of the encampment, and across the Portage, a body of Indians, some mounted and some on foot. They were, when first discerned, on a mound, and descending it; and, by the aid of a glass, we could discern three flags—two appeared to be American, and one *white*. We had received information, the day before, of the intention of the band at the village to come in with the murderers to-day; and therefore expected them, and concluded this party to be on its way to fulfil that intention. In half an hour they were near the river, and at the crossing entirely disappeared, and those that remain are reduced to a few individuals. The Winnebagoes came out of this war a conquering and powerful people, but what their enemies could not accomplish, the elements did. Tradition says that six hundred of their warriors perished in canoes upon Lake Michigan during a violent storm.

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place, when we heard singing; it was announced by those who knew the notes, to be a *death song*—when, presently, the river being only about a hundred yards across, and the Indians approaching it, those who knew him said, "it is *the Red Bird singing his death song*." On the moment of their arrival at the landing, two *scalp yells* were given; and these were also by the Red Bird. The Menominies who had accompanied us, were lying, after the Indian fashion, in different directions all over the hill, eyeing, with a careless indifference, this scene; but the moment the yells were given, they bounded from the ground as if they had been shot out of it, and, running in every direction, each to his gun, seized it, and throwing back the pan, picked the touch-hole, and rallied. They knew well that the yells were *scalp yells;* but they did not know whether they were intended to indicate two scalps *to be taken*, or two *to be given*—but inferred the first. Barges were sent across, when they came over; the Red Bird carrying the white flag, and We-kaw by his side. While they were embarking, I passed a few yards from my tent, when a rattlesnake ran across the path; he was struck by captain Dickeson with his sword, which, in part, disabled him, when I ran mine, it being of the sabre form, several times through his body, and finally through his head, and holding it up, it was cut off by a Menominie Indian with his knife. The body of the snake falling, was caught up by an Indian, whilst I went towards one of the fires to burn the head, that its fangs might be innoxious, when another Indian came running, and begged me for it. I gave it to him. The object of both being to make *medicine of the reptile!*[*] This was interpreted to be a good omen; as had a previous killing of one a few mornings before on Fox river, and of a bear, some account of the ceremonies attending which, and of other incidents attending our ascent up that river, I may give you at another time.

By this time the murderers were landed, accompanied by one hundred and fourteen of their principal men. They were preceded and represented by *Caraminie;* a chief, who earnestly begged that the prisoners might receive good treatment, and under no circumstances, be put in irons. He appeared to dread the military, and wished to surrender them to the subagent, Mr. Marsh. His address being made to me, I told him it was proper that he should go to the great chief, (Major Whistler;) and that so far as Mr. Marsh's presence might be agreeable to them, they should have it there. He appeared content, and moved on, followed by the men of his bands; the Red Bird being in the centre, with his white flag, whilst two other flags, American, were borne by two chiefs, in the front and rear of the line. The military had been previously drawn out in line. The Menominie and Wabanocky Indians squatting about in groups, (looking curious enough,) on the left flank—the band of music on the right, a little in advance of the line. The murderers were marched up in front of the centre of the line—some ten or fifteen paces from which seats were arranged, which were occupied by the principal officers attached to the command, &c.: in front of which, at about ten paces, the Red Bird was halted, with his miserable looking companion We-kaw, by his side, whilst his band formed a kind of semicircle to their right and left. All eyes were fixed upon the Red Bird; and well they might be; for, of all the Indians I ever saw, he is decidedly the most perfect in form, and face, and motion. In height he is about six feet, straight, but without restraint; in proportion, exact and perfect from his feet to his head, and thence to the very ends of his fingers; whilst his face is full of expression and of every sort to interest the feelings, and without a single, even accidental glance, that would justify the suspicion that a purpose of murder could by any possible means conceal itself there. There is in it a happy blending of dignity and grace; great firmness and decision, mixed with mildness and mercy. I could not but ask myself, can this be the murderer—the chief who could shoot, scalp, and cut the throat of *Gagnier?* His head too—nothing was ever so well formed. There was no ornamenting of the hair after the Indian fashion; no clubbing it up in blocks and rollers of lead or silver; no loose or straggling parts; but it was cut after the best fashion of the most refined civilised taste. His face was painted, one side red, the other a little intermixed with green and white. Around his neck he wore a collar of blue wampum, beautifully mixed with white, sewn on a piece of cloth, and covering it, of about two inches width, whilst the claws of the panther, or large wild cat, were fastened to the upper rim, and about a quarter of an inch from each other, their points downward and inward, and resting upon the lower rim of the collar; and around his neck, in strands of various lengths, enlarging as they descended, he wears a profusion of the same kind of wampum as had been worked so tastefully into his collar. He is clothed in a *Yankton dress*, new, rich, and beautiful. It is of beautifully dressed elk, or deer skin; pure in its colour, almost to a clear white, and consists of a jacket, (with nothing beneath it,) the sleeves of which are sewn so as to neatly fit his finely turned arms, leaving two or three inches of the skin outside of the sewing, and then again three

[*] The noise of the rattles of a rattlesnake when excited, is precisely that of a repeating watch in the intervals between the strokes.

The Winnebagoes are computed at five thousand eight hundred persons. It has been supposed by some, that latterly they have been increasing. There is, however, no good reason to believe this. The opinion has probably grown out of a comparison of different estimates of their population made by various persons, and under various circumstances.

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or four inches more which is cut into strips, as we cut paper to wrap round, and ornament a candle. All this made a deep and rich fringe, whilst the same kind of ornament, or trimming, continued down the seams of his leggings. These were of the same material, and were additionally set off with blue beads. On his feet he wore moccasins. A piece of scarlet cloth about a quarter of a yard wide, and half a yard long, by means of a slit cut through its middle, so as to admit the passing through of his head, rested, one half upon his breast, and the other on his back. On one shoulder, and near his breast, was a large and beautifully ornamented feather, nearly white; and on the other, and opposite was one nearly black, with two pieces of wood in the form of compasses when a little open, each about six inches long, richly wrapped round with porcupines' quills, dyed yellow, red, and blue; and on the tip of one shoulder was a tuft of red dyed horse hair, curled in part, and mixed up with other ornaments. Across his breast, in a diagonal position, and bound tight to it, was his war pipe, at least three feet long, richly ornamented with feathers and horse hair, dyed red, and the bills of birds, &c.; whilst in one hand he held the white flag, and in the other the pipe of peace. There he stood. He moved not a muscle, nor once changed the expression of his face. They were told to sit down. He sat down, with a grace not less captivating than he walked and stood. At this moment the band on our right struck up and played Pleyel's Hymn. Every thing was still. The Red Bird looked towards the band, and eyeing it with an expression of interest, and as if those pensive notes were falling softly and agreeably on his heart. When the hymn was played, he took up his pouch, and taking from it some *kinnakanic* and tobacco, cut the latter after the Indian fashion, then rubbed the two together, filled the bowl of his beautiful peace pipe, struck fire with his steel and flint into a bit of spunk, and lighted it, and smoked. All this was done with a grace no less captivating than that which had characterised his other movements. He sat with his legs crossed.

If you think there was any thing of affectation in all this, you are mistaken. There was just the manner and appearance you would expect to see in a nobly built man of the finest intelligence, who had been escorted by his armies to a throne, where the diadem was to be placed upon his head.

There is but one opinion of the man, and that is just such as I have formed myself, and attempted to impart to you. I could not but speculate a little on his dress. His white jacket, with one piece of red upon it, appeared to indicate the purity of his past life, stained with but a single crime; for, all agree, that the Red Bird had never before soiled his fingers with the blood of the white man, or committed a bad action. His war pipe, bound close to his heart, appeared to indicate his love of war, which was now no longer to be gratified. Perhaps the red, or scarlet cloth, may have been indicative of his name—the *Red Bird*.

All sat, except the speakers, whose addresses I took down, but have not time to insert them here. They were, in substance, that they had been required to bring in the murderers. They had no power over any, except two, and these had voluntarily agreed to come in and give themselves up. As their friends, they had come with them. They hoped their white brothers would agree to receive the horses, (they had with them twenty, perhaps,) meaning, that if accepted, it should be in commutation for the lives of their two friends. They asked kind treatment for them, earnestly begged that they might not be put in irons, and that they all might have some tobacco, and something to eat.

They were answered, and told, in substance, that they had done well thus to come in. By having done so, they had turned away our guns, and saved their people. They were admonished against placing themselves in a similar situation in future, and told, that when they should be aggrieved, to go to their agent, who would inform their great father of their complaints, and he would redress them; that their friends should be treated kindly, and tried by the same laws that their great father's children were tried; that, for the present, they should not be put in irons; that they all should have something to eat, and tobacco to smoke. We advised them to warn their people against killing ours; and endeavoured also to impress them with a proper conception of the extent of our power, and of their weakness, &c.

Having heard this, the Red Bird stood up; the commanding officer, Major Whistler, a few paces in advance of the centre of his line, facing him. After a pause of a minute, and a rapid survey of the troops, and a firm, composed observation of his people, the Red Bird said—looking at Major Whistler—"*I am ready.*" Then advancing a step or two, he paused, and added—"I do not wish to be put in irons. Let me be free. I have given my life, it is gone, (stooping down and taking some dust between his finger and thumb, and blowing it away,) like this—(eyeing the dust as it fell and vanished out of his sight.) I would not have it back. It is gone." He then threw his hands behind him, to indicate that he was leaving all things behind him, and marched up to Major Whistler, breast to breast. A platoon was wheeled backwards from the centre

Such estimates are too loose and uncertain to furnish data for any calculations of this nature, more particularly when they contradict our uniform experience upon the subject of the aboriginal population. All the tribes with which we are acquainted are in a state of progressive and rapid diminution; and although those which are most remote are not within the sphere of the operation of the causes which result from their contact with a civilised people, yet a scanty and precarious subsistence, continued and active warfare, exposure to the elements and to the accidents of a hazardous life, are pressing with restless severity upon their spare population.

In manners and customs, the Winnebagoes resemble the other members of the aboriginal family. Like the Algonquin tribes they are divided into bands, each designated by the name of some animal, or of a supposed spirit, such as the bear, the Devil, or bad spirit, the thunder, &c. These divisions were originally an important feature in their polity, but they are now little more than nominal, having yielded, like many others of the peculiar traits, to the untoward circumstances which have for ages surrounded them.

Their village chiefs are hereditary in the lineal descent, and where the direct line fails, in the collateral descent. Female chiefs are not at present known among them, although Carver states, that when he visited this tribe, in 1767, a queen was at their head, and exercised her authority with much state, and without opposition. It is certainly a singular inconsistency in human nature, that rude and uncivilised people who hold

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of the line, when Major Whistler stepping aside, the Red Bird and We-kaw marched through the line in charge of a file of men, to a tent that had been provided in the rear, over which a guard was set. The comrades of the two captives then left the ground by the way they had come, taking with them our advice, and a supply of meat and flour.

I will now describe, as well as I can, *We-kaw*, the miserable, butcher-looking being who continued by Red Bird. He is, in all respects, the opposite of the Red Bird; and you will make out the points of comparison by this rule: Never was there before, two human beings brought together for the same crime, who looked so totally unlike each other. Red Bird seemed a prince, and fit to command, and worthy to be obeyed; but We-kaw looked as if he was born to be hanged. Meager, cold, dirty in his dress and person, and crooked in form—like the starved wolf, gaunt, and hungry, and blood-thirsty—his whole appearance indicates the existence of a spirit, wary, cruel, and treacherous; and there is no room left, after looking at him, for pity. This is the man who could scalp a child no more than *eleven months old*, and cut it across the back of its neck *to the bone*, and leave it, bearing off its fine locks, to suffer and die upon the floor, near its murdered father! But his hands, and crooked and miserable looking fingers, had been wet, often, with blood before.

The *Red Bird* does not appear to be over thirty—yet he is said to be over forty. We-kaw looks to be forty-five, and is, perhaps, that old.

I shall see, on my arrival at the Prairie, the scene of these butcheries; and as I may write you upon all the points of my tour that may have any interest, I will introduce you to that. The child, I forgot to say, by the latest accounts, yet lives, and promises to survive the wounds on its head and neck. The widow of *Gagnier* is also there, and I shall get the whole story from her own mouth, and then shall, doubtless, get it truly. You shall have it all, and a thousand things besides, that when I left home I never expected to realise—but once entered upon the scenes I have passed, there was no giving back. I see no danger, I confess, especially now; but my way is onward, and I shall go.

I write in haste, and have only time to add the assurance of my friendship.

THOMAS L. M'KENNEY.

The Red Bird and We-kaw were delivered over to General Atkinson, who commanded the expedition from Jefferson Barracks. He arrived with his command at the Portage, by way of the Ouisconsin, two days after the surrender. The prisoners were conveyed to Prairie du Chien. The Red Bird died in prison. We-kaw, and others who were taken as accomplices in the murder, were tried and convicted, but became the subjects of executive clemency—the president, Mr. Adams, extending a pardon to them.

women in contempt, and assign to them the performance of all those duties which are least honourable and most laborious, should yet admit them to the exercise of civil authority in supreme or subordinate situations.* The custom may have originated in another and more advanced state of society, and may have survived the wreck in which their early history has perished.

The southern Indians are consolidated into four great families, the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Chactaws, and Chickasaws. The Catawbas, and many other tribes, once scattered over the country from North Carolina to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, are now either extinct, or so nearly extinct, that any investigation into their condition would be inconsistent with the object we have in view—which is, an exhibition of the actual state of the Indian tribes at the present day. Nor is it easy to trace the history and progress of the declension and extinction of these Indians, or their incorporation into the other communities which yet survive so much of what has perished in our aboriginal memorials. The materials that have reached us are not satisfactory. The early French travellers and historians furnish us with the most valuable information on these subjects. If they did not examine them with more severity, they were more careful to record their observations, and by the facility of intercourse with the Indians, better enabled to collect them. With the southern tribes, however, their intercourse was not extensive, and the accounts which they have left us of their history and condition are meager and unsatisfactory.

Adair, an English trader, published a book purporting to be a history of the four southern tribes, or rather it was published for him; and if human ingenuity had been taxed to compile a work, which, in a large compass, should contain the least possible information respecting the subject about which it treats, we might be well satisfied with Adair's quarto. He sees in the Indians the descendants of the Jews, and blind to the thousand physical and moral proofs adverse to this wild theory, he seizes upon one or two casual coincidences, and with an imagination which supplies every thing else, he furnishes his reader with his speculations.

Over this region, and among the predecessors, or ancestors of some of these tribes, De Soto rambled with his followers in pursuit of gold, if the narrative of his expedition be not as fabulous as the El Dorado he was seeking. How precious would be a judicious and faithful account of the Indians written almost during the lifetime of Columbus, by a man of observation and candour, travelling, as is computed in the history of this expedition, more than five thousand miles in the country; and occupied in this journey nearly five years! And proceeding in a direction, eighteen hundred miles north of the point of debarkation—six hundred miles north of Lake Superior. For this is the grave calculation made from a reduction of the courses and distances given by De la Vega, the historian of the expedition.

It were a waste of time to indulge in speculations, as some sensible men have done, respecting the causes which have depopulated these regions, "*filled with great towns, always within view of each other!*" Of all the exaggerations to which the *auri sacra fames* of the Spaniards has given birth in the new world, this narrative is the grossest. It is utterly unworthy of a moment's serious consideration. All that it records is wholly inconsistent with the institutions and resources, and not less so with every authentic account which has come down to us.

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* We remember, in 1826, to have seen admitted into a council, at *Fond-du-lac Superior*, an aged woman, but she sat there as the representative of her husband, whose age and blindness prevented his attendance.

The Creeks now occupy a tract of country in the eastern part of Alabama. Many of them, however, have already removed west of the Mississippi, and others are preparing to follow. From present appearances, it is probable they will all ere long follow the same route. Their whole numbers are estimated at twenty thousand.

The Seminoles, and the remains of other broken tribes, allies or confederates of the Creeks, and identified with them in manners and feelings, occupy a reservation in Florida, and number among their population about four thousand individuals.

The Creeks were so called by the English, because their country was watered and intersected by numerous small streams, along which these Indians were situated. They have long been known as a powerful and restless confederacy, and their sway formerly extended over much of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. The principal and original band, the Muskogee, which in their own language now gives name to the whole nation, claim to have always inhabited the country now occupied by them. As other tribes became reduced in numbers and power, either by the preponderance of the Muskogee, or by other causes, they joined that band, and have in process of time become, in some measure, though not altogether, a homogeneous people. The most extraordinary among these, both as to their history, their institutions, and their fate, were the Natchez. Originally planted upon the Mississippi, near the present town of that name, if the accounts which have been given of their condition and manners can be relied on, almost all the features they present mark a striking difference between them and all the other Indians who are known to us. Some of these we shall lay before our readers; and without giving full credit to the whole account, there yet can be no doubt that some peculiar characteristics prevailed among them. It is a curious and interesting topic. The Natchez are said to have been numerous and powerful. Their principal chief was called the *Great Sun*, and the subordinate chiefs, *suns*. Their government, unlike the pure democracies, or rather the no-government of the other tribes, was strong, and even despotic. The Great Sun was an object of reverence, and almost veneration, and exercised unlimited power during his life; and in death he was attended by a numerous band who had been devoted to him from birth, and who were immolated on his shrine. The government was hereditary; but, as with the Wyandots, and some of the other tribes, the succession was in the female line, from uncle to nephew. The members of the reigning family were not allowed to intermarry with one another, but divorces were permitted at will, and libertinism fully indulged. The sun was the great object of religious adoration, and in their temples a perpetual fire was burning. Guardians were appointed for the preservation of this fire, and heavy penalties were prescribed for neglect. All this, and much more that is related of this people by respectable authors, some of them eye witnesses, is so different from all around them, that if the leading facts are true, the Natchez must have been an insulated tribe upon the continent, deriving their origin from a different stock.

The final catastrophe, which closed their history and their independence, is indicative of their fierce and indomitable spirit. The tyrannical conduct of a French commandant of the port of Natchez led to a conspiracy for the destruction of their oppressors. The French were surprised, and almost the whole settlement, amounting to seven hundred persons, massacred. When the intelligence reached New Orleans, a formidable expedition was organised against these Indians, and all the warriors of the neighbouring tribes invited to accompany it. The Natchez defended themselves with desperate valour, but in the end were utterly overthrown. Their Great Sun, with many of their principal men, was transported to St. Domingo, and sold into slavery, and the tribe itself disappeared from history.

There are among the Creeks the remains of a tribe known as the Uchees, the remnant of one of these dispersed, or conquered bands—tradition says they were conquered. Although forming part of the Creek tribe, and enjoying in common with it its honours and profits, such as they are, they speak a language entirely dissimilar, and wholly their own.

The Cherokees own a district of country, which extends into North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee. That portion of the tribe that remains east of the Mississippi, contains about nine thousand persons. Those who have emigrated to the west of that river, and are now situated west of Arkansas and Missouri, amount to about six thousand. The principal emigration has taken place since 1817.

This tribe, when first known to the French, resided in the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio. The causes which led to their emigration from that region can only be conjectured, but there is little doubt it was owing to the victorious career of the Iroquois; and that it occurred about the period when the Shawanese were driven to the same quarter.

After the settlement of the southern states, the Cherokees, instigated by the French, displayed for many years the most determined hostility, and kept the frontiers in a state of constant alarm and danger. Formidable exertions were required, from time to time, to check this spirit; nor was it fully accomplished until the near approach of the revolutionary troubles.

The language of the Cherokees, so far as we are acquainted with it, is radically different in its words from that of any other tribes. In its general structure, however, it closely resembles the dialects spoken by our whole aboriginal family.

The Chactaws reside in the state of Mississippi, and are computed at twenty thousand persons. They have recently ceded their entire country east of the Mississippi to the United States, and are removing to the west of that river.

The Chickasaws, numbering about three thousand six hundred, inhabit the northern part of Mississippi, and the northwestern corner of Alabama.

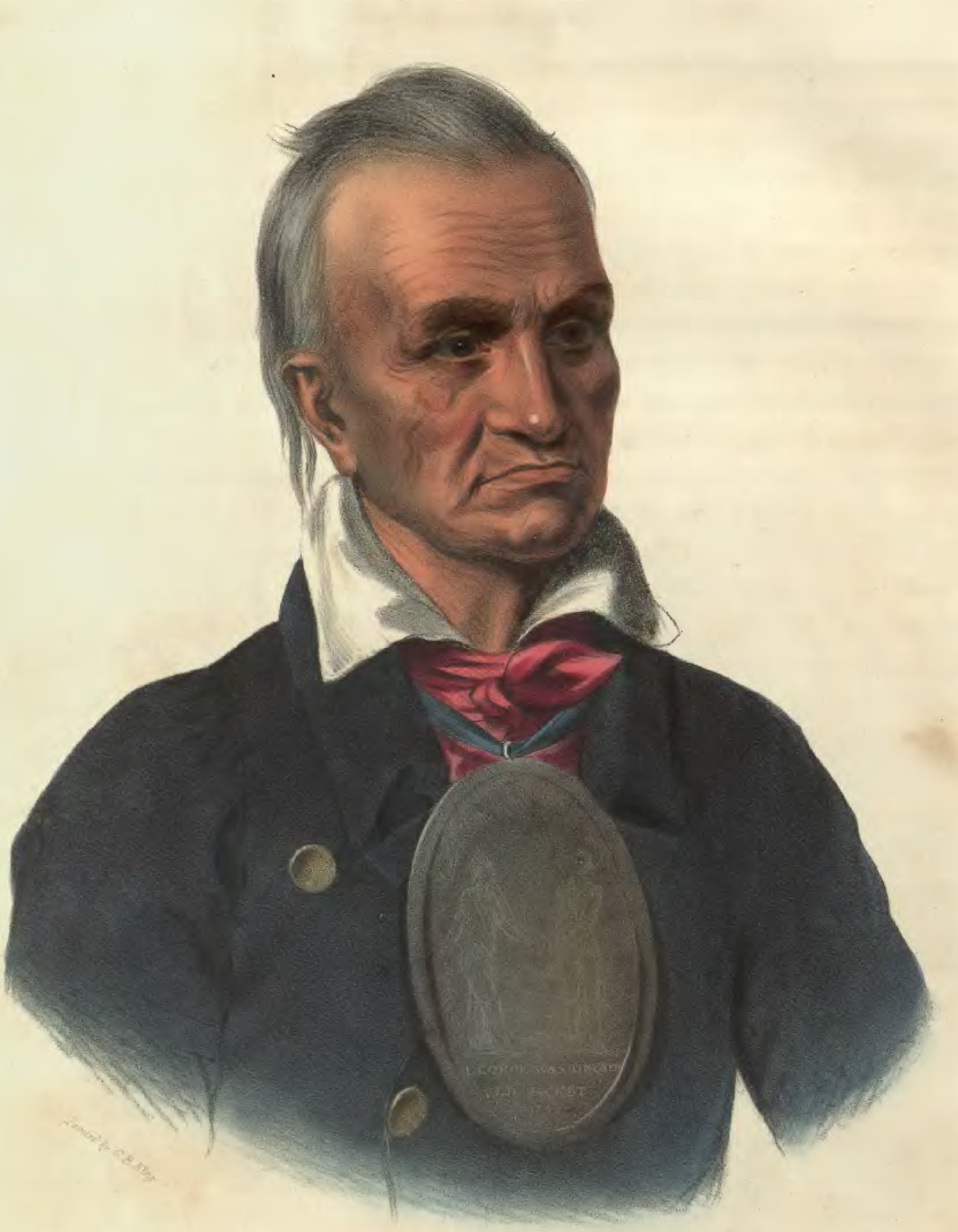
These two tribes speak dialects of the same language, and are evidently branches of the same family. There is nothing in their condition or history which requires a more particular notice, except that they, together with the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles, having outlived the game, have ceased, from necessity, to be hunters. They derive such subsistence as their manner of life, and general abandonment of portions of these tribes to ardent spirits will permit, from the soil. There is a good deal of individual comfort enjoyed, and an exception in such cases from the common plague of drunkenness, particularly among the Cherokees and Chickasaws, which is found also, though not to the same extent, among the Chactaws. There is nothing in the condition of individual families, that could lead us to hope for any improvement among the Creeks and Seminoles. The annuities derived from the government under treaties with them for cessions of their lands, are the main dependence of these latter tribes; and these it is found necessary sometimes to pledge a year in advance, for corn to subsist upon. We merely observe, in regard to the Chactaws, that the custom of flattening the heads of infants formerly prevailed among them.

The Cherokees appear to be a homogeneous tribe, originating in a different region from the one now occupied by them. The other three southern tribes have been more or less formed by the admixture of dispersed or conquered bands; and we have no evidence of their migration from any other quarter. They all, however, in general characteristics resemble the other great branches of their race. Circumstances may occasionally impress some peculiar feature upon different tribes, but in the whole extent of their manners, customs, institutions, and opinions, there is nothing which can preclude the idea of their common origin.

Latterly the southern tribes have excited more than common observation; and the critical state of their affairs has directed much of the public attention to them. Their reputed improvements in the elements of social life, and the attempt made by some of them to establish independent governments, have led to the belief with many, that the crisis of their fate is passed, and that a new era is before them. If they can be induced to pursue the course recommended by their best friends, and flee from the vicinity of the white settlements, and establish themselves permanently beyond the Mississippi, and the government will accompany them with the means of protection and improvement, this hope may be realised—if not, they will but follow the fate of too many of the tribes that have gone before them.

Such is a general view of the past condition, and present situation of the various tribes of Indians who occupy any portion of the territory of the United States, east of the Mississippi, or who have passed that great barrier, and sought, in the immense plains of the west, a land of refuge and of safety. The great outlines of their character are easily delineated. In all their essential features, they are now what they were at the discovery. Indolent and improvident, they neither survey the wants of the future, nor provide for them. The men are free, and the women are slaves. They are restrained by no moral or religious obligations, but willingly yield themselves to the fiercest passions. Lost in the most degrading superstition, they look upon nature with a vacant eye, never inquiring into the causes, or the consequences of the great revolutions of nature, or into the structure or operations of their own minds. Their existence is essentially a physical one, limited to the gratification of their appetites, and the indulgence of their passions. Mental or moral improvement is not embraced by a single desire for the one or the other. As the only occupations of the men are war and hunting, their early discipline, and their habitual exertions, are directed to these pursuits; and as their faculties are confined within narrow limits, they acquire an ardour, intensity, and power, unknown in a different state of society. Marvellous tales are related of the sagacity with which the Indians penetrate the forest, pursuing their course with unerring skill and precision, and taking all their measures with a precaution which leaves little to accident. In this application of their powers they resemble many of the inferior animals, which by some myterious process are enabled to return to places whence they have been taken, although every effort may have been made to deceive them. The Indians observe, accurately, the face of the country, the courses of the streams, the weatherbeaten sides of the trees, and every other permanent landmark which can guide them through the world of the forest. And after all due allowance for exaggeration, enough of sober truth will remain to excite our surprise at the almost intuitive sagacity displayed by these rude hunters in the toils of the chase. The splendour of victory is in due proportion to the slaughter of their enemy, and in an inverse proportion to their own loss; and it is a point of honour with all the leaders of the war parties to bring back as many *braves*, or warriors, as possible. How terrible they are to a vanquished and prostrate foe, the whole history of our warfare with them but too mournfully tells. They neither expect mercy nor yield it. Their solicitude for the preservation of life too often degenerates into rank cowardice. But when escape is impossible, and the hour of trial comes, they meet their fate with a heroic fortitude, which would not dishonour the sternest martyr of civil or religious freedom, that ever went from the stake to his reward. Their conduct in this appalling extremity has been the theme of wonder and description, since they themselves have been known to us. All that is contemptuous in expression is poured upon their enemies; all that is elevated in feeling is given to their country; all that concerns life, its joys, or terrors, is cast behind them like a worthless thing. From infancy they have looked forward to this hour of suffering and triumph as a possible event. They have heard of it in the stories of the old, and in the songs of the young. They have seen it in the triumphant death of many a fierce captive enemy, whose song of defiance has been stimulated by the impulse of his own heart.

So far as natural affections depend upon natural instinct they participate with us, as well as with the brute creation, in their enjoyment. We do not, of course, speak now of those half, or entirely civilised families, upon whose minds and hearts education and social advantages have shed their influence, but of the Indian, as such; to him who owes nothing to culture, and but little to habit. It is idle to suppose that he feels and cherishes those kindly emotions of the heart which transport us beyond the magic circle of *self*, and give us the foretaste of another existence. Their hospitality is more the hospitality of improvidence than of feeling. The kettle of the Indian, while he has any thing to put in it, is always on the fire, filled with victuals for his family, and for all who enter his wigwam.


Painted by C.B. King
GEORGE WASHINGTON
RED JACKET

RED JACKET.
Seneca War Chief.

Philadelphia Published by E.C. Biddle

Lehman & Duval Lithrs

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1834 by E. C. Biddle in the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

BIOGRAPHY.

RED JACKET.

THE Seneca tribe was the most important of the celebrated confederacy, known in the early history of the American colonies, as the Iroquois, or Five Nations. They were a powerful and warlike people, and acquired a great ascendency over the surrounding tribes, as well by their prowess, as by the systematic skill with which their affairs seem to have been conducted. Their hunting grounds, and principal residence, were in the fertile lands, now embraced in the western limits of the State of New York—a country whose prolific soil, and majestic forests, whose limpid streams, and chains of picturesque lakes, and whose vicinity to the shores of Erie and Ontario, must have rendered it in its savage state, the paradise of the native hunter. Surrounded by all that could render the wilderness attractive, by the greatest luxuriance of nature, and by the most pleasing, as well as the most sublime scenery, and inheriting proud recollections of power and conquest, these tribes were among the foremost in resisting the intrusion of the whites, and the most tardy to surrender their independence. Instead of receding before the European race, as its rapidly accumulating population pressed upon their borders, they tenaciously maintained their ground, and when forced to make cessions of territory to the whites, reserved large tracts for their own use, which they continued to occupy. The swelling tide has passed over and settled around them; and a little remnant of that once proud and fierce people, remains broken and dispirited, in the heart of a civilised country, mourning over the ruins of savage grandeur, yet spurning the richer blessings enjoyed by the civilised man and the Christian. A few have embraced our religion, and learned our arts; but the greater part have dwindled away under the blasting effects of idleness, intemperance, and superstition.

Red Jacket was the *last of the Senecas:* there are many left who may boast the aboriginal name and lineage, but with him expired all that had remained of the spirit of the tribe. In the following notice of that eminent man we pursue, chiefly, the narrative furnished us by a distinguished gentleman, whose information on this subject is as authentic, as his ability to do it justice is unquestionable.

That is a truly affecting and highly poetical conception of an American poetess, which traces the memorials of the aborigines of America, in the beautiful nomenclature, which they have indelibly impressed on the scenery of our country. Our mountains have become their enduring monuments; and their epitaph is inscribed, in the lucid language of nature, on our majestic rivers.

> "Ye say that all have passed away,
> The noble race and brave—
> That their light canoes have vanished
> From off the crested wave;
> That 'mid the forests where they roamed,
> There rings no hunter's shout;
> But their name is on your waters,
> Ye may not wash it out.
>
> "Ye say their cone-like cabins
> That clustered o'er the vale,
> Have disappeared as withered leaves
> Before the autumn gale:
> But their memory liveth on your hills,
> Their baptism on your shore;
> Your ever rolling rivers speak,
> Their dialect of yore."

These associations are well fitted to excite sentiments of deeper emotion than poetic tenderness, and of more painful and practical effect. They stand, the landmarks of our broken vows and unatoned oppression; and they not only stare us in the face from every hill and every stream, that bears those expressive names, but they hold up before all nations, and before God, the memorials of our injustice.

There is, or was, an Indian artist, self taught, who, in a rude but most graphic drawing, exhibited upon canvass the events of a treaty between the white men and an Indian tribe. The scene was laid at the moment of settling the terms of a compact, after the proposals of our government had been weighed, and well nigh rejected by the Indians. The two prominent figures in the front ground, were an Indian chief, attired in his peculiar costume, standing in a hesitating posture, with a hand half extended towards a scroll hanging partly unrolled from the hand of the other figure. The latter was an American officer in full dress, offering with one hand the unsigned treaty to the reluctant savage, while with the other he presents a musket and bayonet to his breast. This picture was exhibited some years ago near Lewistown, New York, as the production of a man of the Tuscarora tribe, named ***Cusick.*** It was an affecting appeal from the Indian to the white man; for although, in point of fact, the Indians have never been compelled, by direct force, to part with their lands, yet we have triumphed over them by our superior power and intelligence, and there is a moral truth in the picture, which represents the savage as yielding from fear, that which his judgment, and his attachments, would have withheld.

We do not design to intimate that our colonial and national transactions with the Indians have been uniformly, or even habitually unjust. On the contrary, the treaties of Penn, and of Washington, and some of those of the Puritans, to name no others, are honourable to those who presided at their structure and execution; and teach us how important it is to be just and magnanimous in public, as well as in personal acts. Nor do we at all believe that migrating tribes, small in number, and of very unsettled habits of life, have any right to appropriate to themselves, as hunting grounds and battle fields, those large domains which God designed to be reclaimed from the wilderness, and which under the culture of civilised man are adapted to sustain millions of human beings, and to be made subservient to the noblest purposes of human thought and industry. Nor can we in justice charge, exclusively, upon the white population, the corrupting influence of their intercourse with the Indian tribes. There is to be presupposed no little vice and bad propensity on the part of the savages, evinced in the facility with which they became the willing captives, and ultimate victims of that "knowledge of evil," which our people have imparted to them. The treachery also of the Indian tribes, on our defenceless frontiers, their untameable ferocity, their brutal mode of warfare, and their systematic indulgence of the principle of revenge, have too often assumed the most terrific forms of wickedness and destruction towards our confiding emigrants. It is difficult to decide between parties thus placed in positions of antagonism, involving a long series of mutual aggressions, inexcusable on either side, upon any exact principle of rectitude, yet palliated on both by counterbalancing provocation. So far as our government has been concerned, the system of intercourse with the Indians has been founded in benevolence, and marked by a forbearing temper; but that policy has been thwarted by individual avarice, and perverted by unfaithful or injudicious administration. After all, however, the burthen of guilt must be conceded to lie upon the party having all the advantages of power, civilisation, and Christianity, whose position placed them in the paternal relation towards these scattered children of the forest. All the controlling interests of the tribes tended to instil in them sentiments of fear, of dependence, of peace, and even of friendship, towards their more powerful neighbours; and it has chiefly been when we have chafed them to madness by incessant and unnecessary encroachment, and by unjust treaties, or when they have been seduced from their fidelity by the enemies of our country, that they have been so unwise, as to provoke our resentment by open hostility. These wars have uniformly terminated in new demands on our part, in ever growing accessions from their continually diminishing soil, until the small *reservations*, which they have been permitted to retain in the bosom of our territory, are scarcely large enough to support the living, or hide the dead, of these miserable remnants of once powerful tribes.

It is not our purpose, however, to argue the grave questions growing out of our relations with this interesting race; but only to make that brief reference to them, which seems unavoidably connected with the biographical sketch we are about to give, of a chief who was uniformly, through life, the able advocate of the rights of his tribe, and the fearless opposer of all encroachment—one who was not awed by the white man's power, nor seduced by his professions of friendship.

From the best information we can obtain, it appears probable, that this celebrated chief was born about A. D. 1756, at the place formerly called "Old Castle," now embraced in the town of Seneca, Ontario County, in the State of New York, and three miles west of the present beautiful village of Geneva. His Indian name was, *Sa-go-you-wat-ha*, or *Keeper awake*, which, with the usual appropriateness of the native nomenclature, indicates the vigilance of his character. He acquired the more familiar name, which he bore through life among white men, in the following manner. During the war of the revolution, the Seneca tribe fought under the British standard. Though he had scarcely reached the years of manhood, he engaged in the war, was much distinguished by his activity and intelligence, and attracted the attention of the British officers. One of them presented him with a richly embroidered scarlet jacket, which he took great pride in wearing. When this was worn out, he was presented with another; and he continued to wear this peculiar dress until it became a mark of distinction, and gave him the name by which he was afterwards best known. As lately as the treaty of 1794, Captain Parish, to whose kindness we are indebted for some of these details, presented him with another red jacket, to perpetuate a name to which he was so much attached.

When but seventeen years old, the abilities of Red Jacket, especially his activity in the chase, and his remarkably tenacious memory, attracted the esteem and admiration of his tribe; and he was frequently employed during the war of the revolution, as a *runner*, to carry despatches. In that contest he took little or no part as a warrior; and it would appear that like his celebrated predecessors in rhetorical fame, Demosthenes and Cicero, he better understood how to rouse his countrymen to war, than to lead them to victory. The warlike chief, Corn Plant, boldly charged him with want of courage, and his conduct on one occasion at least seems to have fully justified the charge. During the expedition of the American General Sullivan against the Indians in 1779, a stand was attempted to be made against him by Corn Plant, on the beach of the Canandaigua lake. On the approach of the American army, a small number of the Indians, among whom was Red Jacket, began to retreat. Corn Plant exerted himself to rally them. He threw himself before Red Jacket, and endeavoured to prevail on him to fight, in vain; when the indignant chief, turning to the young wife of the recreant warrior, exclaimed, "leave that man, he is a coward."

There is no small evidence of the transcendent abilities of this distinguished individual, to be found in the fact of his rising into the highest rank among his people, though believed by them to be destitute of the virtue which they hold in the greatest estimation. The savage admires those qualities which are peculiar to his mode of life, and are most practically useful in the vicissitudes to which it is incident. Courage, strength, swiftness, and cunning are indispensably necessary in the constantly recurring scenes of the battle and the chase; while the most patient fortitude is required in the endurance of the pain, hunger, and exposure to all extremes of climate, to which the Indian is continually subjected. Ignorant and uncultivated, they have few intellectual wants or endowments, and place but little value upon any display of genius, which is not combined with the art of the warrior. To this rule, eloquence forms an exception. Where there is any government, however rude, there must be occasional assemblies of the people; where war and peace are made, the chiefs of the contending parties will meet in council; and such occasions the sagacious counsellor, and able orator, will rise above him whose powers are merely physical. But under any circumstances, courage is so essential, in a barbarous community, where battle and violence are continually occurring, where the right of the strongest is the paramount law, and where life itself must be supported by its exposure in procuring the means of subsistence, that we can scarcely imagine how a coward can be respected among savages, or how an individual without courage can rise to superior sway among such fierce spirits.

But though not distinguished as a warrior, it seems that Red Jacket was not destitute of bravery; for on a subsequent occasion, the stain affixed upon his character, on the occasion alluded to, was wiped away, by his good conduct in the field. The true causes, however, of his great influence in his tribe, were his transcendent talents, and the circumstances under which he lived. In times of public calamity the abilities of great men are appreciated, and called into action. Red Jacket came upon the theatre of active life, when the power of his tribe had declined, and its extinction was threatened. The white man was advancing upon them with gigantic strides. The red warrior had appealed, ineffectually, to arms; his cunning had been foiled and his strength overpowered; his foes, superior in prowess, were countless in number; and he had thrown down the tomahawk in despair. It was then that Red Jacket stood forward as a patriot, defending his nation with fearless eloquence, and denouncing its enemies in strains of fierce invective, or bitter sarcasm. He became their counsellor, their negotiator, and their orator. Whatever may have been his conduct in the field, he now evinced a moral courage, as cool and sagacious, as it was undaunted, and which showed a mind of too high an order to be influenced by the base sentiment of fear. The relations of the Senecas with the American people, introduced questions of a new and highly interesting character, having reference to the purchase of their lands, and the introduction of Christianity and the arts. The Indians were asked not only to sell their country, but to embrace a new religion, to change their occupations and domestic habits, and to adopt a novel system of thought and action. Strange as these propositions must have seemed in themselves, they were rendered the more unpalatable when dictated by the stronger party, and accompanied by occcasional acts of oppression.

It was at this crisis that Red Jacket stood forward, the intrepid defender of his country, its customs, and its religion, and the unwavering opponent of all innovation. He yielded nothing to persuasion, to bribery, or to menace, and never, to his last hour, remitted his exertions, in what he considered the noblest purpose of his life.

An intelligent gentleman, who knew this chief intimately, in peace and war, for more than thirty years, speaks of him in the following terms: "Red Jacket was a *perfect Indian* in every respect—in costume,* in his contempt of the dress of the white men, in his hatred and opposition to the missionaries, and in his attachment to, and veneration for, the ancient customs and traditions of his tribe. He had a contempt for the English language, and disdained to use any other than his own. He was the finest specimen of the Indian character I ever knew, and sustained it with more dignity than any other chief. He was the second in authority in his tribe. As an orator he was unequalled by any Indian I ever saw. His language was beautiful and figurative, as the Indian language always is, and delivered with the greatest ease and fluency. His gesticulation was easy, graceful, and natural. His voice was distinct and clear, and he always spoke with great animation. His memory was very strong. I have acted as interpreter to most of his speeches, to which no translation could do adequate justice."

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* The portrait represents him in a blue coat. He wore this coat when he sat to King of Washington. He rarely dressed himself otherwise than in the costume of his tribe. He made an exception on this occasion.

Another gentleman, who had much official and personal intercourse with the Seneca orator, writes thus: "You have no doubt been well informed as to the strenuous opposition of Red Jacket, to all improvement in the arts of civilised life, and more especially to all innovations upon the religion of the Indians—or as they generally term it, the religion of their fathers. His speeches upon this and other points, which have been published, were obtained through the medium of illiterate interpreters, and present us with nothing more than ragged and disjointed sketches of the originals. In a private conversation between Red Jacket, Colonel Chapin, and myself, in 1824, I asked him why he was so much opposed to the establishment of missionaries among his people. The question seemed to awaken in the sage old chief feelings of surprise, and after a moment's reflection he replied, with a sarcastic smile, and an emphasis peculiar to himself, 'Because they do us no good. If they are not useful to the white people, why do they send them among the Indians; if they are useful to the white people, and do them good, why do they not keep them at home? They are surely bad enough to need the labour of every one who can make them better. These men know we do not understand their religion. We cannot read their book; they tell us different stories about what it contains, and we believe they make the book talk to suit themselves. If we had no money, no land, and no country, to be cheated out of, these black coats would not trouble themselves about our good hereafter. The Great Spirit will not punish us for what we do not know. He will do justice to his red children. These black coats talk to the Great Spirit, and ask for light, that we may see as they do, when they are blind themselves, and quarrel about the light which guides them. These things we do not understand, and the light they give us makes the straight and plain path trod by our fathers dark and dreary. The black coats tell us to work and raise corn: they do nothing themselves, and would starve to death if somebody did not feed them. All they do is to pray to the Great Spirit; but that will not make corn or potatoes grow; if it will, why do they beg from us, and from the white people? The red men knew nothing of trouble until it came from the white man; as soon as they crossed the great waters they wanted our country, and in return have always been ready to learn us how to quarrel about their religion. Red Jacket can never be the friend of such men. The Indians can never be civilised; they are not like white men. If they were raised among the white people, and learned to work, and to read, as they do, it would only make their situation worse. They would be treated no better than negroes. We are few and weak, but may for a long time be happy, if we hold fast to our country and the religion of our fathers.' "

It is much to be regretted that a more detailed account of this great man, cannot be given. The nature of his life and attachments, threw his history out of the view, and beyond the reach of white men. It was part of his national policy to have as little intercourse as possible with civilised persons, and he met our countrymen only amid the intrigues and excitement of treaties, or in the degradation of that vice of civilised society, which makes white men savages, and savages brutes. Enough, however, has been preserved to show that he was an extraordinary man.

Perhaps the most remarkable attribute of his character was commanding eloquence. A notable illustration of the power of his eloquence was given at a council, held at Buffalo Creek, in New York. Corn Plant, who was at that period chief of the Senecas, was mainly instrumental in making the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784. His agency in this affair, operated unfavourably upon his character, and weakened his influence with his tribe. Perceiving that Red Jacket was availing himself of his loss of popularity, he resolved on counteracting him. To do this effectually, he ordained one of his brothers a prophet, and set him to work to *pow-wow* against his rival, and his followers. The plan consummated, Red Jacket was assailed in the midst of the tribe, by all those arts that are known to be so powerful over the superstition of the Indian. The council was full—and was, no doubt, convened mainly for this object. Of this occurence De Witt Clinton, says—"At this crisis, Red Jacket well knew that the future colour of his life depended upon the powers of his mind. He spoke in his defence for near three hours—the iron brow of superstition relented under the magic of his eloquence. He declared the Prophet an impostor, and a cheat—he prevailed—the Indians divided, and a small majority appeared in his favour. Perhaps the annals of history cannot furnish a more conspicuous instance of the power and triumph of oratory in a barbarous nation, devoted to superstition, and looking up to the accuser as a delegated minister of the Almighty." Of the power which he exerted over the minds of those who heard him, it has been justly remarked, that no one ignorant of the dialect in which he spoke can adequately judge. He wisely, as well as proudly, chose to speak through an interpreter, who was often an illiterate person, or sometimes an Indian, who could hardly be expected to do that justice to the orator of the forest, which the learned are scarcely able to render to each other. Especially, would such reporters fail to catch even the spirit of an animated harangue, as it fell rich and fervid from the lips of an injured patriot, standing amid the ruins of his little state, rebuking on the one hand his degenerate tribe, and on the other repelling the encroachments of an absorbing power. The speeches which have been reported as his are, for the most part, miserable failures, either made up for the occasion in the prosecution of some mercenary, or sinister purpose, or unfaithfully rendered into puerile periods by an ignorant native.

There are several interesting anecdotes of Red Jacket, which should be preserved as illustrations of the peculiar points of his character and opinions, as well as of his ready eloquence. We shall relate a few which are undoubtedly authentic.

In a council which was held with the Senecas by Governor Tompkins of New York, a contest arose between that gentleman and Red Jacket, as to a fact, connected with a treaty of many years standing. The American agent stated one thing, the Indian chief corrected him, and insisted that the reverse of his assertion was true. But, it was rejoined, "you have forgotten—we have it written down on paper." "The paper then tells a lie," was the confident answer; "I have it written here," continued the chief, placing his hand with great dignity upon his brow. "You Yankees are born with a feather between your fingers; but your paper does not speak the truth. The Indian keeps his knowledge here—this is the book the Great Spirit gave us—it does not lie!" A reference was immediately made to the treaty in question, when to the astonishment of all present, and to the triumph of the tawny statesman, the document confirmed every word he had uttered.

About the year 1820, Count D. a young French nobleman, who was making a tour in America, visited the town of Buffalo. Hearing of the fame of Red Jacket, and learning that his residence was but seven miles distant, he sent him word that he was desirous to see him, and that he hoped the chief would visit him at Buffalo, the next day. Red Jacket received the message with much contempt, and replied, "tell the *young* man that if he wishes to see the *old chief*, he may find him with his nation, where other strangers pay their respects to him; and Red Jacket will be glad to see him." The Count sent back his messenger, to say that he was fatigued by his journey, and could not go to the Seneca village; that he had come all the way from France to see Red Jacket, and after having put himself to so much trouble to see so great a man, the latter could not refuse to meet him at Buffalo. "Tell him," said the sarcastic chief, "that it is very strange he should come so far to see me, and then stop short within seven miles of my residence." The retort was richly merited. The Count visited him at his wigwam, and *then* Red Jacket accepted an invitation, to dine with the foreign traveller at his lodgings in Buffalo. The young nobleman declared that he considered Red Jacket a greater wonder than the Falls of Niagara. This remark was the more striking, as it was made within view of the great cataract. But it was just. He who made the world, and filled it with wonders, has declared man to be the crowning work of the whole creation.

It happened during the revolutionary war, that a treaty was held with the Indians, at which Lafayette was present. The object was to unite the various tribes in amity with America. The majority of the chiefs were friendly, but there was much opposition made to it, more especially by a young warrior, who declared that when an alliance was entered into with America he should consider the sun of his country had set for ever. In his travels through the Indian country, when last in America, it happened at a large assemblage of chiefs, that Lafayette referred to the treaty in question, and turning to Red Jacket, said, "pray tell me if you can, what has become of that daring youth who so decidedly opposed all our propositions for peace and amity? Does he still live; and what is his condition?" "I, myself, am the man," replied Red Jacket; "the decided enemy of the Americans, so long as the hope of opposing them successfully remained, but now their true and faithful ally until death."

During the war between Great Britain and the United States, which commenced in 1812, Red Jacket was disposed to remain neutral, but was overruled by his tribe, and at last engaged heartily on our side, in consequence of an argument which occurred to his own mind. The lands of his tribe border upon the frontier between the United States and Canada. "If the British succeed," he said, "they will take our country from us; if the Americans drive them back, *they* will claim our land by right of conquest." He fought through the whole war, displayed the most undaunted intrepidity, and completely redeemed his character from the suspicion of that unmanly weakness with which he had been charged in early life; while in no instance did he exhibit the ferocity of the savage, or disgrace himself by any act of outrage towards a prisoner or a fallen enemy. His, therefore, was that true moral courage, which results from self respect and the sense of duty, and which is a more noble and more active principle, than that mere animal instinct which renders many men insensible to danger. Opposed to war, not ambitious of martial fame, and unskilled in military affairs, he went to battle from principle, and met its perils with the spirit of a veteran warrior, while he shrunk from its cruelties with the sensibility of a man, and a philosopher.

Red Jacket was the foe of the white man. His nation was his God; her honor, preservation, and liberty, his religion. He hated the missionary of the cross, because he feared some secret design upon the lands, the peace, or the independence of the Senecas. He never understood Christianity. Its sublime disinterestedness exceeded his conceptions. He was a keen observer of human nature; and saw that among white, and red men, sordid interest was equally the spring of action. He, therefore, naturally enough suspected every stranger who came to his tribe of some design on their little and dearly prized domains; and felt towards the Christian missionary as the Trojan priestess did towards the wooden horse of the Greeks. He saw too, that the same influence which tended to reduce his wandering tribe to civilised habits, must necessarily change his whole system of policy. He wished to preserve the integrity of his tribe by keeping the Indians and white men apart, while the direct tendency of the missionary system was to blend them in one society, and to bring them under a common religion and government. While it annihilated paganism, it dissolved the nationality of the tribe. In the wilderness, far from white men, the Indians might rove in pursuit of game, and remain a distinct people. But the district of land reserved for the Senecas, was not as large as the smallest county in New York, and was now surrounded by an ever growing population impatient to possess their lands, and restricting their hunting grounds, by bringing the arts of husbandry up to the line of demarcation. The deer, the buffalo, and the elk were gone. On Red Jacket's system, his people should have followed them; but he chose to remain, and yet refused to adopt those arts and institutions, which alone could preserve his tribe from an early and ignominious extinction.

It must also be stated in fairness, that the missionaries are not always men fitted for their work. Many of them have been destitute of the talents and information requisite in so arduous an enterprise; some have been bigoted and over zealous, and others have wanted temper and patience. Ignorant of the aboriginal languages, and obliged to rely upon interpreters to whom religion was an occult science, they doubtless often conveyed very different impressions from those which they intended. "What have you said to them?" inquired a missionary once, of the interpreter who had been expounding his sermon. "I told them you have a message to them from the Great Spirit," was the reply. "I said no such thing," cried the missionary; "Tell them I am come to speak of God, the only living and True God, and of the life that is to be hereafter—well, what have you said?" "That you will tell them about Manito and the land of spirits." "Worse and worse!" exclaimed the embarrassed preacher; and such is doubtless the history of many sermons which have been delivered to the bewildered heathen.

There is another cause which has seldom failed to operate in opposition to any fair experiment in reference to the civilisation of the Indians. The frontiers are always infested by a class of adventurers, whose plans of speculation are best promoted by the ignorance of the Indian; who, therefore, steadily thwart every benevolent attempt to enlighten the savage; and who are as ingenious as they are busy, in framing insinuations to the discredit of those engaged in benevolent designs towards this unhappy race.

Whatever was the policy of Red Jacket, or the reasons on which it was founded, he was the steady, skilful, and potent foe of missions in his tribe, which became divided into two factions, one of which was called the ***Christian***, and the other the ***Pagan***, party. The Christian party in 1827 outnumbered the Pagan—and Red Jacket was formally, and by a vote of the council, displaced from the office of Chief of the Senecas, which he had held ever since his triumph over Corn Plant. He was greatly affected by this decision, and made a journey to Washington to lay his griefs before his Great Father. His first call on arriving at Washington was on Colonel M'Kenney, who was in charge of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. That officer was well informed, through his agent, of all that had passed among the Senecas, and of the decision of the council, and the cause of it, displacing Red Jacket. After the customary shaking of hands, Red Jacket spoke, saying, "I have a talk for my Father." "Tell him," answered Colonel M'Kenney, "I have one for him. I will make it, and will then listen to him." Colonel M'Kenney narrated all that had passed between the two parties, taking care not to omit the minute incidents that had combined to produce the open rupture that had taken place. He sought to convince Red Jacket that a spirit of forbearance on his part, and a yielding to the Christian party the right, which he claimed for himself, to believe as he pleased on the subject of religion, would have prevented the mortifying result of his expulsion from office and power. At the conclusion of this talk, during which Red Jacket never took his keen and searching eye off the speaker, he turned to the interpreter, saying, with his finger pointing in the direction of his people, and of his home, "Our Father has got a long eye!" He then proceeded to vindicate himself, and his cause, and to pour out upon the black coats the phials of his wrath. It was finally arranged, however, that he was to go home, and there, in a council that was directed to be convened for the purpose, express his willingness to bury the hatchet, and leave it to those who might choose to be Christians to adopt the ceremonies of that religion, whilst for himself, and those who thought like him, he claimed the privilege to follow the faith of his fathers. Whereupon, and as had been promised him at Washington, the council unanimously replaced him in the office of chief, which he held till his death, which happened soon after. It is due to him to state, that a cause, which has retarded the progress of Christianity in all lands lying adjacent to Christian nations, naturally influenced his mind. He saw many individuals in Christendom, who were worse than Pagans. He did not know that few of these professed to be Christians, and that a still smaller number practised the precepts of our religion; but judging them in the mass, he saw little that was desirable in the moral character of the whites, and nothing inviting in their faith. It was with these views, that Red Jacket, in council, in reply to the proposal to establish a mission among his people, said with inimitable severity and shrewdness, "Your talk is fair and good. But I propose this. Go, try your hand in the town of Buffalo, for one year. They need missionaries, if you can do what you say. If in that time you shall have done them any good, and made them any better, then we will let you come among our people."

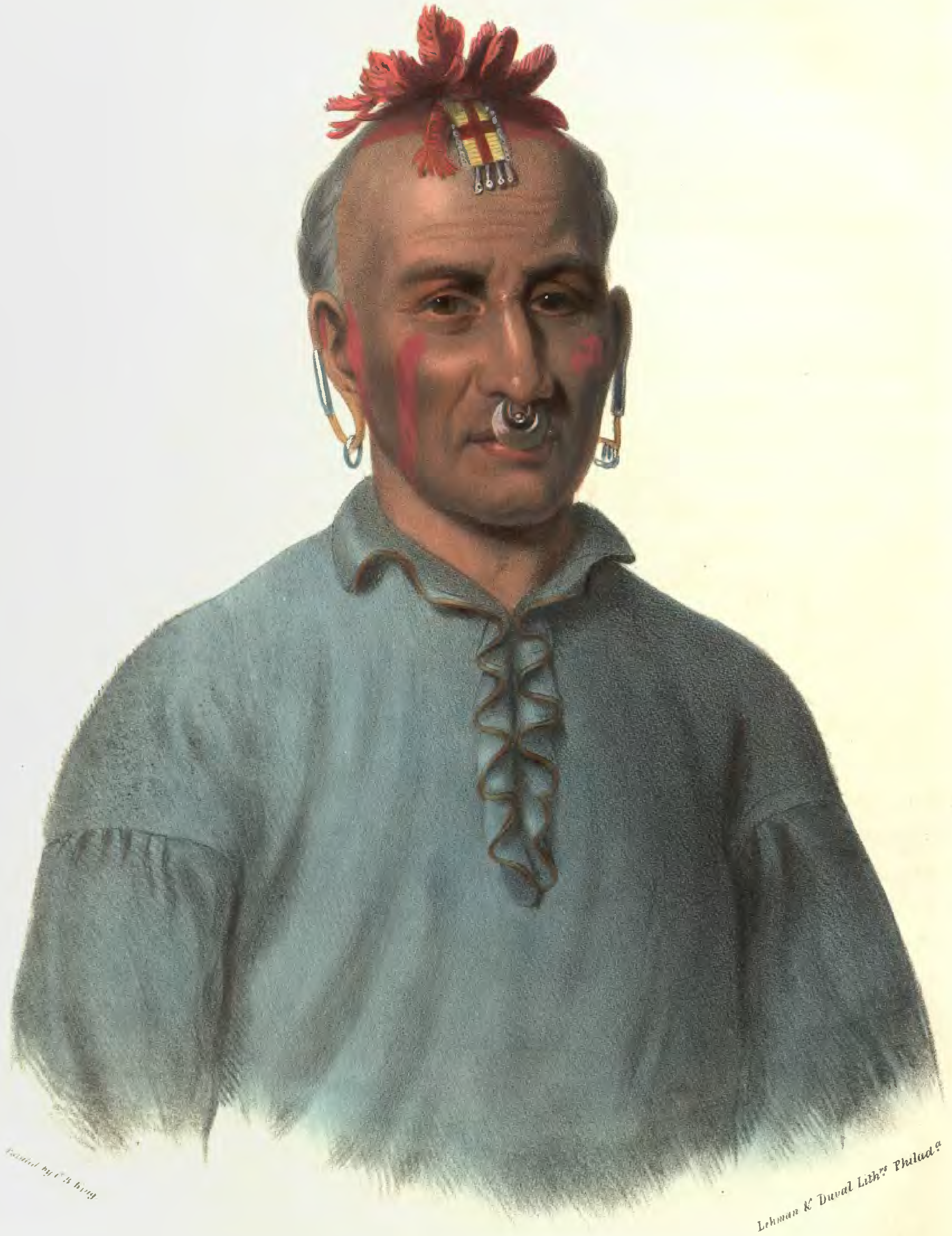
A gentleman, who saw Red Jacket in 1820, describes him as being then apparently sixty years old. He was dressed with much taste, in the Indian costume throughout, but had not a savage look. His form was erect, and not large; and his face noble. He wore a blue dress, the upper garment cut after the fashion of a hunting shirt; with blue leggins, very neat moccasins, a *red jacket*, and a girdle of red about his waist. His eye was fine, his forehead lofty and capacious, and his bearing calm and dignified. Previous to entering into any conversation with our informant, who had been introduced to him under the most favourable auspices, he inquired, "what are you, a gambler, (meaning a land speculator,) a sheriff, or a black coat?" Upon ascertaining that the interview was not sought for any specific object, other than that of seeing and conversing with himself, he became easy and affable, and delivered his sentiments freely on the subject which had divided his tribe, and disturbed himself, for many years. "He said that he had no doubt that Christianity was good for white people, but that the red men were a different race, and required a different religion. He believed that Jesus Christ was a good man, and that the whites should all be sent to hell for killing him; but the red men having no hand in his death, were clear of that crime. The Saviour was not sent to them, the atonement not made for them, nor the Bible given to them, and therefore, the Christian religion was not intended for them. If the Great Spirit had intended they should be Christians, he would have made his revelation to them as well as to the whites; and not having made it, it was clearly his will that they should continue in the faith of their fathers."

The whole life of the Seneca chief was spent in vain endeavours to preserve the independence of his tribe, and in active opposition as well to the plans of civilisation proposed by the benevolent, as to the attempts at encroachment on the part of the mercenary. His views remained unchanged and his mental powers unimpaired, to the last. The only weakness, incident to the degenerate condition of his tribe, into which he permitted himself to fall, was that of intoxication. Like all Indians, he loved ardent spirits, and although his ordinary habits were temperate, he occasionally gave himself up to the dreadful temptation, and spent several days in succession, in continual drinking.

The circumstances attending his decease were striking, and we shall relate them in the language of one who witnessed the facts which he states. For some months previous to his death, time had made such ravages on his constitution as to render him fully sensible of his approaching dissolution. To that event he often adverted, and always in the language of philosophic calmness. He visited successively all his most intimate friends at their cabins, and conversed with them, upon the condition of the nation, in the most impressive and affecting manner. He told them that he was passing away, and his counsels would soon be heard no more. He ran over the history of his people from the most remote period to which his knowledge extended, and pointed out, as few could, the wrongs, the privations, and the loss of character, which almost of themselves constituted that history. "I am about to leave you," said he, "and when I am gone, and my warnings shall be no longer heard, or regarded, the craft and avarice of the white man will prevail. Many winters have I breasted the storm, but I am an aged tree, and can stand no longer. My leaves are fallen, my branches are withered, and I am shaken by every breeze. Soon my aged trunk will be prostrate, and the foot of the exulting foe of the Indian may be placed upon it in safety; for I leave none who will be able to avenge such an indignity. Think not I mourn for myself. I go to join the spirits of my fathers, where age cannot come; but my heart fails, when I think of my people, who are soon to be scattered and forgotten." These several interviews were all concluded with detailed instructions respecting his domestic affairs, and his funeral.

There had long been a missionary among the Senecas, who was sustained by a party among the natives, while Red Jacket denounced "the man in dark dress," and deprecated the feud by which his nation was distracted. In his dying injunctions to those around him, he repeated his wishes respecting his interment: "Bury me," said he, "by the side of my former wife; and let my funeral be according to the customs of our nation. Let me be dressed and equipped as my fathers were, that their spirits may rejoice in my coming. Be sure that my grave be not made by a white man; let them not pursue me there!" He died on the 20th of January, 1830, at his residence near Buffalo. With him fell the spirit of his people. They gazed upon his fallen form, and mused upon his prophetic warnings, until their hearts grew heavy with grief. The neighbouring missionary, with a disregard for the feelings of the bereaved, and the injunctions of the dead, for which it is difficult to account, assembled his party, took possession of the body, and conveyed it to their meeting house. The immediate friends of Red Jacket, amazed at the transaction, abandoned the preparations they were making for the funeral rites, and followed the body in silence to the place of worship, where a service was performed, which, considering the opinions of the deceased, was as idle as it was indecorous. They were then told, from the sacred desk, that, if they had any thing to say, they had now an opportunity. Incredulity and scorn were pictured on the face of the Indians, and no reply was made except by a chief called Green Blanket, who briefly remarked, "this house was built for the white man, the friends of Red Jacket cannot be heard in it." Notwithstanding this touching appeal, and the dying injunctions of the Seneca chief, his remains were taken to the grave prepared by the whites, and interred. Some of the Indians followed the corpse, but the more immediate friends of Red Jacket took a last view of their lifeless chief, in the sanctuary of that religion which he had always opposed, and hastened from a scene which overwhelmed them with humiliation and sorrow. Thus early did the foot of the white man trample on the dust of the great chief, in accordance with his own prophetic declaration.

The medal which Red Jacket wore, and which is faithfully copied in the portrait before the reader, he prized above all price. It was a personal present, made in 1792, from General Washington. He was never known to be without it. He had studied and comprehended the character of Washington, and placed upon this gift a value corresponding with his exalted opinion of the donor.



Painted by C. B. King

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Shawnee Chief

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the Eastern District of P^a

KISHKALWA.

KISHKALWA is nominally and legally the head chief of the Shawanoe nation, but is too far advanced in life to take any active part in its affairs. He is believed to be between eighty-six and ninety years of age, and is living, with a daughter, upon the Kansas river, although his band have settled in the neighbourhood of the Sabine. The family of this chief is numerous and very distinguished; he is one of seven brothers, all renowned warriors, one of whom was the celebrated Black Hoof, who died in 1831, at the advanced age of from ninety-five to one hundred years.

This chief was about seventeen years of age when he engaged, for the first time, in a war party; and on that occasion he made himself conspicuous for his bravery. The expedition was of a character which strikingly illustrates the history of savage life. The Shawanoes were a warlike tribe, that roved through the whole of the territory northwest of the Ohio, and were continually engaged in hostilities, at first with the English, and subsequently with their descendants, while they maintained friendly relations with the French. The latter occupied Fort Massac, a military station, on the northern shore of the Ohio, not far above its junction with the Mississippi; and were at variance with the Chickasaws, who lost no opportunity to do them an injury. Among other stratagems which were practised by these Indians, was one that was frequently adopted by all the tribes, and in which the savages were very successful. A party of warriors disguised in the skins of deer, or of bears, would appear creeping upon the shore of the river opposite the fort. The width of the stream was so great as to render it quite possible to practise the deception with good effect, even if the imitation of the animals had been less perfect than it really was. But the Indians, accustomed to notice the habits of the brute creation, and versed in all the strategy of sylvan sport, and border war, played their parts with admirable fidelity to nature. Sometimes the French saw a number of bears issuing from the forest which clothed the bank, and walking sluggishly over the narrow margin of sand that fringed the river; and sometimes a herd of deer was seen, half disclosed among the bushes, as if reclining in the shade, and gazing upon the placid stream. The ardent Frenchmen unsuspicious of danger, would cross the river hastily in pursuit of the supposed game, and fall into an ambuscade prepared by the Chickasaws. The Shawanese heard of several massacres which occurred in this manner, and determined to avenge their friends. A war party proceeded secretly to the neighbourhood of the fort, and waited for the appearance of the counterfeit game, which they knew could not impose upon them, however it had deceived the Europeans. It was not long before the trick which had often proved successful was again attempted; the mimic animals appeared upon the shore; the French soldiers, apprised of the plan of their allies, busied themselves in preparing a boat as if to cross the river, while the Shawanese having made a circuit through the woods, and passed the river at a distant point, threw themselves into the rear of the enemy. The Chickasaws were surprised and defeated with great loss. On such expeditions, the *medicine bag*, supposed to possess supernatural virtues, is carried, during the march from home, by the leader of the enterprise, whose station is in the van of the party; but on the return, this mysterious bag is borne by the warrior who has acquired the greatest distinction during that expedition, or, in some cases, by him who killed the first enemy, and the person thus honoured marches foremost. The young Kishkalwa, on this occasion, returned in the proud station of bearer of the medicine bag.

Another adventure occurred a year or two afterwards, the recital of which will serve to throw some light, as well on the character of Kishkalwa, as on the peculiarities of the Indian. The beautiful and fertile country, which now forms the State of Kentucky, was not, previous to its occupation by the whites, inhabited by any tribe of Indians, but was a common hunting ground, and battle field, for the various surrounding tribes, whose fierce conflicts gave to this lovely region the name of "the dark and bloody ground." The Indian who ventured among those forests, was prepared alike for the chase, and for war. The daring spirit of the young Kishkalwa led him into Kentucky, to hunt the buffalo, then abundant on the southern shore of the Ohio; but before he had succeeded in getting any game, he was discovered, and pursued, by a party of hostile Indians. Being alone, resistance would have been unavailing, and his only hope of escape was in flight. While running with great speed through the woods, a vestment which constituted his only article of clothing, became entangled in the bushes, and was torn off; but as the pursuit was very hot, he had not time to recover it. Having reached the river opposite Fort Massac, he tied his gun to his head, with his long hair, and swam across. Among the Shawanese it is highly disreputable in a warrior to throw away his arms or clothing, when in flight from an enemy, as the act indicates cowardice, and supplies a trophy to the pursuer. "None," they say, "but an Osage, will thus disencumber himself, that he may run the faster from his foes." When Kishkalwa, therefore, arrived in safety among his friends, who had seen his pursuers following him to the water's edge, they no sooner noticed the absence of the garment, than a number of jokes were passed at his expense. He explained the manner of the loss, and the urgency of the case, but his companions perceiving that he was annoyed, affected not to be satisfied, and deplored with mock gravity, that so fine a young man, should be so destitute of activity as to be obliged to throw away his clothes in order to outrun his enemies.

As the accusation implied a want of courage, Kishkalwa said that he would show that he was no coward. Accordingly he set off, a few days afterwards, *alone*, in search of some enemy on whom he could prove his prowess. In the forest of Kentucky, late in the night, he discovered a fire, by which slept two Indians, who were easily distinguished as belonging to a hostile tribe. He approached near to them with a stealthy tread, then crouching like the panther, waited according to the custom of the Indian, until the first indications of the approaching dawn of day; when taking a deliberate aim he shot one of his foemen, and rushing upon the other, despatched him instantly with the tomahawk. This exploit gained him great credit; although it would seem characterised only by the lowest species of cunning, and to be destitute of all the higher attributes of warfare, it was, according to the notions of the savage, not only in exceedingly good taste, but a fine specimen of courage and military talent; for the Indian awards the highest honor to the success which is gained at the least expense, and considers every stratagem meritorious, which leads to the desired result. Still his companions continued to jeer him upon the loss of a garment in the former adventure. Nettled by these jokes, and determined to retrieve his reputation, he secretly raised a party of four or five young men, whom he led on another expedition. They were successful and returned with seventeen scalps.

Those who imagine that the apparent apathy of the Indian character indicates the entire absence of a propensity for mirth, will be surprised to learn that the remarkable success which attended the arms of Kishkalwa, failed to blunt the point of that unhappy jest, which had become a source of serious inconvenience to this great warrior. The pertinacity with which his companions continued to allude to this subject, evinces on their part, a strong perception of the ludicrous, and a relish for coarse raillery, which balanced even their decided admiration of warlike qualities, while the extreme sensitiveness of Kishkalwa, shows how highly the Indian prizes his honor. Successful as he had been, he conceived it necessary that the blood of his enemies should continue to flow, to blot out a stain affixed upon him in the mere wantonness of boisterous humour. He now took the field in a more imposing manner; and having raised a party of twenty-five warriors, went forth in pursuit of the enemies of his tribe, travelling only in the night, and lying in ambush during the day. They proceeded down the southern shore of the Ohio and Mississippi, until they reached the Iron Banks, near which they came upon an encampment of hostile Indians, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, women and children. Kishkalwa halted his party, and having reconnoitered the enemy, directed the mode of attack. His men were so stationed as to surround the camp, and remained concealed until the dawn of day, when, at a signal given, the dreadful war whoop was uttered by the whole in concert, and the assailants rushed in. The astonished enemy, believing themselves hemmed in by superior numbers, fled in every direction; thirty-three men were killed, and seventeen women and children taken prisoners. Kishkalwa returned in triumph with his captives and the scalps of the slain. On his arrival, many of the tribe who had lost their relatives in battle, clamorously demanded vengeance upon the prisoners; but Kishkalwa declared that not a drop of their blood should be spilt. He consented to the adoption of the captives into the families of those who had been killed in battle, and successfully protected these unfortunates from injury. Among them was a beautiful young woman, whom Kishkalwa presented to the chief, to be his wife, on condition that orders should be given, prohibiting the repetition of the jest which had so long galled his pride. The proclamation was accordingly made, in the manner in which all public acts are announced in the Indian villages, by a crier who passed about, declaring in a loud voice, that Kishkalwa having proved that he could not have thrown away his clothes out of fear, no one was permitted thereafter to repeat or allude to that event. The reader will decide, whether this warrior's success, or his judicious present to the chief, contributed most to relieve him from so annoying a dilemma.

Whatever might have been the effect upon his private character, or social intercourse, these successful expeditions, in which not a single life had been lost, established the reputation of Kishkalwa, as a brave, skilful, and fortunate warrior, and he was soon after raised to the dignity of principal Brave, or war chief. It may be proper to remark here, that, to this day, nothing so vexes the old chief, as an allusion to the story which distressed him so much in his youth, and that, although more than half a century has passed since the occurrence, it would not be safe in any, but an intimate friend, to mention it in his presence.

This chief took part in the great battle at Point Pleasant, between the Virginians under General Lewis, and a large Indian force, consisting of Shawanese, Delawares Mingoes, and other tribes; but unwilling to be again embroiled with the Americans, towards whom he was well disposed, or to take any part in the contest which was about to be commenced between Great Britain and her colonies, he removed with a part of the tribe, called the Sawekela band, to the south, in 1774, and settled among the Creeks. This band returned again to the shores of the Ohio, in 1790, but took no part in the war of 1794, nor in that of 1812, nor has this portion of the tribe ever been engaged against the Americans, since the decisive battle of Point Pleasant.

During the last war, a part of the Sauk and Fox nations, who had been in the habit of trading with the British, were removed from Illinois to the interior of Missouri, at their own request, that they might not be within the reach of British influence. But restless by nature, unable to remain neutral in time of war, and receiving no encouragement to join the Americans, who from principle declined employing the savages, they took up the hatchet against us, and after committing some depredations, fled to Canada. The alarm created by these hostilities, in which the Weas and Piankeshaws were believed to participate, induced the Governor of the Missouri Territory to call out the militia, and to request the assistance of the Shawanoe and Delaware Indians. A party of sixty-six warriors was accordingly raised by Kishkalwa, and the other chiefs, and placed under the command of General Dodge.

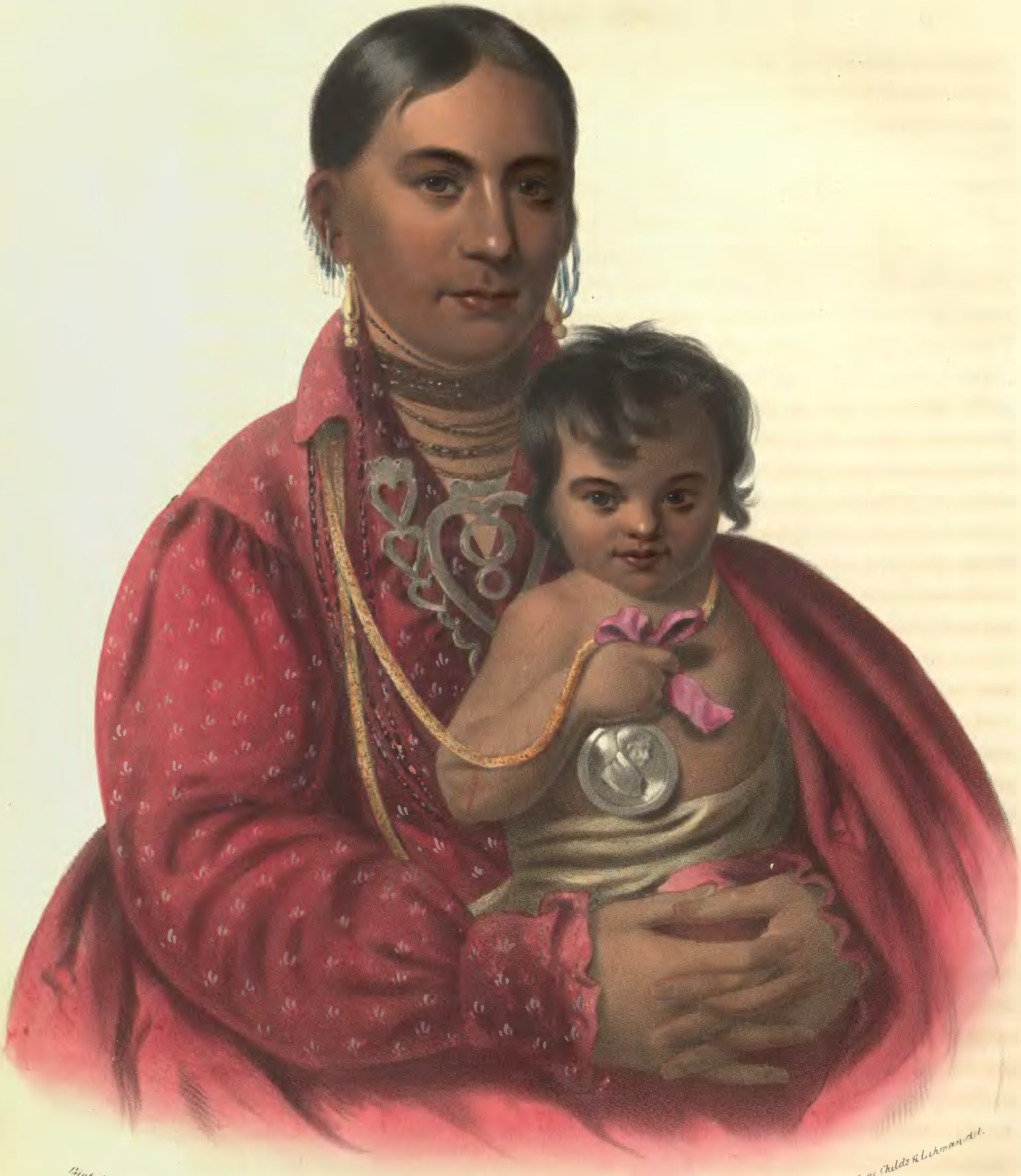
The Sauks and Foxes having fled before the arrival of the militia, a small fort was surrounded in which it was supposed that the Weas and Piankeshaws were concealed; but in the morning it was found that they too had retreated. They were pursued, overtaken, and made prisoners. The object of General Dodge, in their capture, was to protect and not to injure them. The inhabitants of the frontier are at all times quick to take umbrage at any supposed hostility on the part of the Indians, against whom they have long been accustomed to entertain a mingled feeling of fear and hatred; and believing that the party now in their power had been equally as guilty as the Sauks and Foxes, the militia were excited to such a state of indignation, that they could with difficulty be restrained from the perpetration of what they supposed to be a just revenge. General Dodge, with a decision that did him honor as a man and a soldier, immediately placed the captives under the protection of a disciplined volunteer company from St. Louis, and of the Indians under Kishkalwa. This resolute conduct had the desired effect; and no further molestation was offered to the unfortunate prisoners, who were trembling with dread. We have the testimony of a gentleman who was himself a volunteer in this expedition, that a finer set of men was seldom seen, than the band of Shawanese and Delawares, to which this anecdote has reference, and that their whole conduct during this campaign was most orderly, decorous, and proper.

Disappointed in the desired objects of their vengeance, the militia set fire to the fort which had been abandoned by the Weas and Piankeshaws, and gave vent to the wantonness of their excited feelings, by shooting a few dogs of the Indians that lingered about the premises. One of these faithful creatures was caught by a soldier, who so far forgot himself in the fury of the moment, as to throw the animal into the fire, from which it escaped, howling with pain. Some of the bystanders laughed; but Kishkalwa, perceiving that an Indian boy joined in the merriment, instantly checked him, and explained in a few words, the impropriety of making sport of the miseries of a helpless brute.

The last military adventure in which Kishkalwa engaged, was in a war undertaken by the Cherokees, Delawares, and Shawanese, against the Osages, in 1818. In a battle which was fought, and which resulted in the defeat of the Osages, this chief is represented as having displayed his usual bravery and prudence, although he must then have been burthened by the weight of upwards of eighty years. In attacking their enemies, it is customary with the Osages to rush to the onset with great impetuosity, uttering the savage yell with deafening concert, and endeavouring to win the battle by the terrours attending the first blow; but failing in this object they usually abandon the contest. All the Indian tribes, indeed, act upon this system, to a greater or less extent, seeking victory by cunning rather than force, and avoiding the hazard of a battle which must be contested upon equal terms. Kishkalwa, aware of this trait in the character of his race, and knowing that the Osages pursued this mode of warfare more invariably than his own followers, exhorted them to stand firmly, and resist the first attack; "do not heed their shouts," said he; "they are but the yells of cowardly wolves, who, as soon as they come near enough to look you in the eye, will flee; while if you turn your backs on them, they will devour you." This counsel evinced the sagacity of one who had observed human nature, and could adapt his own measures to the circumstances in which he was placed. The result verified his prediction. The Osages, twice as numerous as the party of Kishkalwa, rushed to the attack with their usual impetuosity, and with loud shouts; but failing in making an impression in the first onset, recoiled before the steady firmness of their opponents, and fled in confusion, suffering great loss in killed and prisoners.

Kishkalwa visited Washington in 1825, as one of a delegation of chiefs, accompanied by Colonel Menard, a highly respectable agent of the Indian department, to whom we are indebted for the details included in the foregoing biographical sketch.

We have said that this chief was the brother of Black Hoof; but we are not certain that they might not have been cousins-german, as the term *brother* is applied among the Indians to this degree of relationship.



Painted by C B King

On Stone Childs & Lehman del.

MO-HON-GO = OSAGE WOMAN.

Philadelphia Published by Key & Biddle.

From Childs & Lehman Lith Press

Entered according to act of Congress in the year [illegible] by Key & Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

MOHONGO.

OF the early life of this female we know nothing; and, perhaps, little could be gathered, that would be worthy of record. She is interesting on account of the dignity and beauty of her countenance, and the singular nature of her adventures since her marriage. She was one of a party of seven of her tribe, who were decoyed from the borders of Missouri, by an adventurer, whose intention was to exhibit them in Europe, for the purpose of gain. He was a Frenchman, and was assisted in his design by a half breed Indian, who acted as interpreter between him and the deluded victims of his mercenary deception. The Indians were allured from home by the assurance that curiosity and respect for the Indian character, would make them so welcome in Europe, that they would be received with distinguished marks of respect, and loaded with valuable presents. It is not probable that they understood that they were to be shown for money, or that they had any knowledge of the nature of such exhibitions; but it is obvious that their own views were mercenary, and that they were incited to travel by the alleged value of the presents which would probably be made them.

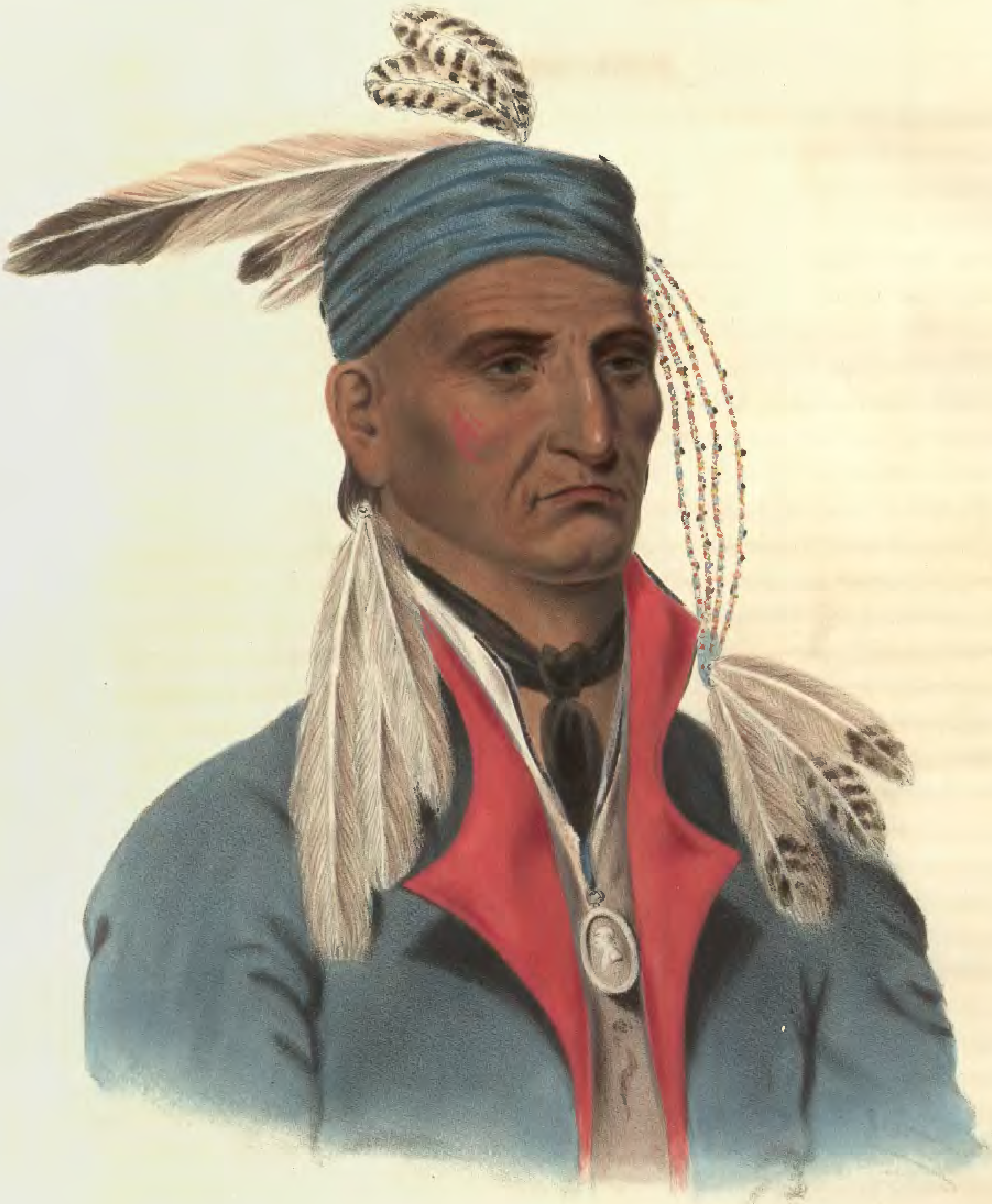
Whether any other arguments were used to induce these untutored savages to embark in an enterprise so foreign from their timid and reserved habits, we have been unable to discover. It is only known that the individual who seduced them from their native plains, assumed the character and dress of an American officer, and by this deception gained their confidence; and it is more than probable, that as they only knew him under this disguise, they were deceived into the belief that he was acting under the sanction of the government. Whatever may have been the pretence, it was a cruel deception; and it would be curious to know what were the feelings and the reflections of those wild savages, accustomed to roam uncontrolled through the deep forests, and over the boundless plains, when they found themselves among the habitations of an enlightened people, the objects of intense curiosity, and the prisoners of a mercenary keeper. The delusion under which they commenced their journey was probably not dispelled previous to their arrival at New York; those with whom they met on the way, supposed them to be proceeding to Washington, on a visit to the President; and as the Indians were ignorant of our language, it is not surprising that this singular device escaped detection.

At New York the party embarked for Europe. They visited Holland, Germany, and some other parts of the continent, and at last came to the French metropolis. Here the imposture was detected. The pretended American officer had been at Paris before; he was recognised by his creditors, stripped of his borrowed character and thrown into prison; while the wandering savages were so fortunate as to find a protector in Lafayette, whose affection for America was so great, that the native of our land, even though an illiterate Indian, was ever sure of a welcome under his hospitable roof. He supplied them with money, and caused arrangements to be made for their passage to the United States. During the voyage they were attacked by the small pox, and three of them died. Among the victims was the husband of Mohongo, who was now left to carry back to her people, with the varied tale of her adventures, the bitter story of her bereavement.

The party landed at Norfolk, in Virginia, whence they were sent to Washington city. They were kindly received at the seat of government, where directions were given for their hospitable entertainment during their stay, and for their safe conveyance to the Osage villages. They reached their forest home in safety, and have done us the justice to acknowledge that, although they suffered much from the treachery of one of our race, who allured them from the wigwams of their tribe, they were indebted to the white man for many acts of kindness and sympathy during their novel and adventurous journey. They profess to have been on the whole gratified with the expedition.

The likeness which we have copied, was taken at Washington, by order of the War Department, while Mohongo remained in that city. It is a faithful and striking representation of the original; and the contemplation of it, to one acquainted with the Indian character, gives rise to a train of thought which it may be well to notice. The ordinary expression of the countenance of the Indian woman, is subdued and unmeaning; that of Mohongo is lighted up with intelligence. It is joyous as well as reflective. It is possible that this difference may be accidental; and that Mohongo adventured upon her perilous journey, *in consequence* of possessing a mind of more than common vigour, or a bouyancy of spirit, not usual among her tribe. But we incline to a different theory. The Indian woman is rather the servant than the companion of man. She is a favourite and confidential servant, who is treated with kindness, but who is still an inferior. The life of the untamed savage affords little range for the powers of reflection; his train of thought is neither varied nor extensive; and as the females are confined to domestic duties, neither meddling in public affairs, nor mingling in that which we should call society, the exercise of their mental powers must be extremely limited. The Indian village affords but few diversions, and still fewer of the operations of industry, of business, or of ingenuity. The mind of the warrior is bent on war, or on the chase, while the almost undivided attention of the female is devoted to the procuring and preparation of food. In the moments of leisure, when the eye would roam abroad, and the mind unbend itself in the play of its powers of observation, a monotonous scenery is ever present. They have their mountains and plains, their woods and rivers, unchanged from year to year; and the blue sky above them subjected only to the varieties of storm and sunshine. Is it strange that the countenance of the Indian woman should be vacant, and her demeanour subdued?

Mohongo travelled in company with her husband. Constantly in his society, sharing with him the perils, the vicissitudes, and the emotions, incident to the novel scenes into which they were thrown, and released from the drudgery of menial occupation, she must have risen to something like the station of an equal. Perhaps when circumstances of embarrassment, or perplexing objects of curiosity, were presented, the superior tact and flexibility of the female mind became apparent, and her companions learned to place a higher estimation upon her character, than is usually awarded by the Indian to the weaker sex. Escaped from servile labour, she had leisure to think. New objects were continually placed before her eye; admiration and curiosity were often awakened in her mind; its latent faculties were excited, and that beautiful system of association which forms the train of rational thought, became connected and developed. Mohongo was no longer the drudge of a savage hunter, but his friend. Such are the inferences which seem to be fairly deducible, when contrasting the agreeable expression of this countenance, with the stolid lineaments of other females of the same race. If our theory be correct, the example before us affords a significant and beautiful illustration of the beneficent effects of civilisation upon the human mind.



SHIN-GA-BA-W'OSSIN,

Image stone.

On stone by Childs & Inman

Philadelphia, Published by Key & Biddle

From Childs & Inman's Lith Press

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1833 by Key & Biddle in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

SHINGABA W'OSSIN.

SHINGABA W'OSSIN, or *Image Stone*, was a Chippewa, and first chief of his band. In summer he lived on the banks of the St. Mary's, at the outlet of Lake Superior—in winter he retired with his band to his hunting grounds. Fish was his food in summer; in winter he subsisted on the carcasses of animals, whose fur was the great object of his winter's toils, it being the medium of exchange with the traders for blankets, strouds, calico, ammunition, vermilion, &c., and such articles of necessity or of ornament, as he and his people required.

Shingaba W'Ossin was one of the most influential men in the Chippewa nation. He was deservedly esteemed, not only by the Indians, but by the whites also, for his good sense, and respectful and conciliating deportment. In his person he was tall, well proportioned, and of a commanding and dignified aspect. In council he was remarkable for a deliberate and thoughtful manner; in social intercourse no less so for his cheerfulness. He was disposed to be familiar, yet never descended to frivolity. He was of the totem of the Crane, the ancient badge of the chiefs of this once powerful band.

War is the chief glory of the Indian. He who dissuades from war is usually regarded as a coward; but Shingaba W'Ossin was the uniform advocate of peace, yet his bravery was never questioned. Perhaps his exemption from the imputation of cowardice was owing to his having, when but a youth, joined several war parties against the Sioux, those natural and implacable enemies of his people, to reach whom he had to travel at least five hundred miles. He is said to have distinguished himself at the great battle on the St. Croix, which terminated the feud between the Chippewas and the Foxes. In that battle he fought under the northern Alaric, *Waab-Ojeeg*.

We hope to be excused for introducing, in this place, some remarks upon this extraordinary chieftain, especially as the few incidents we shall use are from our own work, published in 1827.

We made our voyage up Lake Superior in 1826. So late as that, the name of Waab-Ojeeg was never spoken but in connection with some tradition exemplifying his great powers as a chief and warrior. He was a man of discretion, and far in advance of his people in those energies of the mind which command respect, wherever and in whomsoever they are found. He was, like Pontiac and Tecumthe, exceedingly jealous of the white man. This jealousy was manifested when the hand of his daughter, *O-shaw-ous-go-day-way-gua,* was solicited by Mr. Johnson, the accomplished Irish gentleman, who resided so many years after at the Sault de St. Mary, and who was not better known for his intelligence and polished manners, than for his hospitality. He lived long enough to merit and receive the appellation of ***Patriarch of the Sault.*** This gentleman was a native of Dublin or Belfast, in Ireland. In the course of his travels he arrived at Montreal, when he determined to ascend the great chain of lakes to the head waters of Lake Superior. On arriving at Michael's Island he heard of Waab-Ojeeg, whose village lay across the strait which divides the island from the main. He made him a visit. Being well received he remained some time, formed an attachment to his daughter, and solicited permission to marry her. Waab-Ojeeg replied to his request thus:—"White man, I have noticed your behaviour. It has been correct. But, white man, ***your colour is deceitful.*** Of you, may I expect better things? You say you are going to return to Montreal—go; and if you return I shall be satisfied of your sincerity, and will give you my daughter." Mr. Johnson, being honest in his professions, went to Montreal and returned, when the chief fulfilled his promise. The amiable, excellent, and accomplished Mrs. Schoolcraft, wife of Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., so favourably known as a tourist and mineralogist, and a family of as interesting children as we met with in our travels, are the fruits of this marriage.

Waab-Ojeeg used to stimulate his warriors to battle by singing a favourite war song. Doubtless Shingaba W'Ossin, on the memorable occasion referred to, felt the stirring influence of this song. We received the following translation of it from Mr. Johnson, to whom the Chippewa language was quite familiar.

On that day when our heroes lay low, lay low,
On that day when our heroes lay low;
I fought by their side, and thought ere I died,
Just vengeance to take of the foe, the foe,
Just vengeance to take of the foe.

On that day when our chieftains lay dead, lay dead,
On that day when our chieftains lay dead;
I fought hand to hand, at the head of my band,
And here on my breast have I bled, have I bled,
And here on my breast have I bled.

Our chiefs shall return no more, no more,
Our chiefs shall return no more;
And their brothers in war, who can't show scar for scar,
Like women their fates shall deplore, deplore,
Like women their fates shall deplore.

Fine winters in hunting we'll spend, we'll spend,
Fine winters in hunting we'll spend;
Then our youth grown to men, to the war lead again,
And our days like our fathers we'll end, we'll end,
And our days like our fathers we'll end.

It is not surprising that, under such a leader, Shingaba W'Ossin should acquire fame sufficient to make good his claims to bravery in after life. Thus fortified at the point where the Indian, no less than the white man is peculiarly sensitive, he could counsel his band to cultivate peace, and attend to the more important concerns of hunting, without the danger of losing his influence over them. "If my hunters," he would say, "will not take the game, but will leave the chase and join the war parties, our women and children must suffer. If the game is not trapped, where will be our packs of furs? And if we have no furs, how shall we get blankets? Then when winter comes again we shall perish! It is time enough to fight when the war drum sounds near you—when your enemies approach—then it is I shall expect to see you painted for war, and to hear your whoops resound in the mountains; and then you will see me at your head with my arm bared—

> 'Just vengeance to take on the foe.'"

Besides thus wisely counselling his people to live in peace, and follow the chase, he gave much of his time to attending the public councils convened under the authority of our government. These councils, in those regions especially, had for their principal object the adjustment of boundaries between the tribes—encroachments upon each others' territory being a principal cause of war. Councils of pacification were held in 1825 at Prairie du Chien, on the Upper Mississippi; at the Fond du Lac Superior in 1826; and at the Butte des Morts, on the Fox river of Lake Michigan, in 1827. Shingaba W'Ossin attended each of these councils, and signed the treaties. We were present at the two last, and witnessed the good conduct and extraordinary influence of the subject of this brief memoir. At the council of Fond du Lac, Shingaba W'Ossin was the first to respond to the commissioners. He spoke as follows:

"*My relations*—Our fathers have spoken to us about the line made at the Prairie. With this I and my band are satisfied. You who live on the line are most interested. To you I leave the subject. The line was left unfinished last summer, but will be finished this.

"*My relations*—The land to be provided for my half breeds I will select. I leave it to you to provide your reserves for your own.

"*My friends*—Our fathers have come here to establish a school at the *Sault*. Our great father over the hills (meaning the President of the United States,) has said this would be well. I am willing. It may be a good thing for those who wish to send their children.

"*My brothers*—Our fathers have not come here to speak hard words to us. Do not think so. They have brought us bread to eat, clothing to wear, and tobacco to smoke.

"*My brothers*—Take notice. Our great father has been at much trouble to make us live as one family, and to make our path clear. The morning was cloudy. The Great Spirit has scattered those clouds. So have our difficulties passed away.

"*My friends*—Our fathers have come here to embrace their children. Listen to what they say. It will be good for you. If you have any copper on your lands, I advise you to sell it. It is of no use to us. They can make articles out of it for our use. If any one has any knowledge on this subject, I ask him to bring it to light.

"*My brothers*—Let us determine soon. We, as well as our fathers, are anxious to go home."

This talk was taken down as it was interpreted, and in the words of the interpreter. A good deal of the speaker's style is no doubt lost. Critics tell us that Pope, in his admirable translation of Homer, has failed to show the father of poetry to his readers in his original costume. It is not surprising, therefore, that an Indian interpreter should make the Indian talk like a white man. There is enough in this address of the old chief, however, to show that he was a man of sense and discretion. A few explanatory remarks may make this more apparent. The "line," to which he referred, was the proposed boundary between the Sioux and Chippewas. He and his band, living five hundred miles from it, were not so immediately interested as were those bands who bordered it. Hence, although he and his band were satisfied with it, he referred it to his "relations," who were more immediately concerned, and whose peace and lives depended upon its suitable and harmonious adjustment, to decide for themselves.

The next subject was one of great importance to the whole Chippewa nation. It had for some time engaged the attention of Shingaba W'Ossin; and the proposition originated with him. It was, that reservations of land should be laid off in the most genial and productive situations, and assigned to the half breeds, to be cultivated by them. The wisdom and humanity of the measure will appear, when the reader is informed that almost the whole country of the Chippewas is sterile, and that scarcely any vegetables do, or can grow in it. The soil is cold and barren; and winter pervades so much of the year, that if seed of any kind be sown, except in the most favourable situations, the frosts overtake and destroy the hoped for increase before it arrives at maturity. The Chippewas suffer greatly by reason of their climate, and when, from any cause, they fail in their hunts, many of them perish with cold and of starvation. The frequent recurrence of this calamity led Shingaba W'Ossin to consider how it might be provided against. He saw the military gardens at the Sault, and those of Mr. Johnson, producing, by the culture that was bestowed upon them, large crops of potatoes and other roots. It occurred to him, that if the half breeds of his nation could be induced to profit by such examples, they might husband away these products of the earth, and when the dreaded famine should threaten them, they could retire to the neighbourhood of those provisions and be preserved. In pursuance of his earnest entreaties, and seeing in the plan every thing to recommend it, and nothing to oppose it, the commissioners inserted an article in the treaty making the provision, and accompanied it with a schedule of the names of those half breeds that were given in by the chiefs of the various bands, and who it was intended should engage in this new employment. The persons, to whom it was proposed to make these grants, were prohibited the privilege of conveying the same, without the permission of the President of the United States.

This article in the treaty was not ratified by the Senate. So the old chief was saved the trouble of selecting situations of the half breeds of his band; as were his "relations," to whom he left it to "provide reserves" for theirs.

Shingaba W'Ossin was the patron of the school that has since been established at the Sault for the education of Indian children, and advised that the thousand dollar annuity, the only annuity the tribe receives, should be appropriated for its support. It was accordingly done. He was not an advocate for school knowledge in his own family, but remarked that some of the Chippewas might profit by it. In this he gave proof of his disinterestedness.

The largest mass of virgin copper, of which we have any knowledge, is in the Chippewa country. It is supposed to weigh from twenty-five hundred to three thousand pounds. The existence of this mass, and the fact that pieces of copper were brought in by the Indians who assembled from many parts of their country to attend the council, induced the belief that the country abounded in this metal. The commissioners endeavoured to obtain all the knowledge they could on this subject, and their inquiries were responded to by Shingaba W'Ossin, in the manner as indicated in his talk.

It may not be out of place to remark, that this huge specimen of virgin copper lies about thirty-five miles above the mouth of the Ontanagon of Lake Superior; and on the west bank of that river, a few paces only above low water mark. An intelligent gentleman, who accompanied a party sent by the commissioners from the Fond du Lac, for the purpose of disengaging this specimen of copper from its bed, and transporting it down the lakes to the Erie Canal, and thence to New York and Washington, says:— "It consists of pure copper, ramified in every direction through a mass of stone, (mostly serpentine, intermixed with calcareous spar) in veins of one to three inches in diameter; and in some parts exhibiting masses of pure metal of one hundred pounds weight."

It was found impossible, owing to "the channel of the river being intercepted by ridges of sandstone, forming three cataracts, with a descent in all, of about seventy feet," to remove this great natural curiosity. Specimens were broken from it, some of which we ascertained were nearly as pure as a silver dollar, losing, in fusion, a residuum of only one part in twenty-seven. Evidences were disclosed, in prying this rock of copper from its position, confirming the history of the past, which records the efforts of companies to extract wealth from the mines that were supposed to abound there. These evidences consisted in chisels, axes, and various implements which are used in mining. It is highly probable that this copper rock may have once been of larger dimensions— since those who worked at it, no doubt, took away specimens, as have all persons who have since visited it.

It was in reference to the wish of the commissioners to obtain every possible information respecting the existence of copper in the Chippewa country, that Shingaba W'Ossin was induced to say—"If any one has any knowledge on this subject, I ask him to bring it to light." In doing this, as will be seen in the sequel, he placed himself above the *superstitions* of his people, who regard this mass of copper as a *manitou.*

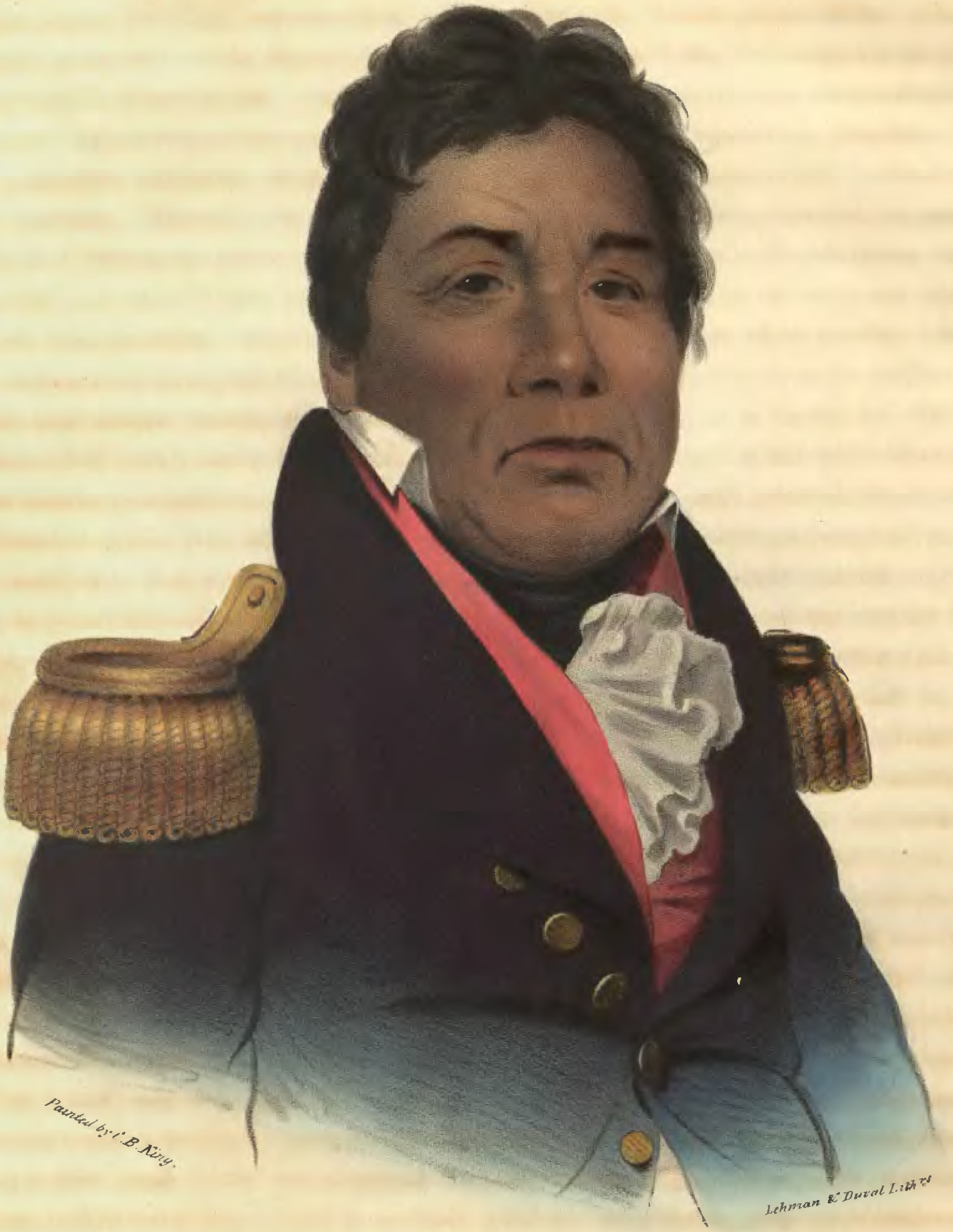
Being weatherbound at the portage of Point Kewewena, we had on opportunity of observing the habits of Shingaba W'Ossin; and occasionally to hear him talk. During this time the old chief made frequent visits to our tent, always in company with a young Indian who attended him. At this time he was a good deal concerned about a blindness which threatened him. He spoke principally of this, but never without saying something in favour of his attendant. Among other things, he said—"Father, I have not the eyes

I once had. I am now old. I think soon this great world will be hid from me. But the Great Spirit is good. I want you, father, to hear me. This young man is eyes to me, and hands too. Will you not be good to him?" At each visit, however, inflamed as were the old chief's eyes, he would, like other Indians, be most grateful for a little whiskey; and like them too, when he tasted a little, he wanted more. It is impossible to conceive the ratio with which their wants increase, after a first taste. The effects are maddening. Often, to enjoy a repetition of the beverage, have instances occurred, in which life itself has been taken, when it stood between the Indian and this cherished object of his delight. Shingaba W'Ossin would indulge in the use of this destructive beverage, occasionally; but even when most under its influence, he was harmless—so generally had the kindly feelings taken possession of him. On the occasion referred to, we found him to be gentle, obliging, and free from all asperities of manner or temper. He was then in his sixty-third year, and used to assist in the management of his canoe, and in all the business connected with the prosecution of his voyage. He kept company with us to the Fond du Lac; not always, however, encamping where we did. The old man and his party partook of our refreshments; and when he would meet with any of his people who had been taking fish he never failed to procure some, and always divided his good luck with us—appearing happy to have something to offer in return for our attentions to him.

Shingaba W'Ossin's father was named *Maid-O-Saligee.* He was the chief and chronicler of his tribe. With him died much of their traditionary information. He was also noted for the tales which he related for the amusement of the young. But he was a voluptuary. He married four wives, three of whom were sisters. By these wives he had twenty children. Each of the male children, in time, deemed himself a legitimate chief, and attached to himself some followers. Political divisions were the consequence. The harmony of the band was thus destroyed, and the posterity of the ancient chief scattered along the waters of the St. Mary's.

The superior intellect of Shingaba W'Ossin, in these times of contention for the supremacy, became manifest. He secured the respect and confidence of his band, and was at last acknowledged as the *Nittum*, or first man. His band became more and more attached to him, until on all hands the choice was admitted to be well ordered, and that he upon whom it had fallen merited the distinction. Having secured the general confidence, he counselled his charge in all their trials, and enabled them to overcome many difficulties, whilst by his kindness and general benevolence of character, he made himself beloved. He was on all occasions the organ for expressing the wants and wishes of his people, and through him also, they received both presents and advice from the officers and agents of our government.

During the late war, in 1813, Shingaba W'Ossin went to York in Canada, and had an interview with Proctor and Tecumthe. Nothing is known of the object or result of this interview, except that one of his brothers joined the British, and fought and fell in the battle of the Thames in Upper Canada. His death was deeply lamented by Shingaba W'Ossin—so much so as to induce the belief that he counselled, or at least acquiesced in, his joining the British standard.



Painted by C. B. King.

Lehman & Duval Lithrs

PUSH-MA-TA-HA,
Chactan Warrior.

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1835, by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

PUSHMATAHA.

THIS individual was a distinguished warrior of the Choctaw nation, and a fair specimen of the talents and propensities of the modern Indian. It will have been noticed, by those who have paid attention to Indian history, that the savage character is always seen in a modified aspect, among those of the tribes who reside in juxta-position with the whites. We are not prepared to say that it is either elevated, or softened, by this relation; but it is certainly changed. The strong hereditary bias of the wild and untamed rover of the forest, remains in prominent development, while some of the arts, and many of the vices of the civilised man, are engrafted upon them. The Choctaws have had their principal residence in that part of the country east of the Mississippi river, which now forms the State of Mississippi, and have had intercourse with the European race, from the time of the discovery of that region by the French, nearly two centuries ago. In 1820, that tribe was supposed to consist of a population of twenty-five thousand souls. They have always maintained friendly relations with the American people, and have permitted our missionaries to reside among them; some of them have addicted themselves to agriculture, and a few of their females, have intermarried with the white traders.

Pushmataha was born about the year 1764, and at the age of twenty was a captain, or a war chief, and a great hunter. In the latter occupation he often passed to the western side of the Mississippi, to hunt the buffalo, upon the wide plains lying towards our southern frontier. On one occasion, while hunting on the Red river, with a party of Choctaws, he was attacked by a number of Indians of a tribe called the Callageheahs, near the Spanish line, and totally defeated. He made his own escape, alone, to a Spanish settlement, where he arrived nearly starved; having, while on the way given a little horse, that he found grazing on the plains, for a single fish. He remained with the Spaniards five years, employing himself as a hunter, brooding over the plans of vengeance which he afterwards executed, and probably collecting the information necessary to the success of his scheme. Wandering back to the Choctaw country, alone, he came by stealth, in the night, to a little village of the enemies by whom he had been defeated, suddenly rushed in upon them, killed seven of the inhabitants, and set fire to the lodges, which were entirely consumed before the surviving occupants recovered from their alarm.

After this feat he remained in his own nation about six years, increasing his reputation as a hunter, and engaging occasionally in the affairs of the tribe. He then raised a party of his own friends, and led them to seek a further revenge for the defeat which still rankled in his bosom. Again he surprised one of their towns upon Red river, and killed two or three of their warriors without any loss on his own side. But engaging in an extensive hunt, his absence from home was protracted to the term of eight months. Resting from this expedition but ten days, he prevailed on another party of Choctaw warriors to follow his adventurous steps in a new enterprise against the same enemy, and was again victorious, bringing home six of the scalps of his foes, without losing a man. On this occasion he was absent seven or eight months. In one year afterwards he raised a new party, led them against the foe whom he had so often stricken, and was once more successful.

Some time before the war of 1812, a party of Creek Indians, who had been engaged in a hunting expedition, came to the Choctaw country, and burned the house of Pushmataha, who was in the neighbourhood intently occupied in playing ball, a game at which he was very expert. He was too great a man to submit to such an injury, and, as usual, immediate retaliation ensued. He led a party of Choctaws into the Creek country, killed several of that nation, and committed as great destruction of their property as was practicable in his rapid march; and he continued from time to time, until the breaking out of the war between the United States and Great Britain, to prosecute the hostilities growing out of this feud with relentless vigour; assailing the Creeks frequently with small parties, by surprise, and committing indiscriminate devastation upon the property or people of that tribe. Such are the quarrels of great men; and such have been the border wars of rude nations from the earliest times.

In the war that succeeded, he was always the first to lead a party against the British or their Indian allies; and he did much injury to the Creeks and Seminoles, during that contest. His military prowess and success gained for him the honorary title which he seems to have well deserved; and he was usually called *General* Pushmataha.

This chief was not descended from any distinguished family, but was raised to command, when a young man, in consequence of his talents and prowess. He was always poor, and when not engaged in war, followed the chase with ardour and success. He was brave and generous; kind to those who were necessitous, and hospitable to the stranger. The eagerness with which he sought to revenge himself upon his enemies, affords no evidence of ferocity of character; but is in strict conformity with the Indian code of honour, which sanctions such deeds as nobly meritorious.

It is curious to observe the singular mixture of great and mean qualities in the character of a barbarous people. The same man who is distinguished in war, and in the council, is often the subject of anecdotes which reflect little credit on his character in private life. We shall repeat the few incidents which have reached us, in the public and private history of Pushmataha.

He attended a council held in 1823, near the residence of Major Pitchlynn, a wealthy trader among the Choctaws, and at a distance of eighty miles from his own habitation.

The business was closed on the third of July, and on the following day, the anniversary of our independence, a dinner was given by Major Pitchlynn, to Col. Ward, the agent of the government of the United States, and the principal chiefs who were present. When the guests were about to depart, it was observed that General Pushmataha had no horse; and as he was getting to be too old to prosecute so long a journey on foot, the government agent suggested to Mr. Pitchlynn, the propriety of presenting him a horse. This was readily agreed to, on the condition that the chief would promise not to exchange the horse for whiskey; and the old warrior, mounted upon a fine young animal, went upon his way rejoicing. It was not long before he visited the Agency, on foot, and it was discovered that he had lost his horse in betting at ball-play. "But did you not promise Mr. Pitchlynn" said the agent, "that you would not sell his horse?" "I did so, in the presence of yourself and many others," replied the chief; "but I did not promise that I would not risk the horse on a game of ball."

It is said that during the late war, General Pushmataha, having joined our southern army with some of his warriors, was arrested by the commanding general for striking a soldier with his sword. When asked by the commander, why he had committed this act of violence, he replied that the soldier had been rude to his wife, and that he had only given him a blow or two with the side of the sword, to teach him better manners—"but if it had been you, general, instead of a private soldier," continued he, "I should have used the sharp edge of my sword, in defence of my wife, who has come so far to visit a great warrior like myself."

At a time when a guard of eight or ten men was kept at the Agency, one of the soldiers having become intoxicated, was ordered to be confined; and as there was no guard house, the temporary arrest was effected by tying the offender. Pushmataha seeing the man in this situation, inquired the cause, and on being informed, exclaimed "is that all?" and immediately untied the unfortunate soldier, remarking coolly, "many good warriors get drunk."

At a meeting of business at the Agency, at which several American gentlemen, and some of the chief men of the Choctaw nation were present, the conversation turned upon the Indian custom of marrying a plurality of wives. Pushmataha remarked that he had two wives, and intended to have always the same number. Being asked if he did not think the practice wrong, the chief replied, "No; is it not right that every woman should be married—and how can that be, when there are more women than men, unless some men marry more than one? When our Great Father the President, caused the Indians to be counted last year, it was found that the women were most numerous, and if one man could have but one wife, some women would have no husband."

In 1824, this chief was at the City of Washington, as one of a deputation sent to visit the President, for the purpose of brightening the chain of friendship, between the American people and the Choctaws. The venerable Lafayette, then upon his memorable and triumphal tour through the United States, was at the same metropolis, and the Choctaw chiefs came to pay him their respects. Several of them made speeches, and among the rest, Pushmataha addressed him in these words: "Nearly fifty snows have melted since you drew the sword as a companion of Washington. With him you fought the enemies of America. You mingled your blood with that of the enemy, and proved yourself a warrior. After you finished that war, you returned to your own country; and now you are come back to revisit a land, where you are honoured by a numerous and powerful people. You see every where the children of those by whose side you went to battle, crowding around you, and shaking your hand, as the hand of a father. We have heard these things told in our distant villages, and our hearts longed to see you. We have come, we have taken you by the hand, and are satisfied. This is the first time we have seen you; it will probably be the last. We have no more to say. The earth will part us forever."

The old warrior pronounced these words with an affecting solemnity of voice and manner. He seemed to feel a presentiment of the brevity of his own life. The concluding remark of his speech was prophetic. In a few days he was no more. He was taken sick at Washington, and died in a strange land. When he found that his end was approaching, he called his companions around him, and desired them to raise him up, to bring his arms, and to decorate him with all his ornaments, that his death might be that of a man. He was particularly anxious that his interment should be accompanied with military honours, and when a promise was kindly given that his wishes should be fulfilled, he became cheerful, and conversed with composure until the moment when he expired without a groan. In conversation with his Indian friends shortly before his death, he said, "I shall die, but you will return to our brethren. As you go along the paths, you will see the flowers, and hear the birds sing, but Pushmataha will see them and hear them no more. When you shall come to your home, they will ask you, *where is Pushmataha?* and you will say to them, *he is no more.* They will hear the tidings like the sound of the fall of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods."

The only speech made by Pushmataha, on the occasion of his visit to Washington, was the following. It was intended by him to be an opening address, which, had he lived, he would doubtless have followed by another more like himself. We took it down as he spoke it. The person addressed was the Secretary of War.

"*Father*—I have been here some time. I have not talked—have been sick. You shall hear me talk to-day. I belong to another district. You have no doubt heard of me—*I am Pushmataha.*

"*Father*—When in my own country, I often looked towards this Council House, and wanted to come here. I am in trouble. I will tell my distresses. I feel like a small child, not half as high as its father, who comes up to look in his father's face, hanging in the bend of his arm, to tell him his troubles. So, Father, I hang in the bend of your arm, and look in your face, and now hear me speak.

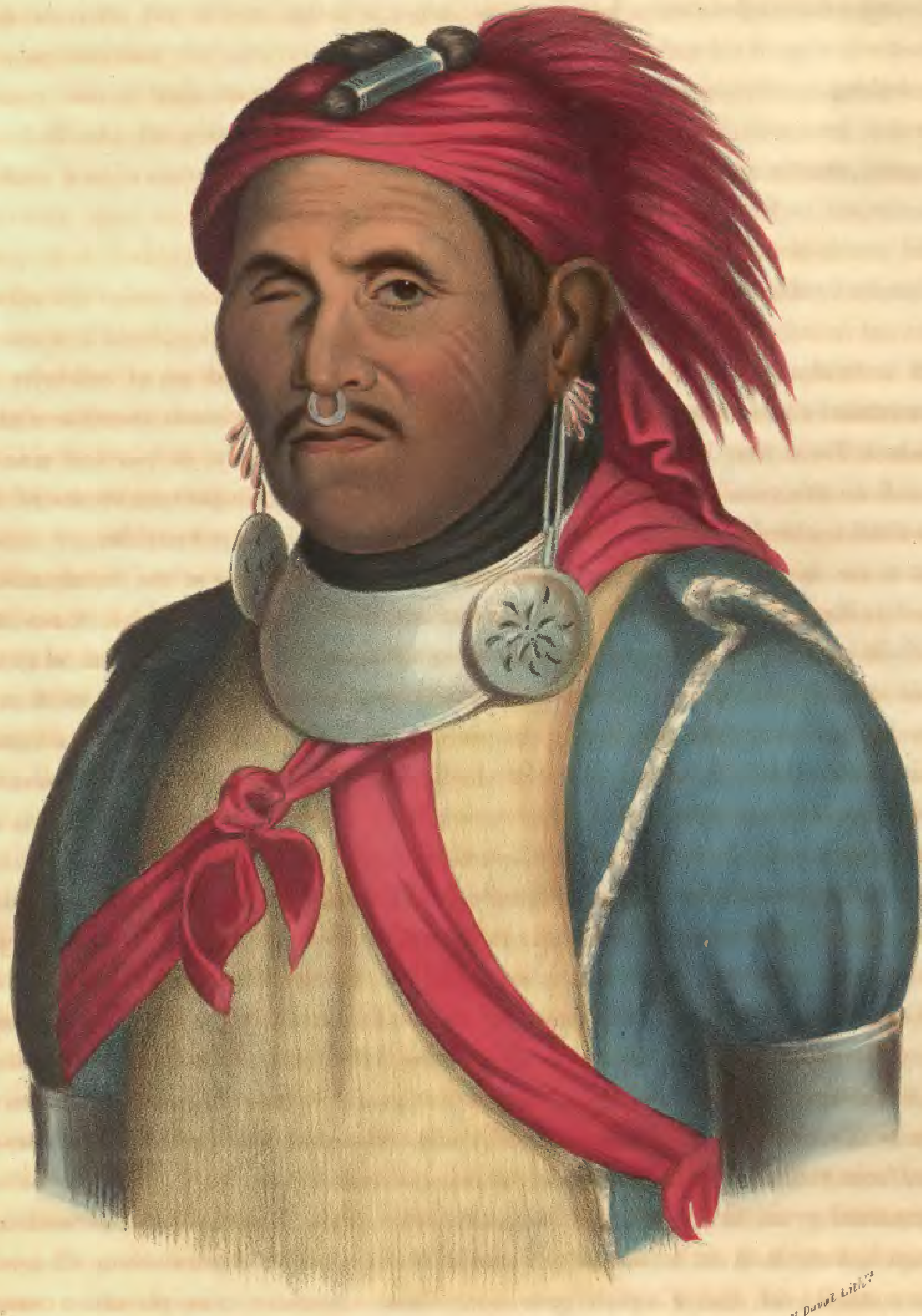
"*Father*—When I was in my own country, I heard there were men appointed to talk to us. I would not speak there; I chose to come here, and speak in this beloved house. I can boast, and say, and tell the truth that none of my fathers, or grand fathers, nor any Choctaw ever drew bows against the United States. They have always been friendly. We have held the hands of the United States so long, that our nails are long like birds claws; and there is no danger of their slipping out.

"*Father*—I have come to speak. My nation has always listened to the applications of the white people. They have given of their country till it is very small. I repeat the same about the land east of the Tombigby. I came here when a young man to see my Father Jefferson. He told me if ever we got in trouble we must run and tell him. I am come. This is a friendly talk; it is like a man who meets another and says, how do you do? Another will talk further."

The celebrated John Randolph, in a speech upon the floor of the Senate, alluded thus to the forest chieftain, whose brief memoirs we have attempted to sketch: "Sir, in a late visit to the public grave yard, my attention was arrested by the simple monument of the Choctaw Chief Pushmataha. He was, I have been told by those who knew him, one of nature's nobility; a man who would have adorned any society. He lies quietly by the side of our statesmen and high magistrates in the region—for there is one such—where the red man and the white man are on a level. On the sides of the plain shaft that marks his place of burial, I read these words: '*Pushmataha, a Choctaw Chief lies here. This monument to his memory is erected by his brother chiefs, who were associated with him in a delegation from their nation, in the year* 1824, *to the government of the United States. Pushmataha was a warrior of great distinction. He was wise in council, eloquent in an extraordinary degree; and on all occasions, and under all circumstances, the white man's friend. He died in Washington, on the* 24*th of December*, 1824, *of the croup, in the* 60*th year of his age.*'" Among his last words were the following: "When I am gone let the big guns be fired over me."

This chief had five children. His oldest son died at the age of 21, after having completed an excellent English education. The others were young, at the time of the decease of their father. A medal has been sent by the President to the oldest surviving son, as a testimony of respect for the memory of a warrior, whose attachment to our government was steady and unshaken, throughout his life.

The day after the funeral of Pushmataha, the deputation visited the office in charge of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The countenances of the chiefs wore a gloom which such a loss was well calculated to create. Over the face of one of the deputation, however, was a cloud darker than the rest, and the expression of his face told a tale of deeper sorrow. Ask that young man, said the officer in charge of the Bureau, what is the matter with him? The answer was, "*I am sorry.*" Ask him what makes him sorry? The loss, the answer was expected to be, of our beloved chief—But no—it was, "*I am sorry it was not me.*" Ask him to explain what he means by being sorry that it was not him. The ceremonies of the funeral, the reader will bear in mind were very imposing. The old chief had said, "when I am gone, let the big guns be fired over me;" and they were fired. Beside the discharge of minute guns on the Capitol Hill, and from the ground contiguous to the place of interment, there was an immense concourse of citizens, a long train of carriages, cavalry, military, bands of music, the whole procession extending at least a mile in length; and there were thousands lining the ways, and filling the doors and windows, and then the military honours at the grave, combined to produce in this young chief's mind a feeling of regret that he had not been, himself, the subject of these honours—Hence, his reply—"***I am sorry it was not me;***" and so he explained himself.



Lehman & Duval Lith'rs

ELS-KWAU-TA-WAW,

The open Door.

Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year [illegible] by E. C. Biddle in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

TENSKWAUTAWAW.

THIS individual is a person of slender abilities, who acquired great celebrity from the circumstances in which he happened to be placed, and from his connection with the distinguished Tecumthe, his brother. Of the latter, unfortunately, no portrait was ever taken; and, as the two brothers acted in concert in the most important events of their lives, we shall embrace what we have to say of both, in the present article.

We have received, through the politeness of a friend, a narrative of the history of these celebrated Indians, dictated by the Prophet himself, and accurately written down at the moment. It is valuable as a curious piece of autobiography, coming from an unlettered savage, of a race remarkable for tenacity of memory, and for the fidelity with which they preserve and transmit their traditions, among themselves; while it is to be received with great allowance, in consequence of the habit of exaggeration which marks the communications of that people to strangers. In their intercourse with each other, truth is esteemed and practised; but, with the exception of a few high minded men, little reliance is to be placed upon any statement made by an Indian to a white man. The same code which inculcates an inviolable faith among themselves, justifies any deception towards an enemy, or one of an alien race, for which a sufficient motive may be held out. We know, too, that barbarous nations, in all ages, have evinced a decided propensity for the marvellous, which has been especially indulged in tracing the pedigree of a family, or the origin of a nation. With this prefatory caution, we proceed to give the story of Tenskwautawaw, as related by himself—compiled, however, in our own language, from the loose memoranda of the original transcriber.

His paternal grandfather was a Creek, who, at a period which is not defined in the manuscript before us, went to one of the southern cities, either Savannah or Charleston, to hold a council with the English governor, whose daughter was present at some of the interviews. This young lady had conceived a violent admiration for the Indian character; and, having determined to bestow herself upon some "warlike lord" of the forest, she took this occasion to communicate her partiality to her father. The next morning, in the council, the governor inquired of the Indians which of them was the most expert hunter; and the grandfather of Tecumthe, then a young and handsome man, who sate modestly in a retired part of the room, was pointed out to him. When the council broke up for the day, the governor asked his daughter if she was really so partial to the Indians as to prefer selecting a husband from among them, and finding that she persisted in this singular predeliction, he directed her attention to the young Creek warrior, for whom, at first sight, she avowed a decided attachment. On the following morning the governor announced to the Creeks, that his daughter was disposed to marry one of their number; and, having pointed out the individual, added, that his consent would be given. The chiefs, at first, very naturally, doubted whether the governor was in earnest; but, upon his assuring them that he was sincere, they advised the young man to embrace the lady and her offer. He was not so ungallant as to refuse; and, having consented to the fortune that was thus buckled on him, was immediately taken to another apartment, where he was disrobed of his Indian costume by a train of black servants, washed, and clad in a new suit, and the marriage ceremony was immediately performed.

At the close of the council the Creeks returned home, but the young hunter remained with his wife. He amused himself in hunting, in which he was very successful, and was accustomed to take a couple of black servants with him, who seldom failed to bring in large quantities of game. He lived among the whites, until his wife had borne him two daughters and a son. Upon the birth of the latter, the governor went to see his grandson, and was so well pleased that he called his friends together, and caused thirty guns to be fired. When the boy was seven or eight years old the father died, and the governor took charge of the child, who was often visited by the Creeks. At the age of ten or twelve he was permitted to accompany the Indians to their nation, where he spent some time; and, two years after, he again made a long visit to the Creeks, who then, with a few Shawanoes, lived on a river called Pauseekoalaakee, and began to adopt their dress and customs. They gave him an Indian name, Pukeshinwau, which means, *something that drops down;* and, after learning their language, he became so much attached to the Indian mode of life, that when the governor sent for him he refused to return. He married a Creek woman, but afterwards discarded her, and united himself with Methoataaskee, a Shawanoe, who was the mother of Tecumthe, and our narrator, the Prophet. The oldest son by this marriage was Cheeseekau; and, six years afterwards, a daughter was born, who was called Menewaulaakoosee; then a son, called Sauawaseekau, soon after whose birth, the Shawanoes determined to remove to other hunting grounds. His wife, being unwilling to separate from her tribe, Pukeshinwau accompanied them, after first paying a visit to his grandfather. At parting, the governor gave him a written paper, and told him, that upon showing it at any time to the Americans, they would grant any request which he might make—but that he need not show it to French traders, as it would only vex them, and make them exclaim, *sacre Dieu.* His family, with about half the Shawanoes, then removed to old Chilicothe; the other half divided again, a part remaining with the Creeks, and the remainder going beyond the Mississippi. Tecumthe was born on the journey. Pukeshinwau was killed at the battle of Point Pleasant, in the autumn of 1774, and the Prophet was born the following winter.

The fourth child of this family was Tecumthe—the fifth, Nehaaseemoo, a boy—and the sixth, the Prophet, whose name was, originally, Laulewaasikaw, but was changed when he assumed his character of Prophet, to Tenskwautawaw, or the *Open door.* Tecumthe was ten years older than the Prophet; the latter was one of three brothers, born at a birth, one of whom died immediately after birth, while the other, whose name was Kumskaukau, lived until a few years ago. The eldest brother had a daughter, who, as well as a daughter of Tecumthe, is living beyond the Mississippi. No other descendant of the family remains, except a son of Tecumthe, who now lives with the Prophet.

Fabulous as the account of the origin of this family undoubtedly is, the Prophet's information as to the names and ages of his brothers and sisters may be relied upon as accurate, and as affording a complete refutation of the common report, which represents Tenskwautawaw and Tecumthe as the offspring of the same birth.

The early life of the Prophet was not distinguished by any important event, nor would his name ever have been known to fame, but for his connection with his distinguished brother. Tecumthe was a person of commanding talents, who gave early indications of a genius of a superior order.* While a boy he was a leader among his playmates, and was in the habit of arranging them in parties for the purpose of fighting sham battles. At this early age his vigilance, as well as his courage, is said to have been remarkably developed in his whole deportment. One only exception is reported to have occurred, in which this leader, like the no less illustrious Red Jacket, stained his youthful character by an act of pusillanimity. At the age of fifteen he went, for the first time, into battle, under the charge of his elder brother, and at the commencement of the engagement ran off, completely panic stricken. This event, which may be considered as remarkable, in the life of an individual so conspicuous through his whole after career for daring intrepidity, occurred on the banks of Mad River, near the present site of Dayton. But Tecumthe possessed too much pride, and too strong a mind, to remain long under the disgrace incurred by a momentary weakness, and he shortly afterwards distinguished himself in an attack on some boats descending the Ohio. A prisoner, taken on this occasion, was burnt, with all the horrid ceremonies attendant upon this dreadful exhibition of savage ferocity; and Tecumthe, shocked at a scene so unbecoming the character of the warrior, expressed his abhorrence in terms so strong and eloquent, that the whole party came to the resolution that they would discontinue the practice of torturing prisoners at the stake. A more striking proof of the genius of Tecumthe could not be given; it must have required no small degree of independence and strength of mind, to enable an Indian to arrive at a conclusion so entirely at variance with all the established usages of his people; nor could he have impressed others with his own novel opinions without the exertion of great powers of argument. He remained firm in the benevolent resolution thus early formed; but we are unable to say how far his example conduced to the extirpation of the horrid rite to which we have alluded, and which is now seldom, if at all, practised. Colonel Crawford, who was burned in 1782, is the last victim to the savage propensity for revenge, who is known to have suffered this cruel death.

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* For most of our facts, in relation to Tecumthe, we are indebted to Benjamin Drake, Esq., of Cincinnati, who is preparing an extended memoir of that chief. Should he complete the work, it will, doubtless, be compiled with accuracy and written with elegance.

Tecumthe seems to have been connected with his own tribe by slender ties, or to have had a mind so constituted as to raise him above the partialities and prejudices of clanship, which are usually so deeply rooted in the Indian breast. Throughout his life he was always acting in concert with tribes other than his own. In 1789, he removed, with a party of Kickapoos, to the Cherokee country; and, shortly after, joined the Creeks, who were then engaged in hostilities with the whites. In these wars, Tecumthe became distinguished, often leading war parties—sometimes attaked in his camp, but always acquitting himself with ability. On one occasion, when surrounded in a swamp, by superior numbers, he relieved himself by a masterly charge on the whites; through whose ranks he cut his way with desperate courage. He returned to Ohio immediately after Harmar's defeat, in 1791; he headed a party sent out to watch the movements of St. Clair, while organising his army, and is supposed to have participated in the active and bloody scenes which eventuated in the destruction of that ill starred expedition.

In 1792, Tecumthe, with ten men, was attacked by twenty-eight whites, under the command of the celebrated Simon Kenton, and, after a spirited engagement, the latter were defeated; and, in 1793, he was again successful in repelling an attack by a party of whites, whose numbers were superior to his own.

The celebrated victory of General Wayne, in which a large body of Indians, well organised, and skilfully led, was most signally defeated, took place in 1794, and produced an entire change in the relations then existing between the American people and the aborigines, by crushing the power of the latter at a single blow, and dispersing the elements of a powerful coalition of the tribes. In that battle, Tecumthe led a party, and was with the advance which met the attack of the infantry, and bore the brunt of the severest fighting. When the Indians, completely overpowered, were compelled to retreat, Tecumthe, with two or three others, rushed on a small party of their enemies, who had a fieldpiece in charge, drove them from the gun, and cutting loose the horses, mounted them, and fled to the main body of the Indians.

In 1795, Tecumthe again raised a war party, and, for the first time, styled himself a chief, although he was never regularly raised to that dignity; and, in the following year, he resided in Ohio, near Piqua. Two years afterwards, he joined the Delawares, in Indiana, on White river, and continued to reside with them for seven years.

About the year 1806, this highly gifted warrior began to exhibit the initial movements of his great plan for expelling the whites from the valley of the Mississippi. The Indians had, for a long series of years, witnessed with anxiety the encroachments of a population superior to themselves in address, in war, and in all the arts of civil life, until, having been driven beyond the Alleghany ridge, they fancied that nature had interposed an impassable barrier between them and their oppressors. They were not, however, suffered to repose long in this imaginary security. A race of hardy men, led on step by step in the pursuit of game, and in the search of fertile lands, pursued the footsteps of the savage through the fastnesses of the mountains, and explored those broad and prolific plains, which had been spoken of before, in reports supposed to be partly fabulous, but which were now found to surpass in extent, and in the magnificence of their scenery and vegetation, all that travellers had written, or the most credulous had imagined. Individuals and colonies began to emigrate, and the Indians saw that again they were to be dispossessed of their choicest hunting grounds. Wars followed, the history of which we have not room to relate—wars of the most unsparing character, fought with scenes of hardy and romantic valour, and with the most heart rending incidents of domestic distress. The vicissitudes of these hostilities were such as alternately to flatter and alarm each party; but as year after year rolled away, the truth became rapidly developed, that the red men were dwindling and receding, while the descendants of the Europeans were increasing in numbers, and pressing forward with gigantic footsteps. Coalitions of the tribes began to be formed, but they were feebly organised, and briefly united. A common cause roused all the tribes to hostility, and the whole frontier presented scenes of violence. Harmer, St. Clair, and other gallant leaders, sent to defend the settlements, were driven back by the irritated savages, who refused to treat on any other condition than that which should establish a boundary to any farther advance of the whites. Their first hope was to exclude the latter from the valley of the Mississippi; but driven from this position by the rapid settlement of western Pennsylvania and Virginia, they assumed the Ohio river as their boundary, and proposed to make peace with General Wayne, on his agreeing to that stream as a permanent line between the red and white men. After their defeat by that veteran leader, all negociation for a permanent boundary ceased, the tribes dispersed, each to fight its own wars, and to strike for plunder or revenge, as opportunity might offer.

Tecumthe seems to have been, at this time, the only Indian who had the genius to conceive, and the perseverance to attempt, an extended scheme of warfare against the encroachment of the whites. His plan embraced a general union of all the Indians against all white men, and proposed the entire expulsion of the latter from the valley of the Mississippi. He passed from tribe to tribe, urging the necessity of a combination, which should make a common cause; and burying, for a time, all feuds among themselves, wage a general war against the invader who was expelling them, all alike, from their hunting grounds, and who would not cease to drive them towards the setting sun, until the last remnant of their race should be hurled into the great ocean of the West. This great warrior had the sagacity to perceive, that the traffic with the whites, by creating new and artificial wants among the Indians, exerted a powerful influence in rendering the latter dependent on the former; and he pointed out to them in forcible language, the impossibility of carrying on a successful war while they depended on their enemies for the supply of articles which habit was rendering necessary to their existence. He showed the pernicious influence of ardent spirits, the great instrument of savage degradation and destruction; but he also explained, that in using the guns, ammunition, knives, blankets, cloth, and other articles manufactured by the whites, they had raised up enemies in their own wants and appetites, more efficient than the troops of their oppressors. He urged them to return to the simple habits of their fathers—to reject all superfluous ornaments, to dress in skins, and to use such weapons as they could fabricate, or wrest by force from the enemy; and, setting the example, he lived an abstemious life, and sternly rejected the use of articles purchased from the traders.

Tecumthe was not only bold and eloquent, but sagacious and subtle; and he determined to appeal to the prejudices, as well as the reason, of his race. The Indians are very superstitious; vague as their notions are, respecting the Deity, they believe in the existence of a *Great Spirit,* to whom they look up with great fear and reverence; and artful men have, from time to time, appeared among them, who have swayed their credulous minds, by means of pretended revelations from Heaven. Seizing upon this trait of the Indian character, the crafty projector of this great revolution, prepared his brother Tenskwautawaw, or Ellsquatawa, (for the name is pronounced both ways,) to assume the character of a Prophet; and, about the year 1806, the latter began to have dreams, and to deliver predictions. His name, which, previous to this time, was Olliwachica, was changed to that by which he was afterwards generally known, and which signifies "*the open door*"—by which it was intended to represent him as *the way,* or door, which had been opened for the deliverance of the red people.

Instead of confining these intrigues to their own tribe, a village was established on the Wabash, which soon became known as the *Prophet's town,* and was for many years the chief scene of the plots formed against the peace of the frontier. Here the Prophet denounced the white man, and invoked the malediction of the Great Spirit upon the recreant Indian who should live in friendly intercourse with the hated race. Individuals from different tribes in that region—Miamis, Weas, Piankashaws, Kickapoos, Delawares, and Shawanoes collected around him, and were prepared to execute his commands. The Indians thus assembled, were by no means the most reputable or efficient of their respective tribes, but were the young, the loose, the idle—and here, as is the case in civilised societies, those who had least to lose were foremost in jeoparding the blood and property of the whole people. The chiefs held back, and either opposed the Prophet or stood uncommitted. They had, doubtless, intelligence enough to know that he was an impostor; nor were they disposed to encourage the brothers in assuming to be leaders, and in the acquisition of authority which threatened to rival their own. Indeed, all that portion of the surrounding tribes, which might be termed the *aristocratic,* the chiefs and their relatives, the aged men and distinguished warriors, stood aloof from a conspiracy which seemed desperate and hopeless, while the younger warriors listened with credulity to the Prophet, and were kindled into ardour by the eloquence of Tecumthe. The latter continued to travel from tribe to tribe, pursuing the darling object of his life, with incessant labour, commanding respect by the dignity and manliness of his character, and winning adherents by the boldness of his public addresses, as well as by the subtlety with which, in secret, he appealed to individual interest or passion.

This state of things continued for several years. Most of the Indian tribes were ostensibly at peace with the United States; but the tribes, though unanimous in their hatred against the white people, were divided in opinion as to the proper policy to be pursued, and distracted by intestine conflicts. The more prudent, deprecated an open rupture with our government, which would deprive them of their annuities, their traffic, and the presents which flowed in upon them periodically, while the great mass thirsted for revenge and plunder. The British authorities in Canada, alarmed at the rapid spread of our settlements, dispersed their agents along the frontier, and industriously fomented these jealousies. Small parties of Indians scoured the country, committing thefts and murders—unacknowledged by their tribes, but undoubtedly approved, if not expressly sanctioned, at their council fires.

The Indiana territory, having been recently organised, and governor Harrison being invested with the office of superintendent of Indian affairs, it became his duty to hold frequent treaties with the Indians; and, on these occasions, Tecumthe and the Prophet, were prominent men. The latter is described as the most graceful and agreeable of Indian orators; he was easy, subtle, and insinuating—not powerful, but persuasive in argument; and, it was remarked, that he never spoke when Tecumthe was present. He was the instrument, and Tecumthe the master-spirit, the bold warrior, the able, eloquent, fearless speaker, who, in any assembly of his own race, awed all around him by the energy of his character, and stood forward as the leading individual.

The ground assumed by these brothers was, that all previous treaties between the Indians and the American government were invalid, having been made without authority. They asserted that the lands inhabited by the Indians, belonged to all the tribes indiscriminately—that the Great Spirit had given them to *the Indians* for hunting grounds—that each tribe had a right to certain tracts of country so long as they occupied them, but no longer—that if one tribe moved away another might take possession; and they contended for a kind of entail, which prevented any tribe from alienating that to which he had only a present possessory right. They insisted, therefore, that no tribe had authority to transfer any soil to the whites, without the assent of all; and that, consequently, all the treaties that had been made were void. It was in support of these plausible propositions that Tecumthe made his best speeches, and showed especially his knowledge of human nature, by his artful appeals to the prejudices of the Indians. He was, when he pleased to be so, a great demagogue; and when he condescended to court the people, was eminently successful. In his public harangues he acted on this principle; and while he was ostensible in addressing the governor of Indiana, or the chiefs who set in council, his speeches, highly inflammatory, yet well digested, were all, in fact, directed to the multitude. It was on such an occasion that, in ridiculing the idea of selling a country, he broke out in the exclamation—"Sell a country! why not sell the air, the clouds, and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?"

We select the following passages from the "Memoirs of General Harrison."

"In 1809, Governor Harrison purchased from the Delawares, Miamis, and Potawatimies, a large tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, and extending up that river about sixty miles above Vincennes. Tecumthe was absent, and his brother, not feeling himself interested, made no opposition to the treaty; but the former, on his return, expressed great dissatisfaction, and threatened some of the chiefs with death, who had made the treaty. Governor Harrison, hearing of his displeasure, despatched a messenger to invite him to come to Vincennes, and to assure him, 'that any claims he might have to the lands which had been ceded, were not affected by the treaty; that he might come to Vincennes and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were found to be valid, the land would be either given up, or an ample compensation made for it.'

"Having no confidence in the faith of Tecumthe, the governor directed that he should not bring with him more than thirty warriors; but he came with four hundred, completely armed. The people of Vincennes were in great alarm, nor was the governor without apprehension that treachery was intended. This suspicion was not diminished by the conduct of the chief, who, on the morning after his arrival, refused to hold the council at the place appointed, under an affected belief that treachery was intended on our side.

"A large portico in front of the governor's house had been prepared for the purpose with seats, as well for the Indians, as for the citizens who were expected to attend. When Tecumthe came from his camp, with about forty of his warriors, he stood off, and on being invited by the governor, through an interpreter, to take his seat, refused, observing that he wished the council to be held under the shade of some trees in front of the house. When it was objected that it would be troublesome to remove the seats, he replied, 'that it would only be necessary to remove those intended for the whites—that the red men were accustomed to sit upon the earth, which was their mother, and that they were always happy to recline upon her bosom.'

"At this council, held on the 12th of August, 1810, Tecumthe delivered a speech, of which we find the following report, containing the sentiments uttered, but in a language very different from that of the Indian orator:—

"'I have made myself what I am; and I would that I could make the red people as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Great Spirit that rules over all. I would not then come to Governor Harrison to ask him to tear the treaty; but I would say to him, Brother, you have liberty to return to your own country. Once there was no white man in all this country: then it belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit to keep it, to travel over it, to eat its fruits, and fill it with the same race—once a happy race, but now made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. They have driven us from the great salt water, forced us over the mountains, and would shortly push us into the lakes—but we are determined to go no farther. The only way to stop this evil, is for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be now—for it never was divided, but belongs to all. No tribe has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers, who demand all, and will take no less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians who had it first—it is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. Any sale not made by all, is not good. The late sale is bad—it was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all.'

"Governor Harrison, in his reply, said, 'that the white people, when they arrived upon this continent, had found the Miamis in the occupation of all the country of the Wabash; and at that time the Shawanese were residents of Georgia, from which they were driven by the Creeks. That the lands had been purchased from the Miamis, who were the true and original owners of it. That it was ridiculous to assert that all the Indians were one nation; for if such had been the intention of the Great Spirit, he would not have put six different tongues into their heads, but would have taught them all to speak one language. That the Miamis had found it for their interest to sell a part of their lands, and receive for them a further annuity, in addition to what they had long enjoyed, and the benefit of which they had experienced, from the punctuality with which the *seventeen fires* complied with their engagements; and that the Shawanese had no right to come from a distant country, to control the Miamis in the disposal of their own property.'

"The interpreter had scarcely finished the explanation of these remarks, when Tecumthe fiercely exclaimed, 'It is false!' and giving a signal to his warriors, they sprang upon their feet, from the green grass on which they were sitting, and seized their war-clubs. The governor, and the small train that surrounded him, were now in imminent danger. He was attended by a few citizens, who were unarmed. A military guard of twelve men, who had been stationed near him, and whose presence was considered rather as an honorary than a defensive measure—being exposed, as it was thought unnecessarily, to the heat of the sun in a sultry August day, had been humanely directed by the governor to remove to a shaded spot at some distance. But the governor, retaining his presence of mind, rose and placed his hand upon his sword, at the same time directing those of his friends and suite who were about him, to stand upon their guard. Tecumthe addressed the Indians in a passionate tone, and with violent gesticulations. Major G. R. C. Floyd, of the U. S. army, who stood near the governor, drew his dirk; Winnemak, a friendly chief, cocked his pistol, and Mr. Winans, a methodist preacher, ran to the governor's house, seized a gun, and placed himself in the door to defend the family. For a few moments all expected a bloody rencounter. The guard was ordered up, and would instantly have fired upon the Indians, had it not been for the coolness of Governor Harrison, who restrained them. He then calmly, but authoritatively, told Tecumthe, that 'he was a bad man—that he would have no further talk with him—that he must now return to his camp, and take his departure from the settlements immediately.'

"The next morning, Tecumthe having reflected on the impropriety of his conduct, and finding that he had to deal with a man as bold and vigilant as himself, who was not to be daunted by his audacious turbulence, nor circumvented by his specious manœuvres, apologised for the affront he had offered, and begged that the council might be renewed. To this the governor consented, suppressing any feeling of resentment which he might naturally have felt, and determined to leave no exertion untried, to carry into effect the pacific views of the government. It was agreed that each party should have the same attendance as on the previous day; but the governor took the precaution to place himself in an attitude to command respect, and to protect the inhabitants of Vincennes from violence, by ordering two companies of militia to be placed on duty within the village.

"Tecumthe presented himself with the same undaunted bearing which always marked him as a superior man; but he was now dignified and collected, and showed no disposition to resume his former insolent deportment. He disclaimed having entertained any intention of attacking the governor, but said he had been advised by white men to do as he had done. Two white men—British emissaries undoubtedly—had visited him at his place of residence, had told him that half the white people were opposed to the governor, and willing to relinquish the land, and urged him to advise the tribes not to receive pay for it, alleging that the governor would soon be recalled, and a good man put in his place, who would give up the land to the Indians. The governor inquired whether he would forcibly oppose the survey of the purchase. He replied, that he was determined to adhere to the *old boundary*. Then arose a Wyandot, a Kickapoo, a Potawatimie, an Ottawa, and a Winnebago chief, each declaring his determination to stand by Tecumthe. The governor then said, that the words of Tecumthe should be reported to the President, who would take measures to enforce the treaty; and the council ended.

"The governor, still anxious to conciliate the haughty savage, paid him a visit next day at his own camp. He was received with kindness and attention—his uniform courtesy, and inflexible firmness, having won the respect of the rude warriors of the forest. They conversed for some time, but Tecumthe obstinately adhered to all his former positions; and when Governor Harrison told him, that he was sure the President would not yield to his pretensions, the chief replied, 'Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off, he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town, and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out.'"

The two brothers, who thus acted in concert, though, perhaps, well fitted to act together, in the prosecution of a great plan, were widely different in character. Tecumthe was bold and sagacious—a successful warrior, a fluent orator, a shrewd, cool headed, able man, in every situation in which he was placed. His mind was expansive and generous. He detested the white man, but it was with a kind of benevolent hatred, based on an ardent love for his own race, and which rather aimed at the elevation of the one than the destruction of the other. He had sworn eternal vengeance against the enemies of his race, and he held himself bound to observe towards them no courtesy, to consent to no measure of conciliation, until the purposes to which he had devoted himself should be accomplished. He was full of enthusiasm and fertile of expedient. Though his whole career was one struggle against adverse circumstances, he was never discouraged, but sustained himself with a presence of mind, and an equability of temper which showed the real greatness of his character.

The following remarkable circumstance may serve to illustrate the penetration, decision, and boldness of this warrior chief: He had been down south, to Florida, and succeeded in instigating the Seminoles in particular, and portions of other tribes, to unite in the war on the side of the British. He gave out, that a vessel, on a certain day, commanded by red coats, would be off Florida, filled with guns and ammunition, and supplies for the use of the Indians. That no mistake might happen in regard to the day on which the Indians were to strike, he prepared bundles of sticks—each bundle containing the number of sticks corresponding to the number of days that were to intervene between the day on which they were received, and the day of the general onset. The Indian practice is, to throw away a stick every morning—they make, therefore, no mistake in the time. These sticks Tecumthe caused to be painted red. It was from this circumstance that, in the former Seminole war, these Indians were called "Red Sticks." In all this business of mustering the tribes, Tecumthe used great caution. He supposed inquiry would be made as to the object of his visit. That his plans might not be suspected, he directed the Indians to reply to any questions that might be asked about him, by saying, that he had counselled them to cultivate the ground, abstain from ardent spirits, and live in peace with the white people. On his return from Florida, he went among the Creeks, in Alabama, urging them to unite with the Seminoles. Arriving at Tuckhabatchee, a Creek town on the Tallapoosa river, he made his way to the lodge of the chief called the ***Big Warrior***. He explained his object; delivered his war talk—presented a bundle of sticks—gave a piece of wampum and a war hatchet; all which the Big Warrior took. When Tecumthe, reading the spirit and intentions of the Big Warrior, looked him in the eye, and pointing his finger towards his face, said—"Your blood is white. You have taken my talk, and the sticks, and the wampum, and the hatchet, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason. You do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall know. I leave Tuckhabatchee directly—and shall go straight to Detroit. When I arrive there, I will stamp on the ground with my foot, and shake down every house in Tuckhabatchee." So saying, he turned, and left the Big Warrior in utter amazement, at both his manner and his threat, and pursued his journey. The Indians were struck no less with his conduct than was the Big Warrior, and began to dread the arrival of the day when the threatened calamity would befal them. They met often, and talked over this matter—and counted the days carefully, to know the day when Tecumthe would reach Detroit. The morning they had fixed upon as the day of his arrival at last came. A mighty rumbling was heard—the Indians all ran out of their houses—the earth began to shake; when, at last, sure enough, every house in Tuckhabatchee was shaken down! The exclamation was in every mouth, "Tecumthe has got to Detroit." The effect was electric. The message he had delivered to the Big Warrior was believed, and many of the Indians took their rifles and prepared for the war.

The reader will not be surprised to learn, that an earthquake had produced all this; but he will be, doubtless, that it should happen on the very day on which Tecumthe arrived at Detroit, and in exact fulfilment of his threat. It was the famous earthquake of New Madrid, on the Mississippi. We received the foregoing from the lips of the Indians, when we were at Tuckhabatchee, in 1827, and near the residence of the Big

Warrior. The anecdote may, therefore, be relied on. Tecumthe's object, doubtless, was, on seeing that he had failed, by the usual appeal to the passions, and hopes, and war spirit of the Indians, to alarm their fears, little dreaming, himself, that on the day named, his threat would be executed with such punctuality and terrible fidelity.

Tecumthe was temperate in his diet, used no ardent spirits, and did not indulge in any kind of excess. Although several times married, he had but one wife at a time, and treated her with uniform kindness and fidelity; and he never evinced any desire to accumulate property, or to gratify any sordid passion. Colonel John Johnston, of Piqua, who knew him well, says, "He was sober and abstemious; never indulging in the use of liquors, nor catering to excess; fluent in conversation, and a great public speaker. He despised dress, and all effeminacy of manners; he was disinterested, hospitable, generous, and humane—the resolute and indefatigable advocate of the rights and independence of the Indians." Stephen Ruddle, a Kentuckian, who was captured by the Indians in childhood, and lived in the family of Tecumthe, says of him, "His talents, rectitude of deportment, and friendly disposition, commanded the respect and regard of all about him;" and Governor Cass, in speaking of his oratory, says, "It was the utterance of a great mind, roused by the strongest motives of which human nature is susceptible, and developing a power and a labour of reason which commanded the admiration of the civilised, as justly as the confidence and pride of the savage."

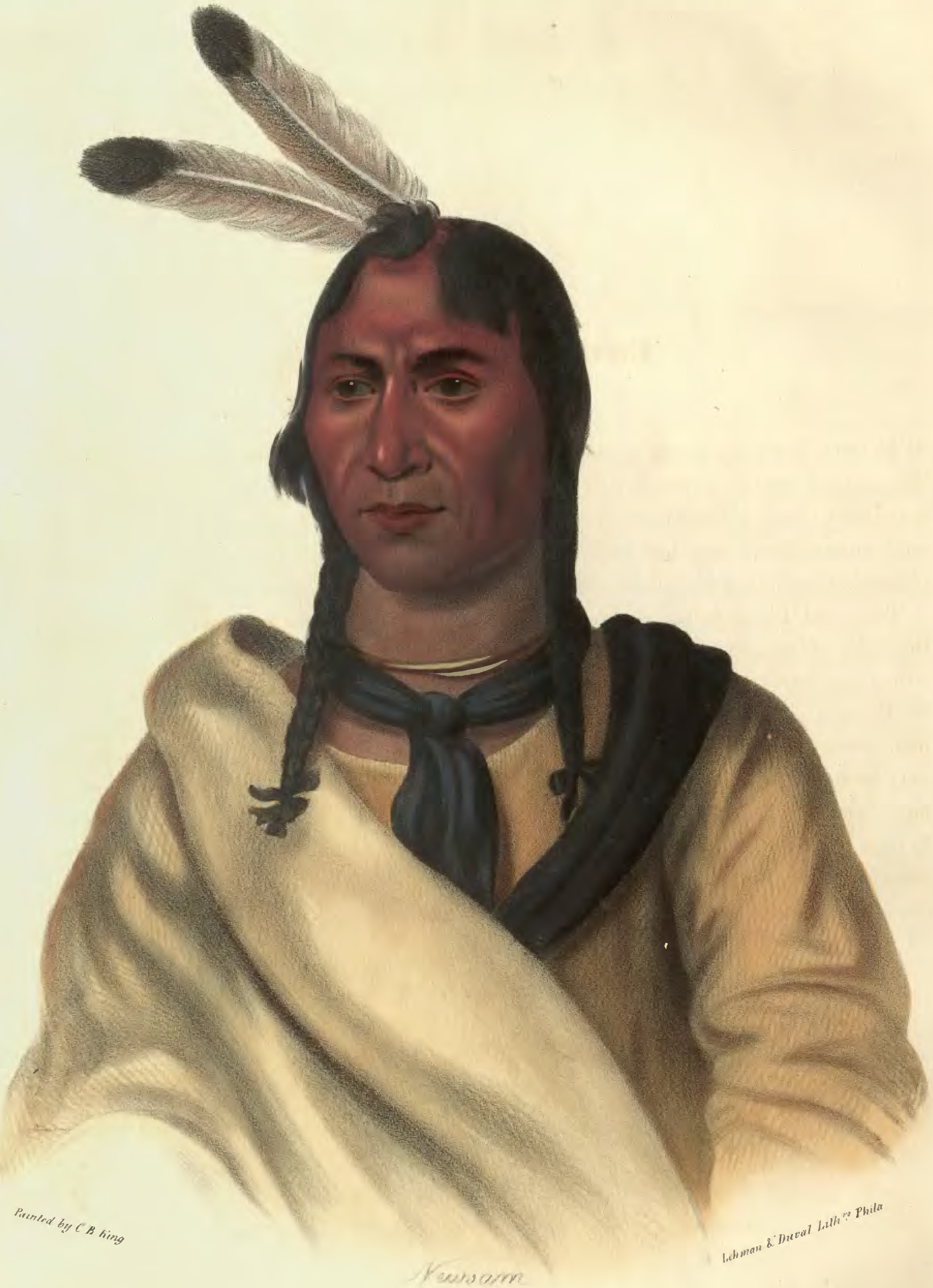
The Prophet possessed neither the talents nor the frankness of his brother. As a speaker, he was fluent, smooth, and plausible, and was pronounced by Governor Harrison the most graceful and accomplished orator he had seen among the Indians; but he was sensual, cruel, weak, and timid. Availing himself of the superstitious awe inspired by supposed intercourse with the Great Spirit, he lived in idleness, supported by the presents brought him by his deluded followers. The Indians allow polygamy, but deem it highly discreditable in any one to marry more wives than he can support; and a prudent warrior always regulates the number of his family by his capacity to provide food. Neglecting this rule of propriety, the Prophet had an unusual number of wives, while he made no effort to procure a support for his household, and meanly exacted a subsistence from those who dreaded his displeasure. An impostor in every thing, he seems to have exhibited neither honesty nor dignity of character, in any relation of life.

We have not room to detail all the political and military events in which these brothers were engaged, and which have been related in the histories of the times. An account of the battle of Tippecanoe, which took place in 1811, and of the intrigues which led to an engagement so honourable to our arms, would alone fill more space than is allotted to this article. On the part of the Indians it was a fierce and desperate assault, and the defence of the American general was one of the most brilliant and successful in the annals of Indian warfare; but Tecumthe was not engaged in it, and the Prophet, who issued orders from a safe position, beyond the reach of any chance of personal exposure, performed no part honourable to himself, or important to the result. He added cowardice to the degrading traits which had already distinguished his character, and from that time his influence decreased. At the close of the war, in 1814, he had ceased to have any reputation among the Indians.

The latter part of the career of Tecumthe was as brilliant as it was unfortunate. He sustained his high reputation for talent, courage, and good faith, without achieving any advantage for the unhappy race, to whose advancement he had devoted his whole life. In the war between the United States and Great Britain, which commenced in 1812, he was an active ally of the latter, and accompanied their armies at the head of large bodies of Indians. He fought gallantly in several engagements, and fell gloriously in the battle of the Thames, where he is supposed, with reason, to have fallen in a personal conflict with Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

One other trait in the character of this great man deserves to be especially noticed. Though nurtured in the forest, and accustomed through life to scenes of bloodshed, he was humane. While a mere boy, he courageously rescued a woman from the cruelty of her husband, who was beating her, and declared that no man was worthy of the name of a warrior, who could raise his hand in anger against a woman. He treated his prisoners with uniform kindness; and, on several occasions, rescued our countrymen from the hands of his enraged followers.

The Prophet is living west of the Mississippi, in obscurity.



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Newsam

ESH-TAH-HUM-LEAH.

or the Sleepy Eye
A Sioux Chief

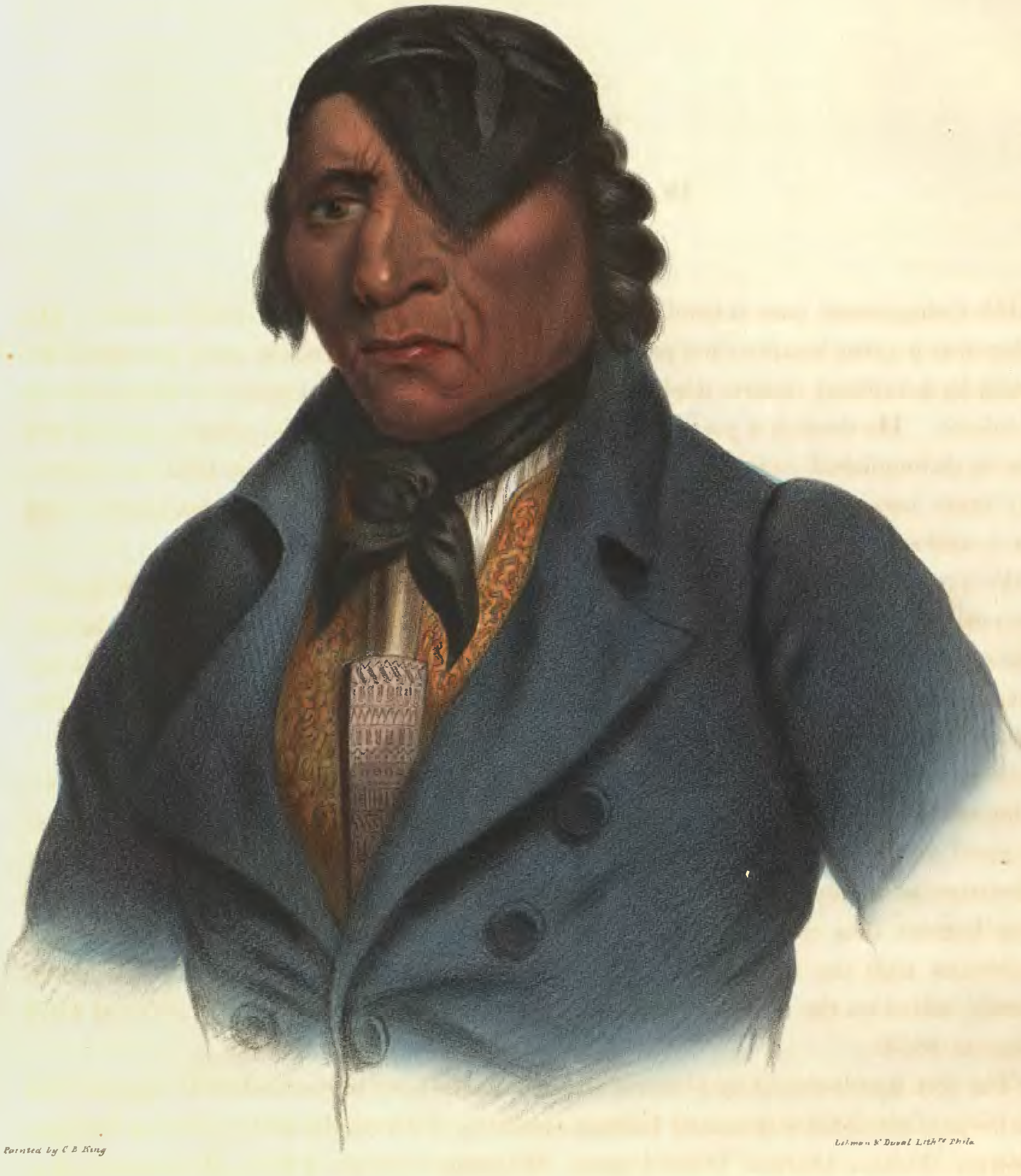
Philadelphia Published by **E. C. Biddle**

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

ESHTAHUMLEAH.

WE have but little to say of this individual, whose name, when translated, signifies *Sleepy eyes*, and is expressive of the character of his countenance. He is one of the hereditary chiefs of the Teton tribe, of the Dacotah nation. In person, he is large, and well proportioned, and has rather a dignified appearance. He is a good natured, plausible person, but has never been distinguished, either in war or as a hunter.

The word Teton means *boaster,* and has been given to this tribe in consequence of the habit of bragging, which is said to prevail among them. They dwell in skin lodges, which are easily removed, and are constantly roving over the vast plains between the St. Peter and the Missouri. They trade on both rivers, and are very hostile to white men, whom they insult and rob, when they find them on the prairies, where such acts may be safely perpetrated. But all the tribes who live in contact with our frontier, have become so conscious of the power of the American government, as to be cautious in their depredations upon our citizens; and acts of violence are growing every day less numerous upon our borders. The Tetons are fierce, rapacious, and untameable; but are not considered braver than the other Sioux tribes.



Painted by C B King
Lehman & Duval Lith^{rs} Phila

WAA-PA-SHAW

Sioux Chief

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. iddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of P^{a}

WAAPASHAW.

THIS distinguished man is head chief of the Keoxa tribe, of the Dacotah nation. His father was a great warrior; the present chief is a wise and prudent man, who holds his station by hereditary tenure, while he sustains himself in the estimation of his people by his talents. He devotes a portion of his time to agriculture. The name by which this tribe is distinguished, signifies, "relationship overlooked;" because, in their marriages, they unite between nearer relations than the other Sioux; first cousins, uncles and nieces, and even brothers and sisters intermarry.

We extract from the account of Long's Second Expedition, an anecdote in reference to a curious and much vexed question, in which the name of this chief is honourably mentioned. It is a matter of some doubt, to what extent the practice of cannibalism has prevailed among the North American Indians. It is certain that some of the tribes have been guilty of this outrage upon decency; it is probable that most of them have participated in it; but we are inclined to believe, that there is no evidence of the eating of human flesh by our Indians, from choice, as an article of food; but that they have devoured the flesh of victims, sacrificed in their war feasts, in obedience to some principle of revenge, or of superstition. The Dacotahs repel the imputation of cannibalism with great horror; they assert, that they have never been guilty of it, but charge their neighbours with the crime. The following incident is in the work to which we have referred, stated on the authority of Renville, an interpreter, to have taken place at Fort Meigs, in 1813.

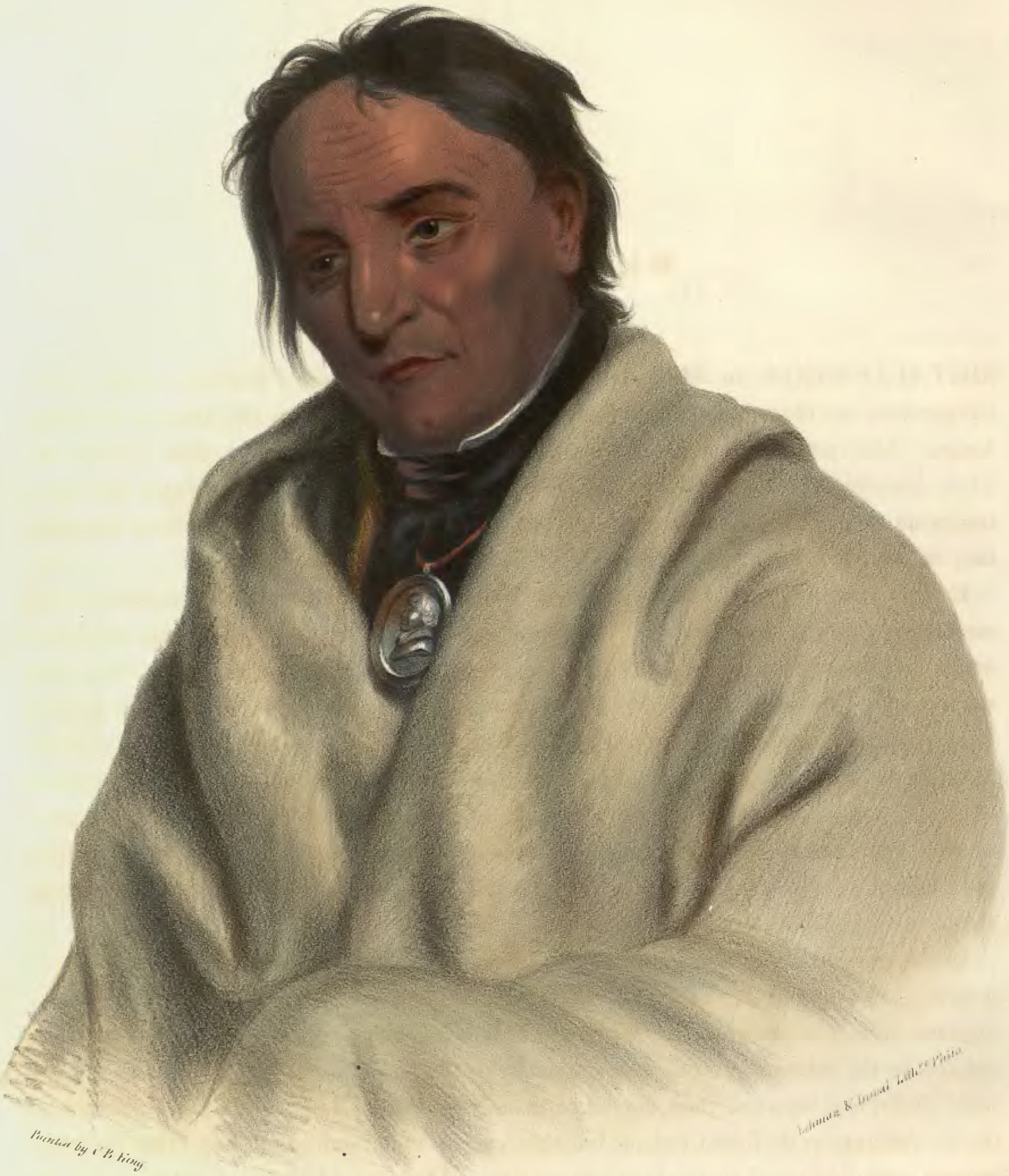
"The fort was besieged by General Proctor, at the head of the British army, attended by a corps of about three thousand Indians, consisting of Dacotahs, Potawatimies, Miamis, Ottowas, Wolves, Hurons, Winnebagoes, Shawanoes, Sauks, Foxes, Menominies, &c. They had all shared in the battle, except the Dacotahs, who had not yet engaged against the Americans, and who were then on their way to Quebec. While Renville was seated, one afternoon, with Waapashaw and Chetauwakoamane, a deputation came to invite them to meet the other Indians, the object of the meeting not being stated; the two chiefs complied with the request. Shortly after, Frazier, an interpreter, came and informed Renville that the Indians were engaged in eating an American, and invited him to walk over to the place. He went thither, and found the human flesh cut up, and portioned out into dishes, one for each nation of Indians. In every dish, in addition to the flesh, there was corn. At that moment they called upon the bravest man in each nation to come and take a portion of the heart and head; one warrior from each nation was allowed a fragment of this choice morsel. In the group of Indians present, there was a brave Dacotah, the nephew of Chetauwakoamane, known by the name of the 'Grand Chasseur.' They invited him to step forward and take his share; and, among others, a Winnebago addressed him, and told him that they had collected their friends to partake of a meal prepared with the flesh of one of that nation that had done them so much injury. Before the Sioux warrior had time to reply, his uncle arose, and bade his nephew to depart thence; he then addressed himself to the Indians. 'My friends,' said he, 'we came here, not to eat the Americans, but to wage war against them; that will suffice for us; and could we even do that if left to our own forces? We are poor and destitute, while they possess the means of supplying themselves with all they require; we ought not, therefore, to do such things.' Waapashaw added, 'We thought that you who live near to white men, were wiser than we who live at a distance; but it must, indeed, be otherwise, if you do such deeds.' They then rose and departed."

It appears, that on this occasion, human flesh was not resorted to for want of provisions, as the camp was plentifully supplied; nor did fondness for this species of food lead to the dreadful repast, which seems to have been regarded with a natural aversion. The Dacotahs speak of that case in terms of the most decided reprobation. But one instance of cannibalism is known to have occurred among them; when, during a famine, three women, urged by a necessity which few could have controlled, partook of the flesh of a man who had died of hunger; but, two of them dying shortly after, the Indians attributed their decease to this fatal meal. The third lived in degradation, induced by this single act; the nation regard her with horror, and suppose, that a state of corpulence into which she has grown, has been induced by that food, which they predict will eventually prove fatal to her.

During the war between the United States and Great Britain, which commenced in 1812, the British took possession of the outpost which had been established at Prairie du Chien, for the convenience of our intercourse with the Indians, but afterwards abandoned it. The little village, consisting of a few houses, occupied by French Canadians, was left defenceless, and the Winnebago Indians, a fierce and restless tribe, who occupied the surrounding country, seemed disposed to create a quarrel, which might afford them an opportunity for plunder. Although the whites had long been established there, and had lived in amity with them, they came to the village, took some articles of private proverty by force, and threatened to massacre the inhabitants, and plunder the town. The alarmed villagers, intimately acquainted with the reckless and desperate character of their neighbours, and aware of their own danger, immediately despatched a messenger to Waapashaw, at his residence on the opposite shore of the Mississippi, not far above Prairie du Chien. His interposition was claimed on account of his great influence, as well in his own tribe as among his neighbours; he was at peace with the surrounding Indians, and with the whites; and there was, between his own band and the Winnebagoes, a long standing friendship. These tribes had intermarried, and there were then at Prairie du Chien many individuals, the offspring of these marriages, who stood in an equal degree of relationship to both, and some of whom were nearly allied to Waapashaw. Obeying the request, he went down to the village immediately, attended by but one person. The inhabitants, seeing him thus, without the imposing train of warriors by which they had expected to have seen him followed, gave themselves up as lost; justly apprehending, that the Winnebagoes, ascertaining that no force would be opposed to them, would now put their sanguinary threats into execution. To an intimation of their fears, and an earnest appeal which they made to him, the chief, with the characteristic taciturnity of his race, gave no reply, but sent his attendant to the Winnebagoes, with a message, requiring them to meet him in council, during that day, at an hour and place which he appointed. In the mean while, he remained silent and reserved, apparently wrapped in deep thought.

The Indian chief is careful of his reputation, and never appears in public without the preparation which is necessary to the dignity of his personal appearance, and the success of any intellectual effort he may be called upon to make. His face is skilfully painted, and his person studiously decorated; his passions are subdued, his plans matured, and his thoughts carefully arranged, so that when he speaks he neither hazards his own fame nor jeopards the interest of the tribe. At the appointed hour the Winnebago chiefs assembled, and Waapashaw seated himself among them; the warriors formed a circle around their leaders, and the individuals of less consequence occupied the still more distant places. A few minutes were passed in silence; then Waapashaw arose, and placing himself in an attitude of studied, though apparently careless, dignity, looked round upon the chiefs with a menacing look. His countenance was fierce and terrible; and cold and stern were the faces upon which his piercing eye was bent. He plucked a single hair from his head—held it up before them—and then spoke in a grave and resolute tone: "Winnebagoes! do you see this hair? Look at it. You threaten to massacre the white people at the Prairie. They are your friends and mine. You wish to drink their blood. Is that your purpose? Dare to lay a finger upon one of them, and I will blow you from the face of the earth, as I now"—suiting the action to the word—"blow this hair with my breath, where none can find it." Not a head was turned at the close of this startling and unexpected annunciation; not a muscle was seen to move—the keen, black, and snake-like eyes of that circle of dusky warriors remained fixed upon the speaker, who, after casting around a look of cool defiance, turned upon his heel and left the council, without waiting for a reply. The insolent savages, who had been vapouring about the village in the most arrogant and insulting manner, hastily broke up the council, and retired quietly to their camp. Not a single Winnebago was to be seen next morning in the vicinity of the village. They knew that the Sioux chief had the power to exterminate them, and that his threats of vengeance were no idle words, uttered by a forked tongue; and, taking counsel from wisdom, they prudently avoided the conduct which would have provoked his resentment.

The Keoxa tribe have two villages on the Mississippi, one near Lake Pepin, and the other at the Iowa river; and they hunt on both banks of the Great river.



Painted by C B King

Lehman & Duval Lithrs Phila

MЕТА-KOOSEGA
Pure tobacco
A Chippeway Warrior

Philadelphia Published by Key & Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1836 by Key & Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

METAKOOSEGA.

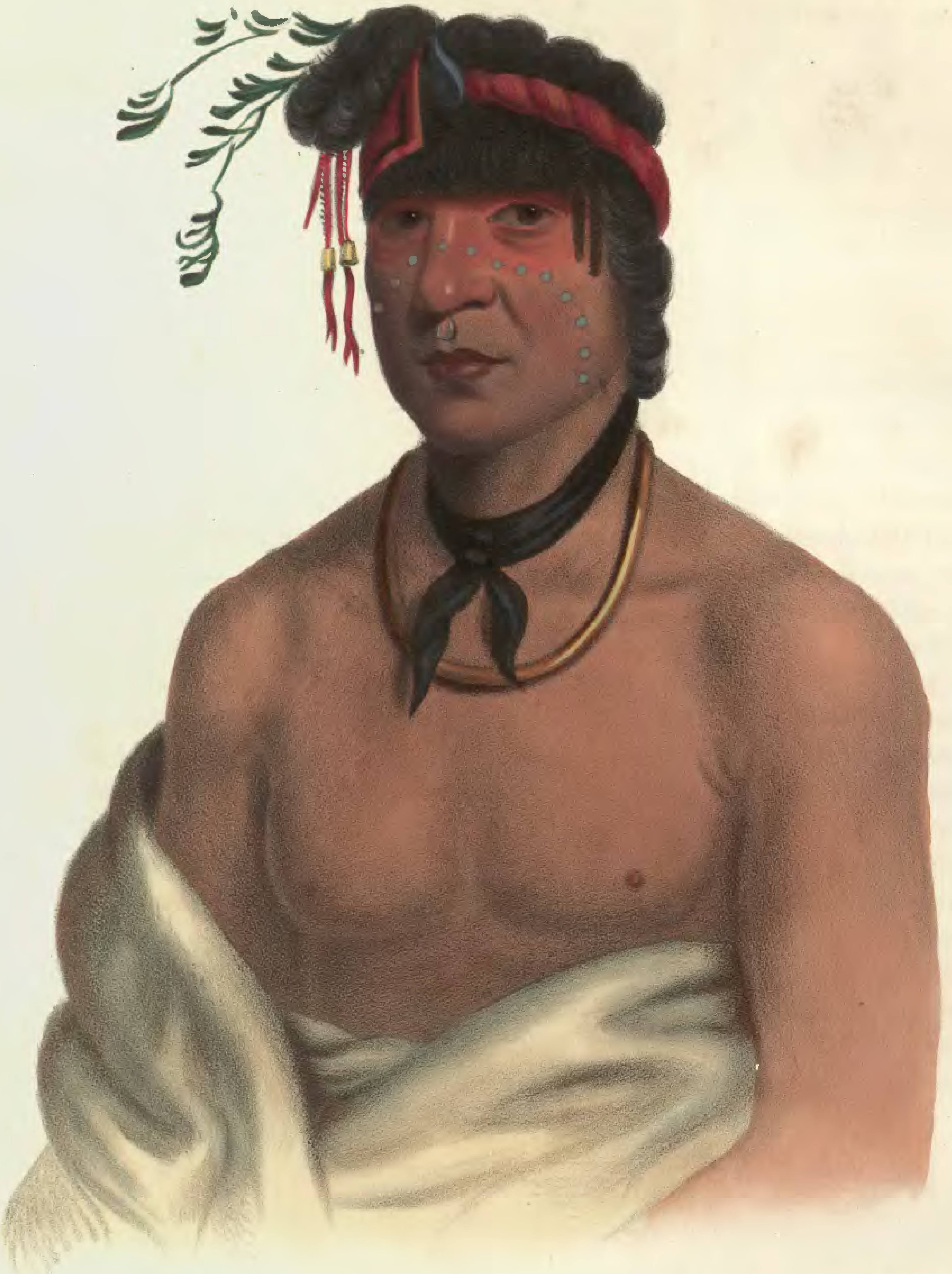
METAKOOSEGA, or *Pure tobacco,* is one of the *Lac de Flambeau* band, of the Chippeway, or, more properly, Objibway nation, and resides on the borders of Trout Lake. This man was one of a war party, raised in 1824, to go against the Sioux. They descended the Chippeway river to the Mississippi, and unfortunately fell in with a trader named Finley, from Prairie du Chien, whom, together with the crew of his boat, they murdered.

It is provided, by our treaties with the Indian tribes, that, upon the commission of such outrages, the offenders shall be given up by their tribes, to be tried and punished under our laws; and the practice of our government has been, to insist upon a rigid observance of this regulation. When the usual demand was made, for the murderers of Finley, twenty-nine of the party voluntarily surrendered themselves to the agent at the Sault de St. Marie. They were examined, seven of them committed for trial, and confined at Mackinaw, and the remainder discharged. At the ensuing term of the court, the judge of the district declined trying the prisoners, in consequence of some objection which had been raised against his jurisdiction; and, during the following winter, they cut their way out of the log jail, and escaped.

In the mission of Governor Cass and Colonel M'Kenney, to the Upper lakes, in 1826, it was made part of their duty to ascertain and demand the real perpetrators of the aggression, on the party of Mr. Finley. This has always been a difficult and delicate subject, in the relations of our government with the Indians, in consequence of the very wide difference between their moral code and our own. They admit the obligation of the *lex talionis* to its fullest extent, but they cannot understand that any other than the injured party has a right to claim the penalty. Had any of the near relatives of Mr. Finley, for instance, gone to the Lac du Flambeau, to revenge themselves upon his murderers, they would have been considered as in the praiseworthy performance of an act of duty, and would have been permitted to put the guilty parties to death, *if they could*—and none would have interfered, either to aid or prevent them. But they view the interference of the government with jealousy; and, while on the one hand, they often refuse obstinately to betray the offender, or shield him by evasion and delay, they as often, on the other, when their fears of the resentment of our government become awakened, deliver up some innocent party, who volunteers his life as a peace offering, to satisfy what they deem a kind of national thirst for the blood of one of the tribe which has insulted us.

The following extract from Colonel M'Kenney's account of this transaction will be interesting:—"The council met; when, according to arrangement, I made the demand for the surrender of the murderers. This being done, and there being one Indian present belonging to the Lac de Flambeau band, and who was of the party who committed the murder, he was called up, and formally examined. He is clearly innocent. Indeed his presence here demonstrates that fact. It was in proof, that he dissuaded the murderers from committing the act. We told him, if he had been guilty, we would have taken him with us, and tried him by our laws; and if, on proof, he had turned out to have had a hand in the bloody act, he should have been hanged. During the examination, his brother came up to the table, greatly agitated. He showed great anxiety, and said he knew the murderers had *upbraided* his brother because he would not join them. Another Indian declared *he knew* he was innocent. The governor said, 'Will you put your hand on your breast, and say that in the presence of the Great Spirit?' The moment the interpreter put this question, the Indian looked him full in the face, and answered, '*Am I a dog that I should lie?*' This reply is somewhat remarkable, not only on account of its resemblance to the scriptural expression—'Is thy servant a dog?' &c.—but because there is hardly any thing on which an Indian sets so high a value as his dog. This is proverbial; yet he is constantly referred to as an object of contempt! Indians never swear—I mean until they learn it of their white brothers—and their most degrading epithet is to call their opponents *dogs*. Here is a strange union of respect and contempt."

Metakoosega was implicated in the murder, but did not surrender himself. He is a tall, well made man, with a stern countenance; and is a jossekeed, or medicine worker, much respected by his band for his supposed skill in necromancy.



Painted by C. B. King *Lehman & Duval Lithrs Phila*

WESH CUBB

or the Sweet

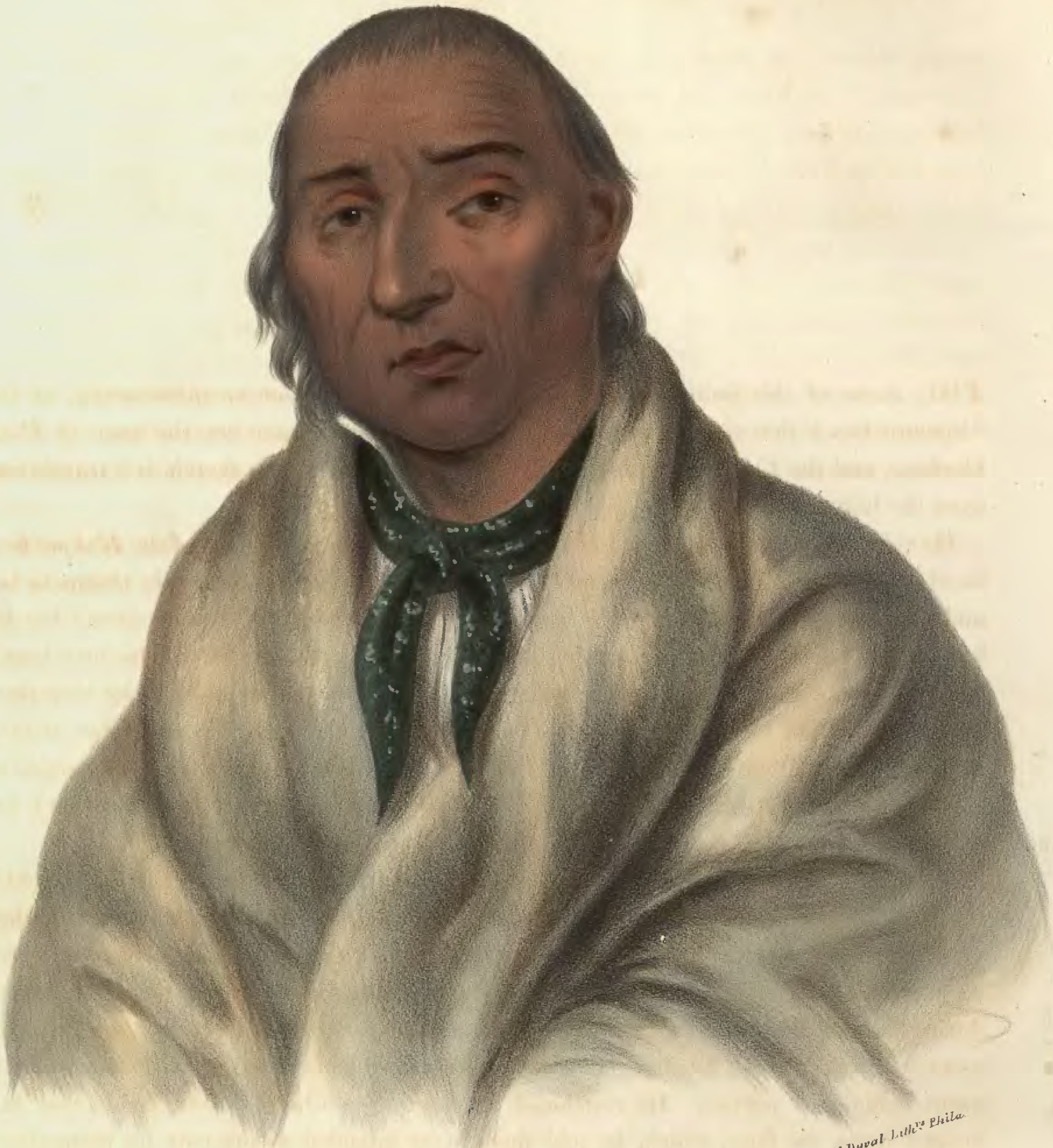
A Chippeway Chief

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of P^a

WESHCUBB.

WESHCUBB, *the Sweet,* is a chief of Red Lake, north of the sources of the Mississippi. He is the son of *Le Sucre,* a chief who is mentioned by General Pike, in his narrative of his voyage up the Mississippi, in 1806. The similarity of the names of the father and son, would seem to indicate the existence of some family trait of character, which was designed to be described by their respective names, which have reached us in English and French translations. The father died on Lake Superior, while on his return home from a visit to Michilimackinac. The son is represented as worthy of the place he holds in the estimation of his tribe. He is considered a just and good man, but has never evinced much capacity, nor shown a disposition to lead war parties. The family is noted for a singular freak of the son of Weshcubb, who feigned, or fancied himself, a woman, and assumed the female dress and employments. The cause of this transformation, so especially remarkable in a savage, who considers the woman an inferior being, and in the son of a chief, who can aspire to the office of his father, if worthy, but not otherwise, is not known. It might have been suggested by a dream, or induced by monomania, or by some bodily infirmity. He, however, joined war parties, and after serving in seven expeditions was at last killed by the enemy.



Painted by C B King

Lehman & Duval Lithrs Phila.

LITTLE CROW

A Sioux Chief

Philadelphia Published by Key & Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1836 by Key & Biddle in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

LITTLE CROW.

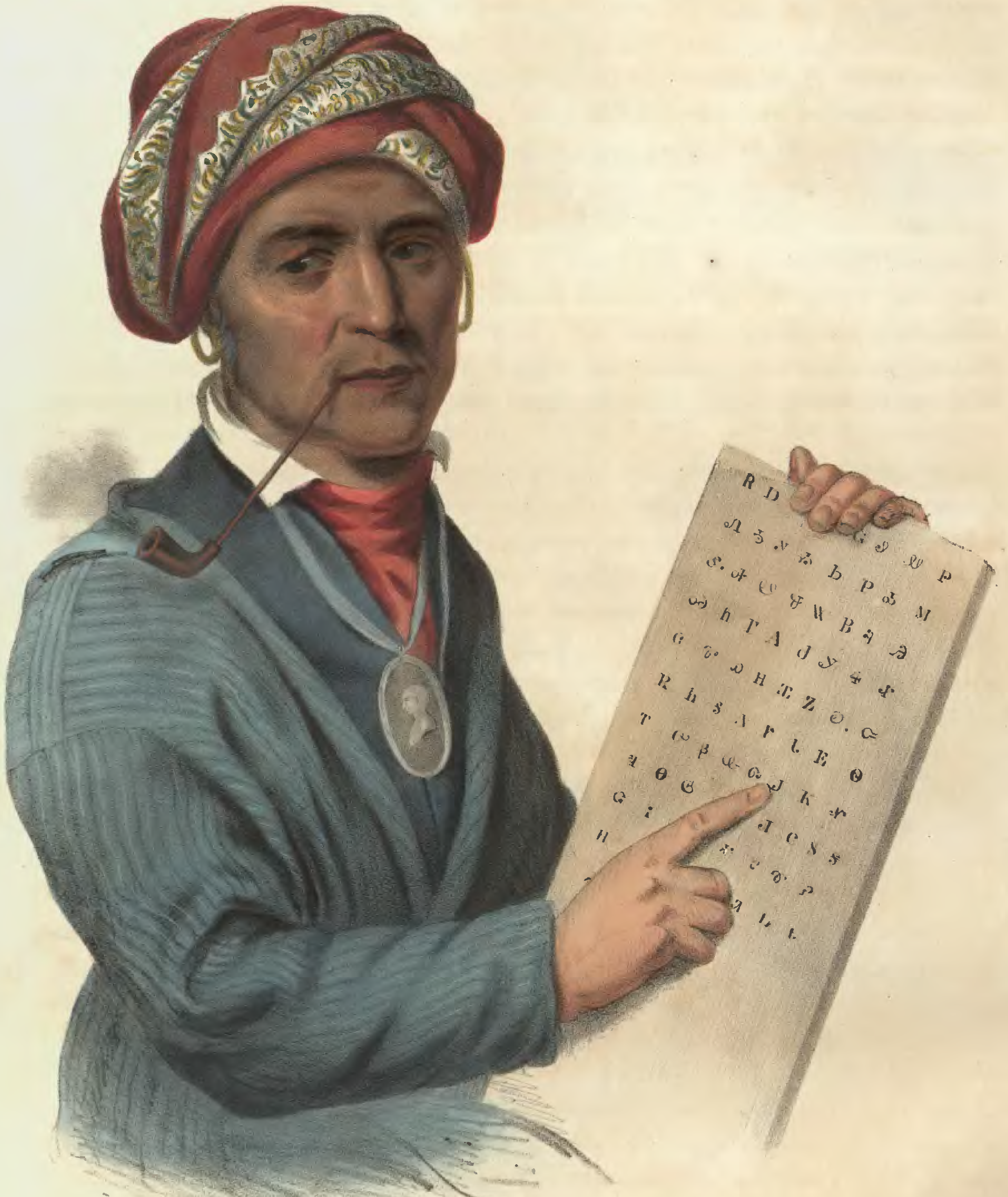
THE name of this individual is, in his own language, ***Chatonwahtooamany***, or the "Sparrowhawk that comes to you walking." The French gave him the name of ***Petit Corbeau***, and the English appellation, placed at the head of this sketch, is a translation from the latter.

He visited Washington city in 1824, and was, at that time, head chief of the ***Kahpozhay*** band, of the ***Mundaywahkanton***, and a person of some consideration. He claims to be, and perhaps is, by hereditary right, the head chief of the whole Sioux nation; but he has fallen into disrepute, and is at this time without any influence, even in his own band. He resides at a distance from his band, on or near the western shore of Lake Superior; is cunning, artful, and treacherous; is not much distinguished as a warrior, but is very successful as a hunter, especially of beaver. The name, Kahpozhay, or Kapoja, as others understand it, signifies ***light***, and is applied to this band, to indicate that they are more active than the other branches of the Sioux, or Dacotah, family.

Soon after peace was declared between the United States and Great Britain, in 1815, the Sioux were invited by the commanding officer at Drummond's island, to visit that post. On their arrival, the Indians were informed by the officer, that he had sent for them to thank them in the name of his majesty, for the aid they had rendered the British during the late war, and for the bravery they had displayed on several occasions, as well as to communicate the intelligence of the peace which had been declared between the great belligerent parties. He concluded by pointing to a large pile of goods, that lay heaped upon the floor, which, he told them, were intended as presents for themselves. The Little Crow replied, that his people had been prevailed upon by the British to make war upon a people whom they scarcely knew, and who had never done them any harm. "Now," continued he, "after we have fought for you, endured many hardships, lost some of our people, and awakened the vengeance of a powerful nation, our neighbours, you make a peace for yourselves, and leave us to get such terms as we can. You no longer need our services, and offer us these goods as a compensation for having deserted us. But, no—we will not take them; we hold them and yourselves in equal contempt." So saying, he spurned the articles of merchandise with his foot, and walked away. This conduct was the more remarkable, from its inconsistency with the gravity and decorum with which the chiefs usually deport themselves on public occasions. The Indians, however, who were not so sensitive in regard to the injury supposed to have been done them, received the goods.

The Little Crow has a son named Big Thunder, who is a fierce and terrible fellow. A few years ago the father and son took a long journey to the northwest, in search, as they pretended, of knowledge. They visited the British settlement at Pembina, and attended a great meeting at Lake Travers, at which fifteen hundred warriors are said to have been present, from the Assiniboin, Mandan, Minnetaree, Ioway, and other tribes, as well as from each of the tribes of the Dacotah nation. On this solemn occasion the various speakers all addressed the Little Crow by the title of "Father;" thus, according to their rules of etiquette, in the observance of which they are exceedingly tenacious, acknowledging him to be superior by hereditary right, to all other Dacotah chiefs, and the Dacotah nation as superior to their own. The festivities, which lasted almost a fortnight, consisted of dances, songs, and repasts; the principal feast was celebrated on the 25th of June; and, as the buffalo were abundant at that season, a great number were killed.

The Kahpozhay band have but one village, which is on the Mississippi river, below the mouth of the St. Peter's.



Painted by C. B. King

SE-QUO-YAH.

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle.

From Lehman & Duval Lith. Press.

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SEQUOYAH,

THE INVENTOR OF THE CHEROKEE ALPHABET.

THE portrait of this remarkable individual is one of great interest. It presents a mild, engaging countenance, entirely destitute of that wild and fierce expression which almost invariably marks the features, or characterises the expression, of the American Indians and their descendants. It exhibits no trace of the ferocity of the savage; it wants alike the vigilant eye of the warrior and the stupid apathy of the less intellectual of that race. The contour of the face, and the whole style of the expression, as well as the dress, are decidedly Asiatic, and might be triumphantly cited in evidence of the oriental origin of our tribes, by those who maintain that plausible theory. It is not merely intelligent and thoughtful, but there is an almost feminine refinement and a luxurious softness about it, which might characterise the features of an Eastern sage, accustomed to ease and indolence, but are little indicative of an American origin, or of a mind formed among the wilds of our western frontier.

At an early period in the settlement of our colonies, the Cherokees received with hospitality the white men who went among them as traders; and having learned the value of articles of European fabric, became, in some measure, dependent upon this traffic. Like other Indians they engaged in hostilities against us, when it suited their convenience, or when stimulated by caprice or the love of plunder. But as our settlements approached, and finally surrounded them, they were alike induced by policy, and compelled by their situation, to desist from their predatory mode of life, and became, comparatively, inoffensive neighbours to the whites. The larger number continued to subsist by hunting, while a few engaged in agriculture. Inhabiting a fertile country, in a southern climate, within the limits of Georgia, their local position held out strong temptations to white men to settle among them as traders, and many availed themselves of these advantages. With the present object of carrying on a profitable traffic, and the ulterior view of acquiring titles to large bodies of land, they took up their residence among the Indians, and intermarried with the females of that race. Some of these were prudent, energetic men, who made themselves respected, and acquired influence, which enabled them to rank as head men, and to transmit the authority of chiefs to their descendants. Many of them became planters, and grew wealthy in horses and cattle, and in negro slaves, which they purchased in the southern states. The only art, however, which they introduced, was that of agriculture; and this but few of the Indians had the industry to learn and practice, further than in the rude cultivation of small fields of corn by the squaws.

In this condition they were found by the missionaries who were sent to establish schools, and to introduce the gospel. The half-breeds had now become numerous; many of them were persons of influence, using with equal facility the respective tongues of their civilised and savage ancestors, and desirous of procuring for their children the advantages they had but partially enjoyed themselves. By them the missionaries were favourably received, their exertions encouraged, and their schools sustained; but the great mass of the Cherokees were as little improved by these as other portions of the race have been by similar attempts.

Sequoyah, or, as he is commonly called, George Guess, is the son of a white man, named Gist, and of a female who was of the mixed blood. The latter was perfectly untaught and illiterate, having been reared in the wigwam in the laborious and servile habits of the Indian women. She soon became either a widow or a neglected wife, for in the infancy of George, we hear nothing of the father, while the mother is known to have lived alone, managing her little property, and maintaining herself by her own exertions. That she was a woman of some capacity, is evident from the undeviating affection for herself with which she inspired her son, and the influence she exercised over him, for the Indians have naturally but little respect for their female relations, and are early taught to despise the character and the occupations of women. Sequoyah seems to have had no relish for the rude sports of the Indian boys, for when quite young he would often stroll off alone into the woods, and employ himself in building little houses with sticks, evincing thus early an ingenuity which directed itself towards mechanical labours. At length, while yet a small boy, he went to work of his own accord, and built a milk-house for his mother. Her property consisted chiefly in horses and cattle, that roamed in the woods, and of which she owned a considerable number. To these he next turned his attention, and became expert in milking the cows, straining the milk, and putting it away with all the care and neatness of an experienced dairy-man. He took care of the cattle and horses, and when he grew to a sufficient size, would break the colts to the saddle and harness. Their farm comprised only about eight acres of cleared ground, which he planted in corn, and cultivated with the hoe. His mother was much pleased with the skill and industry of her son, while her neighbours regarded him as a youth of uncommon capacity and steadiness. In addition to her rustic employments, the active mother opened a small traffic with the hunters, and Sequoyah, now a hardy stripling, would accompany these rough men to the woods, to make selections of skins, and bring them home. While thus engaged he became himself an expert hunter; and thus added, by his own exertions, to the slender income of his mother. When we recollect that men who live on a thinly populated frontier, and especially savages, incline to athletic exercises, to loose habits, and to predatory lives, we recognise in these pursuits of the young Sequoyah, the indications of a pacific disposition, and of a mind elevated above the sphere in which he was placed. Under more favourable circumstances he would have risen to a high rank among intellectual men.

The tribe to which he belonged, being in the habit of wearing silver ornaments, such as bracelets, arm-bands, and broaches, it occurred to the inventive mind of Sequoyah, to endeavour to manufacture them; and without any instruction he commenced the labours of a silversmith, and soon became an expert artisan. In his intercourse with white men he had become aware that they possessed an art, by means of which a name could be impressed upon a hard substance, so as to be comprehended at a glance, by any who were acquainted with this singular invention; and being desirous of identifying his own work, he requested Charles Hicks, afterwards a chief of the Cherokees, to write his name. Hicks, who was a half-blood, and had been taught to write, complied with his desire, but spelled the name George Guess, in conformity with its usual pronunciation, and this has continued to be the mode of writing it. Guess now made a *die*, containing a *fac simile* of his name, as written by Hicks, with which he stamped his name upon the articles which he fabricated.

He continued to employ himself in this business for some years, and in the meanwhile turned his attention to the art of drawing. He made sketches of horses, cattle, deer, houses, and other familiar objects, which at first were as rude as those which the Indians draw upon their dressed skins, but which improved so rapidly as to present, at length, very tolerable resemblances of the figures intended to be copied. He had, probably, at this time never seen a picture or an engraving, but was led to these exercises by the stirrings of an innate propensity for the imitative arts. He became extremely popular. Amiable, accommodating, and unassuming, he displayed an industry uncommon among his people, and a genius which elevated him in their eyes into a prodigy. They flocked to him from the neighbourhood, and from distant settlements, to witness his skill, and to give him employment; and the untaught Indian gazed with astonishment at one of his own race who had spontaneously caught the spirit, and was rivalling the ingenuity of the civilised man. The females, especially, were attracted by his manners and his skill, and lavished upon him an admiration which distinguished him as the chief favourite of those who are ever quicksighted in discovering the excellent qualities of the other sex.

These attentions were succeeded by their usual consequences. Genius is generally united with ambition, which loves applause, and is open to flattery. Guess was still young, and easily seduced by adulation. His circle of acquaintance became enlarged, the young men courted his friendship, and much of his time was occupied in receiving visits, and discharging the duties of hospitality. On the frontier there is but one mode of evincing friendship or repaying civility—drinking is the universal pledge of cordiality, and Guess considered it necessary to regale his visiters with ardent spirits. At first his practice was to place the bottle before his friends, and leave them to enjoy it, under some plea of business or disinclination. An innate dread of intemperance, or a love of industry, preserved him for some time from the seductive example of his revelling companions. But his caution subsided by degrees, and he was at last prevailed upon to join in the bacchanalian orgies provided by the fruits of his own industry. His laborious habits thus broken in upon, soon became undermined, his liberality increased, and the number of his friends was rapidly enlarged. He would now purchase a keg of whiskey at a time, and, retiring with his companions to a secluded place in the woods, become a willing party to those boisterous scenes of mad intoxication which form the sole object and the entire sum of an Indian revel. The common effect of drinking, upon the savage, is to increase his ferocity, and sharpen his brutal appetite for blood; the social and enlivening influence ascribed to the cup by the Anacreontic song, forms no part of his experience. Drunkenness, and not companionship, is the purpose in view, and his deep potations, imbibed in gloomy silence, stir up the latent passions that he is trained to conceal, but not to subdue. In this respect, as in most others, Sequoyah differed from his race. The inebriating draught, while it stupefied his intellect, warmed and expanded his benevolence, and made him the best natured of sots. Under its influence he gave advice to his comrades, urging them to forgive injuries, to live in peace, and to abstain from giving offence to the whites or to each other. When his companions grew quarrelsome, he would sing songs to amuse them, and while thus musically employed would often fall asleep.

Guess was in a fair way of becoming an idle, a harmless, and an useless vagabond; but there was a redeeming virtue in his mind, which enabled it to react against temptation. His vigorous intellect foresaw the evil tendencies of idleness and dissipation, and becoming weary of a life so uncongenial with his natural disposition, he all at once gave up drinking, and took up the trade of a blacksmith. Here, as in other cases, he was his own instructor, and his first task was to make for himself a pair of bellows; having effected which, he proceeded to make hoes, axes, and other of the most simple implements of agriculture. Before he went to work, in the year 1820, he paid a visit to some friends residing at a Cherokee village on the Tennessee river, during which a conversation occurred on the subject of the art of writing. The Indians, keen and quick sighted with regard to all the prominent points of difference between themselves and the whites, had not failed to remark with great curiosity and surprise, the fact that what was written by one person was understood by another, to whom it was delivered, at any distance of time or place. This mode of communicating thoughts, or of recording facts, has always been the subject of much inquiry among them; the more intelligent have sometimes attempted to detect the imposition, if any existed, by showing the same writing to different persons; but finding the result to be uniform, have become satisfied that the white men possess a faculty unknown to the Indians, and which they suppose to be the effect of sorcery, or some other supernatural cause. In the conversation alluded to, great stress was laid on this power of the white man—on his ability to put his thoughts on paper, and send them afar off to speak for him, as if he who wrote them was present. There was a general expression of astonishment at the ingenuity of the whites, or rather at their possession of what most of those engaged in the conversation considered as a distinct faculty, or sense, and the drift of the discussion turned upon the inquiry whether it was a faculty of the mind, a gift of the Great Spirit, or a mere imposture. Guess, who had listened in silence, at length remarked, that he did not regard it as being so very extraordinary. He considered it an art, and not a gift of the Great Spirit, and he believed he could invent a plan by which the red men could do the same thing. He had heard of a man who had made marks on a rock, which other white men interpreted, and he thought he could also make marks which would be intelligible. He then took up a whetstone, and began to scratch figures on it with a pin, remarking, that he could teach the Cherokees to talk on paper like white men. The company laughed heartily, and Guess remained silent during the remainder of the evening. The subject that had been discussed was one upon which he had long and seriously reflected, and he listened with interest to every conversation which elicited new facts, or drew out the opinions of other men. The next morning he again employed himself in making marks upon the whetstone, and repeated, that he was satisfied he could invent characters, by the use of which the Cherokees could learn to read.

Full of this idea, he returned to his own home, at Will's town, in Will's valley, on the southern waters of the Coosa river, procured paper, which he made into a book, and commenced making characters. His reflections on the subject had led him to the conclusion, that the letters used in writing represented certain words or ideas, and being uniform, would always convey to the reader the same idea intended by the writer—provided the system of characters which had been taught to each was the same. His project, therefore, was to invent characters which should represent words; but after proceeding laboriously for a considerable time, in prosecution of this plan, he found that it would require too many characters, and that it would be difficult to give the requisite variety to so great a number, or to commit them to memory after they should be invented. But his time was not wasted; the dawn of a great discovery was breaking upon his vision; and although he now saw the light but dimly, he was satisfied that it was rapidly increasing. He had imagined the idea of an alphabet, and convinced himself of the practicability of framing one to suit his own language. If it be asked why he did not apply to a white man to be taught the use of the alphabet already in existence, rather than resort to the hopeless task of inventing another, we reply, that he probably acted upon the same principle which had induced him to construct, instead of buying a pair of bellows, and had led him to teach himself the art of the blacksmith, in preference to applying to others for instruction. Had he sought information, it is not certain he could have obtained it, for he was surrounded by Indians as illiterate as himself, and by whites who were but little better informed; and he was possessed, besides, of that self-reliance which renders genius available, and which enabled him to appeal with confidence to the resources of his own mind. He now conceived the plan of making characters to represent sounds, out of which words might be compounded—a system in which single letters should stand for syllables. Acting upon this idea, with his usual perseverance, he worked diligently until he had invented eighty-six characters, and then considered that he had completely attained his object.

While thus engaged he was visited by one of his intimate friends, who told him he came to beg him to quit his design, which had made him a laughing-stock to his people, who began to consider him a fool. Sequoyah replied, that he was acting upon his own responsibility, and as that which he had undertaken was a personal matter, which would make fools of none besides himself, he should persevere.

Being confirmed in the belief that his eighty-six characters, with their combinations, embraced the whole Cherokee language, he taught them to his little daughter, *Ahyokah*, then about six years of age. After this he made a visit to Colonel Lowry, to whom, although his residence was but three miles distant, he had never mentioned the design which had engaged his constant attention for about three years. But this gentleman had learned, from the tell-tale voice of rumour, the manner in which his ingenious neighbour was employed, had regretted the supposed misapplication of his time, and participated in the general sentiment of derision with which the whole community regarded the labours of the once popular artisan, but now despised alphabet maker. "Well," said Colonel Lowry, "I suppose you have been engaged in making marks." "Yes," replied Guess; "when a talk is made, and put down, it is good to look at it afterwards." Colonel Lowry suggested, that Guess might have deceived himself, and that, having a good memory, he might recollect what he had intended to write, and suppose he was reading it from the paper. "Not so," rejoined Guess; "I read it."

The next day Colonel Lowry rode over to the house of Guess, when the latter requested his little daughter to repeat the alphabet. The child, without hesitation, recited the characters, giving to each the sound which the inventor had assigned to it, and performing the task with such ease and rapidity that the astonished visiter, at its conclusion, uttered the common expression—"Yoh!" with which the Cherokees express surprise. Unwilling, however, to yield too ready an assent to that which he had ridiculed, he added, "It sounds like Muscogee, or the Creek language;" meaning to convey the idea that the sounds did not resemble the Cherokee. Still there was something strange in it. He could not permit himself to believe that an illiterate Indian had invented an alphabet, and perhaps was not sufficiently skilled in philology to bestow a very careful investigation upon the subject. But his attention was arrested; he made some further inquiry, and began to doubt whether Sequoyah was the deluded schemer which others thought him.

The truth was, that the most complete success had attended this extraordinary attempt, and George Guess was the Cadmus of his race. Without advice, assistance, or encouragement—ignorant alike of books and of the various arts by which knowledge is disseminated—with no prompter but his own genius, and no guide but the light of reason, he had formed an alphabet for a rude dialect, which, until then, had been an unwritten tongue! It is only necessary to state, in general, that, subsequently, the invention of Guess was adopted by intelligent individuals engaged in the benevolent attempt to civilise the Cherokees, and it was determined to prepare types for the purpose of printing books in that tongue. Experience demonstrated that Guess had proved himself successful, and he is now justly esteemed the Cadmus of his race. The conception and execution are wholly his own. Some of the characters are in form like ours of the English alphabet; they were copied from an old spelling book that fell in his way, but have none of the powers or sounds of the letters thus copied. The following are the characters systematically arranged with the sounds.

Ꭰ a	Ꭱ e	Ꭲ i	Ꭳ o	Ꭴ u	Ꭵ y
Ꭶ ga Ꭷ ka	Ꭸ ge	Ꭹ gi	Ꭺ go	Ꭻ gu	Ꭼ gv
Ꭽ ha	Ꭾ he	Ꭿ hi	Ꮀ ho	Ꮁ hu	Ꮂ hv
Ꮃ la	Ꮄ le	Ꮅ li	Ꮆ lo	Ꮇ lu	Ꮈ lv
Ꮉ ma	Ꮊ me	Ꮋ mi	Ꮌ mo	Ꮍ mu	
Ꮎ na Ꮏ hna Ꮐ nah	Ꮑ ne	Ꮒ ni	Ꮓ no	Ꮔ nu	Ꮕ nv
Ꮖ qua	Ꮗ que	Ꮘ qui	Ꮙ quo	Ꮚ quu	Ꮛ quv
Ꮜ s Ꮝ sv	Ꮞ se	Ꮟ si	Ꮠ so	Ꮡ su	Ꮢ sv
Ꮣ dw Ꮤ ta	Ꮥ de Ꮦ te	Ꮧ di Ꮨ tih	Ꮩ do	Ꮪ du	Ꮫ dv
Ꮬ dla Ꮭ tla	Ꮮ tle	Ꮯ tli	Ꮰ tlo	Ꮱ tlu	Ꮲ tlv
Ꮳ tsa	Ꮴ tse	Ꮵ tsi	Ꮶ tso	Ꮷ tsu	Ꮸ tsv
Ꮹ wa	Ꮺ we	Ꮻ wi	Ꮼ wo	Ꮽ wu	Ꮾ wv
Ꮿ ya	Ᏸ ye	Ᏹ yi	Ᏺ yo	Ᏻ yu	Ᏼ yv

SOUNDS REPRESENTED BY VOWELS.

a as *a* in *father*, or short as *a* in *rival*,
e as *a* in *hate*, or short as *e* in *met*,
i as *i* in *pique*, or short as *i* in *pit*,
o as *aw* in *law*, or short as *o* in *not*,
u as *oo* in *fool*, or short as *u* in *pull*,
v as *u* in *but*, nasalised.

CONSONANT SOUNDS.

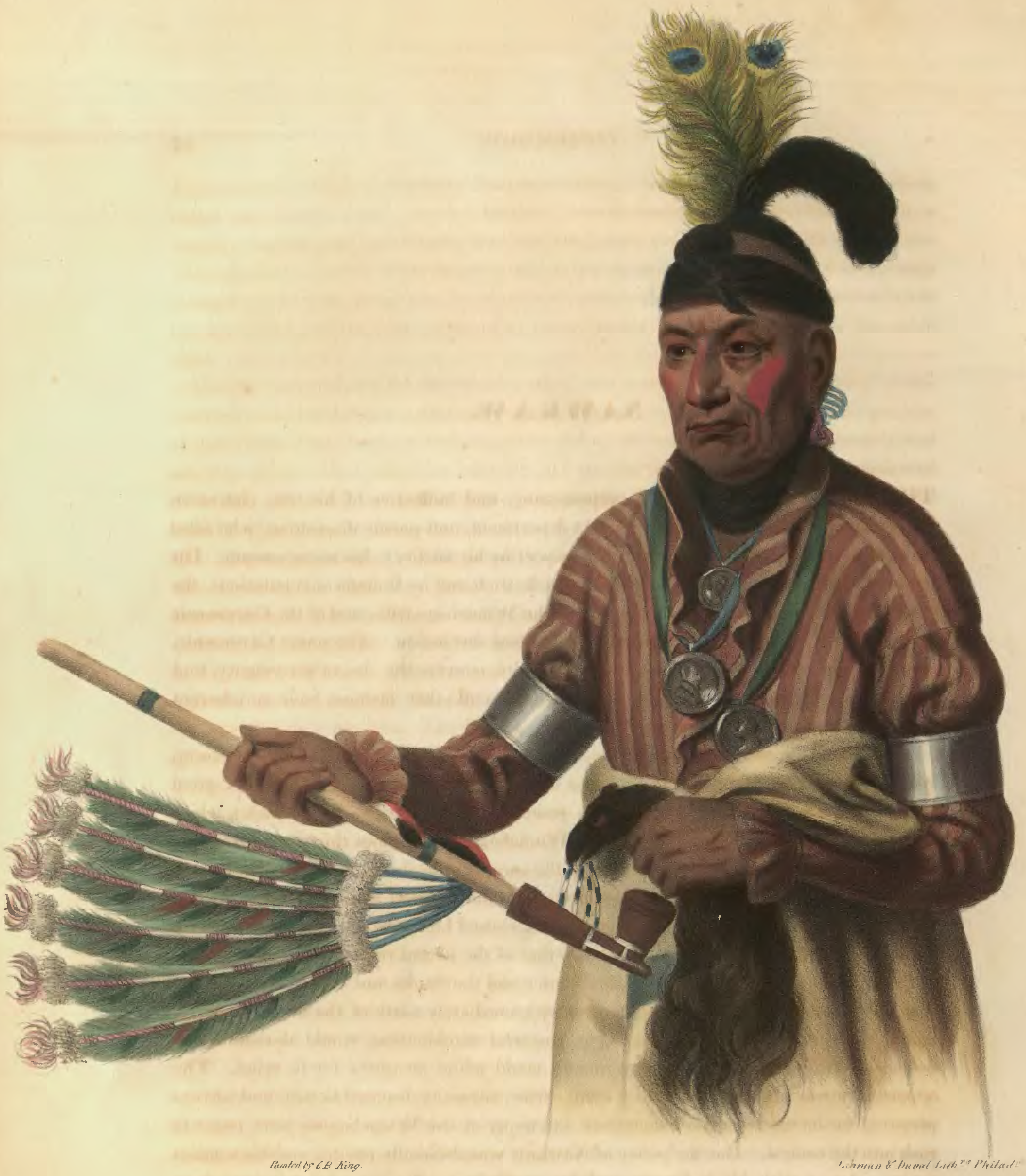
g nearly as in English, but approaching to k. d nearly as in English, but approaching to t. h, k, l, m, n, q, s, t, w, y, as in English.

Syllables beginning with g, except Ꭶ, have sometimes the power of k; Ꮩ, Ꮪ, Ꮫ, are sometimes sounded to, tu, tv; and syllables written with tl, except Ꮭ, sometimes vary to dl.

Guess completed his work in 1821. Several of his maternal uncles were at that time distinguished men among the Cherokees. Among them was *Keahatahee*, who presided over the beloved town, *Echota*, the town of refuge, and who was one of two chiefs who were killed by a party of fourteen people, while under the protection of a white flag, at that celebrated place. One of these persons observed to him, soon after he had made his discovery, that he had been taught by the Great Spirit. Guess replied, that he had taught himself. He had the good sense not to arrogate to himself any extraordinary merit, in a discovery which he considered as the result of an application of plain principles. Having accomplished the great design he began to instruct others, and after teaching many to read and write, and establishing his reputation, he left the Cherokee nation in 1822, and went on a visit to Arkansas, where he taught those of his tribe who had emigrated to that country. Shortly after, and before his return home, a correspondence was opened between the Cherokees of the west and those of the east of the Mississippi, in the Cherokee language. In 1823, he determined to emigrate to the west of the Mississippi. In the autumn of the same year, the general council of the Cherokee nation passed a resolution, awarding to Guess a silver medal, in token of their regard for his genius, and of their gratitude for the eminent service he rendered to his people. The medal, which was made at Washington city, bore on one side two pipes, on the other a head, with this inscription—"Presented to George Gist, by the General Council of the Cherokee nation, for his ingenuity in the invention of the Cherokee Alphabet." The inscription was the same on both sides, except that on one it was in English, and on the other in Cherokee, and in the characters invented by Guess. It was intended that this medal should be presented at a council, but two of the chiefs dying, John Ross, who was now the principal chief, being desirous of the honour and gratification of making the presentation, and not knowing when Guess might return to the nation, sent it to him with a written address.

Guess has never since revisited that portion of his nation which remains upon their ancient hunting grounds, east of the Mississippi. In 1828, he was deputed as one of a delegation from the western Cherokees, to visit the president of the United States, at Washington, when the likeness which we have copied was taken.

The name which this individual derived from his father was, as we have seen, George Gist; his Indian name, given him by his mother, or her tribe, is Sequoyah; but we have chosen to use chiefly in this article, that by which he is popularly known—George Guess.



Painted by C.B. King. *Lehman & Duval Lithrs. Philada.*

NAW-KAW or WOOD.

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1834 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

NAWKAW.

THE countenance of this chief is prepossessing, and indicative of his true character. He was a firm, sagacious man, of upright deportment, and pacific disposition, who filled his station with dignity, and commanded respect by his fidelity to his engagements. His name is less expressive than most of those which are borne by Indians of reputation—the word Nawkaw signifying *wood*. He was of the Winnebago tribe, and of the ***Caromanie*** or Walking Turtle family, which is of the highest distinction. The name Caromanie, among the Winnebagoes, implies rank and dignity, conveys the idea of sovereignty, and is, therefore, highly respected; for this people, like all other savages, have an inherent veneration for hereditary greatness.

This chief was the head of his tribe, who inhabited a broad and beautiful country, lying between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, and spread out in plains of great extent, fertility, and magnificence. His residence was at the Big Green Lake, which is situated between Green Bay and Fort Winnebago, and is about thirty miles from the latter. Although a warrior by profession, the successful leader in many a fight, he was a person of excellent disposition, who preferred and courted peace; and his upright conduct, in connection with his military talents, caused him to be respected and beloved. His conduct was patriarchal, and his sway that of the parent rather than the master.

In the recent war between the United States and the Sauks and Foxes, it was feared that the Winnebagoes, inhabiting the country immediately north of the hostile Indians, would unite with them, and forming a powerful combination, would devastate the defenceless frontier, before our government could adopt measures for its relief. The opportunity was a tempting one to a savage tribe, naturally disposed to war, and always prepared for its most sudden exigencies; and many of the Winnebagoes were eager to rush into the contest. But the policy of Nawkaw was decidedly pacific, and his conduct was consistent with his judgment and his professions. To keep his followers from temptation, as well as to place them under the eye of an agent of our government, he encamped with them near the agency, under the charge of Mr. Kinzie, expressing on all occasions his disapprobation of the war, and his determination to avoid all connection with those engaged in it. The Indian tribes are often divided into parties, having their respective leaders, who alone can control their partisans in times of excitement. On this occasion, the more respectable and by far the most numerous part of the Sauk and

Fox nation, headed by Keokuk, the proper chief, remained at peace, while a faction, called *the British band,* was led headlong into a disastrous war by Black Hawk, a warrior having no lawful rank, and his coadjutor, the Prophet, while among the Winnebagoes a similar division occurred; a few restless and unprincipled individuals giving loose to their propensity for blood and plunder by joining the war parties, while the great body of the tribe remained at peace, under the influence of their venerable chief.

Having narrated, in the historical part of this work, the interesting story of the surrender of Red Bird, we shall only advert to that circumstance here for the purpose of remarking, that Nawkaw took an active and a judicious part in that melancholy and singular affair. He exerted his influence to have the murderers arrested and delivered up to the officers of our government; but, having thus discharged his duty, he was equally diligent in his endeavours to obtain for them the pardon of the president. For this purpose he visited Washington in 1829, accompanied by fifteen of his chief men; and it was at that time that the portrait which we have copied was taken. He is represented in the attitude of addressing the president, and in the act of extending towards him his calumet at the conclusion of his speech.

The intercession of Nawkaw was successful; the clemency of the president was extended to the wretched men then lying captive in the prison at Prairie du Chien—but unfortunately too late. The Indian, accustomed to unlimited freedom, languishes in confinement. The Red Bird was a high spirited warrior, unused to restraint, and habituated to roam over boundless plains, with a step as unfettered as that of the wild horse of the prairie. The want of exercise, and the privations of imprisonment destroyed his health, broke his spirit, and hurried him to a premature grave. He died before the news of his pardon reached him.

We shall conclude this article with a few anecdotes of Nawkaw and his companions. In conducting these persons to Washington, it was deemed proper to lead them through some of the principal cities, where they might witness the highest evidences of our wealth, power, and civilisation. Their conductors were Major Forsythe and Mr. Kinzie, the latter of whom speaks the languages of the northwestern tribes with fluency, and to him are we indebted for these facts.

While at New York, the Winnebago deputies attended, by invitation, a balloon ascension at the Battery. At this beautiful spot, where the magnificence of a city on the one hand, and a splendid view of one of the noblest harbours in the world on the other, combine to form a landscape of unrivalled grandeur, thousands of spectators were assembled to witness the exploit of the aeronaut, and to behold the impression which would be made upon the savage mind by so novel an exhibition. The chiefs and warriors were provided with suitable places, and many an eye was turned in anxious scrutiny upon their imperturbable countenances, as they gazed in silence upon the balloon ascending into the upper atmosphere. At length Nawkaw was asked what he thought of the aeronauts? He replied coolly—"I think they are fools to trifle in that way with their lives—what good does it do?" Being asked if he had ever before seen so many people assembled at one time, he answered; "we have more in our smallest villages."

While at Washington they were lodged at a public hotel, and regaled in the most plentiful and sumptuous manner; notwithstanding which, when about to leave the city, Nawkaw complained of the quality of the food placed upon his table. Such a remark from an Indian, whose cookery is the most unartificial imaginable, and whose notions of neatness are far from being refined, was considered singular; and on inquiry being made, it turned out that a piece of roast beef which had been taken from the table untouched, was placed a second time before these fastidious gentlemen, who, on their native prairies, would have devoured it raw, but who now considered their dignity infringed by such a procedure. Being asked if the beef was not good enough, he replied, that there were plenty of turkeys and chickens to be had, and he chose them in preference.

On their way home, at the first place at which they stopped to dine, after leaving Baltimore, they sat down at a well furnished table. A fine roasted turkey at the head of the board attracted their attention, but keeping that in reserve, they commenced upon a chicken-pie. While thus engaged, a stranger entered, and taking his seat at the head of the table, called for a plate. The Indians became alarmed for the turkey, cast significant glances at each other, and eyed the object of their desire with renewed eagerness. They inquired of each other, in subdued accents, what was to be done—their plates being well supplied they could not ask to be helped again, yet the turkey was in imminent jeopardy. The stranger was evidently hungry, and he looked like a man who would not trifle with his knife and fork. Luckily, however, he was not yet supplied with these necessary implements; there was a moment still left to be improved, and the red gentlemen, having cleared their plates, occupied it by dividing among them an applepie, which quickly vanished. A clean plate, knife, and fork were now placed before the stranger, who was about to help himself, when, to his astonishment and utter discomfiture, one of the Indians rose, stepped to the head of the table, and adroitly fixing his fork in the turkey bore it off to his companions, who very gravely, and without appearing to take the least notice of the details of the exploit, commenced dividing the spoil, while the stranger, recovering from his surprise, broke out into a loud laugh, in which the Indians joined.

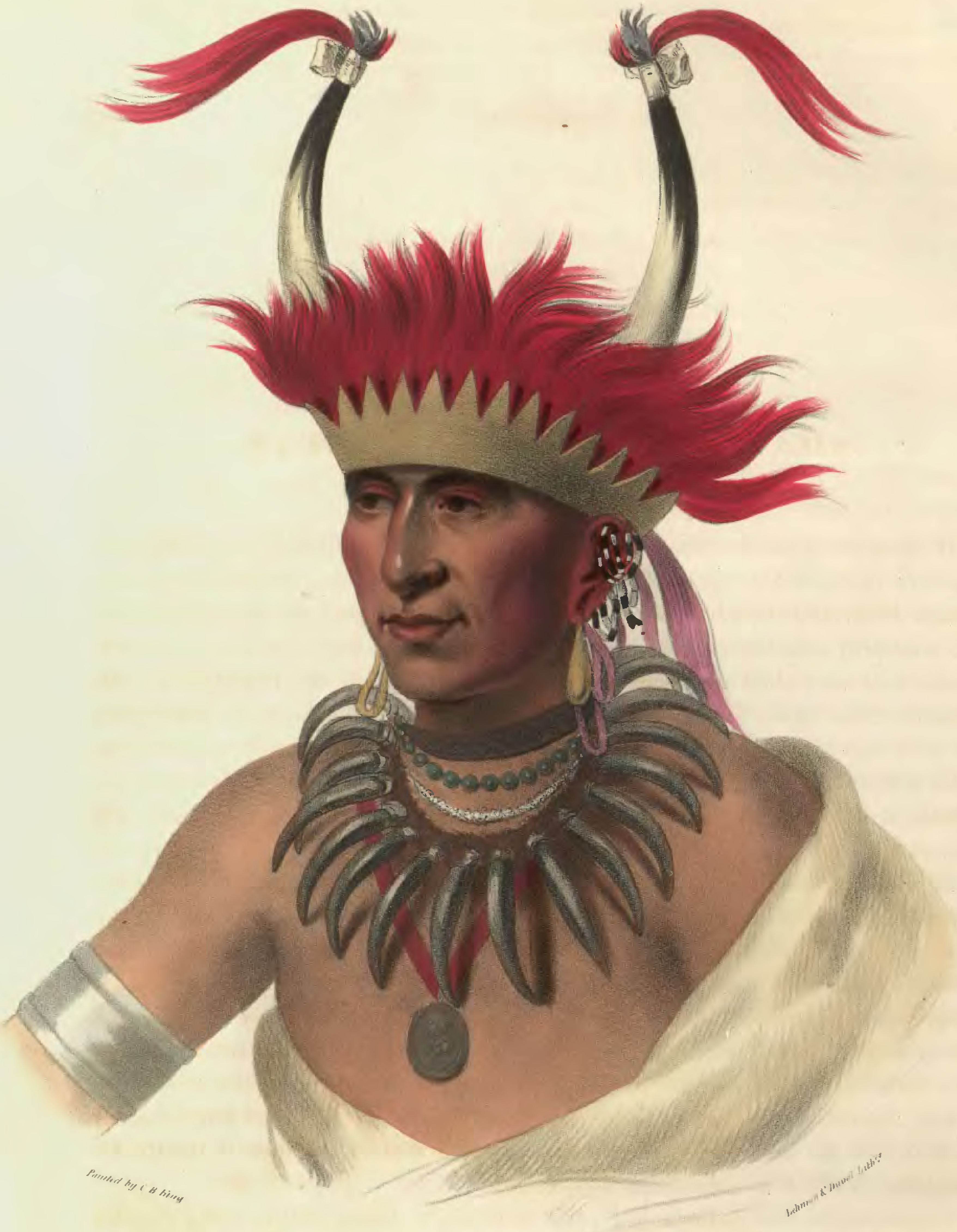
As the party receded from the capital, the fare became more coarse, and the red men began to sigh for the fat poultry and rich joints that were left behind them. And now another idea occurred to their minds. Having noticed that payment was made regularly for every meal, they inquired if *all* the meals they ate were paid for, and being answered in the affirmative, each Indian, on rising from the table, loaded himself with the fragments of the feast, until nothing remained. When they observed that this conduct was noticed, they defended it by remarking, that the provisions were all paid for.

It has been well said that there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous; and this aphorism is strikingly illustrated in the conduct of savages or uneducated men. The Indian has some heroic traits of character; he is brave, patient under fatigue or privation, often generous, and sometimes tenacious of the point of honour, to an extreme which has scarcely a parallel, except in the records of chivalry. In all that relates to war or the council, they are systematic, and the leading men exhibit much dignity and consistency of character. As hunters they are keen, skilful, and diligent; as warriors, bold, sagacious, and persevering. But when the Indian is taken from this limited circle of duties, and thrown into contact with the white man, in social intercourse, his want of versatility, and deficiency of intellectual resources, often degrade him at once into meanness and puerility. For a time he may disguise himself in his habitual gravity, and his native shrewdness and presence of mind may enable him to parry any attempts to pry into his thoughts, or throw him off his guard, but the sequel inevitaby betrays the paucity of the savage mind. Thus the chiefs and warriors of whom we have spoken were, some of them, distinguished warriors, and others eminent in council; but when thrown out of their proper sphere, and brought into familiar contact with strangers, they become the subjects of anecdotes such as we have related, and which, except the first one, would be too trifling for repetition, were they not illustrative of the peculiarities to which we have adverted.

When at Washington, in 1829, Nawkaw, in speaking of his own age, called himself *ninety-four* winters old. He died in 1833, at the advanced age of ninety-eight, and was succeeded in his rank and honours by his nephew, who was worthy to inherit them. The latter is a person of temperate habits, who abstains entirely from the use of ardent spirits. He also is *Caromanie*, and has assumed the name of his uncle.

Nawkaw was a man of large stature and fine presence. He was six feet tall, and well made. His person was erect, his muscles finely developed, and his appearance such as indicated activity and great strength. Like many of his race, he was remarkably fond of dress; and even in the last days of his protracted life, devoted the most sedulous care to the decoration of his person. His portrait affords ample evidence of his taste; the head-dress, the ear-rings, and the painted face, show that the labours of the toilet had not been performed without a full share of the time and study due to a matter of so much importance; while the three medals, presented to him at different times, as the head of his tribe, and as tokens of respect for himself, are indicative of his rank, and are worn with as much pride, and as much propriety, as the orders of nobility which decorate the nobles of Europe.

The memory of this distinguished chief, and respectable man, is cherished by his people, and his deeds are recounted in their songs. He was one of those rulers whose wisdom, courage, and parental sway, endear them to their people while living, and whose precepts retain the force of laws after their decease.



Painted by C B King

Lehman & Duval Lith'rs

CHON-MAN-I-CASE

An Otto half Chief

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1836 by E C Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

SHAUMONEKUSSE, OR L'IETAN.

IN the progress of our work we have found no small difficulty in settling the orthography of proper names. Not only are the Indian languages unwritten, but the interpreters, through whom most of our information is necessarily communicated, are illiterate persons, who arbitrarily affix to words the pronunciation which suits their own fancy, or which accords best with their own national or local idiom. Thus the Indians, who call themselves Saukies, are denominated Sacs by the French, and Sauks by the Americans; and the names of many of the chiefs are given with such variations by different travellers that it is sometimes difficult to recognise them. The names which are attached to the portraits in this work are, with a few exceptions, those which we found written upon them in the gallery at the War Office, and which were dictated by the persons who attended the chiefs as interpreters, in their visit to Washington. Whether they have been changed in copying we cannot say; but some of them are evidently incorrect. We have, however, in most cases, left them unaltered, preferring to make our corrections in the biographical notices, rather than alter that which may have been written on authority better than our own. Whether the individual now before us should be called *Chonmonicase*, or *Shaumonekusse*, is a question which we suppose will never excite as much curiosity as has been awakened by the rival claims for the birth place of Homer; we have, however, taken some pains to arrive at the proper reading, and have adopted the latter, on the authority of the writers of Long's First Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, in which we place implicit confidence.

Shaumonekusse was distinguished early in life as a daring, active, and successful warrior. We are not aware of his having any hereditary claims to the chieftainship of his tribe, to which he has risen gradually by his own merits. He is a person of deep penetration, and is capable of acting with much duplicity on any occasion when he may consider it politic to conceal his real views. Having had intercourse with the traders, from his infancy, he has acquired an intimate knowledge of the character of the white men, and has studied to turn this acquisition to advantage. The Ottoes have always maintained friendly relations with the American people, and it was, therefore, not difficult for this chief to cultivate the good opinion of such of our countrymen as visited the distant shores of the upper Missouri.

The Ottoes and the Missouries are remnants of numerous and warlike nations which once roamed over these boundless plains, the monarchs of all they surveyed, but which are now so greatly reduced, that the whole number of the warriors in both tribes together is not more than two hundred. Being united by the closest friendship, they have cast their lots in union, and act together as one people; and small as is their aggregated force, they have sustained themselves with such uniform bravery and good conduct as to command the respect of the tribes around them. They are more indebted to Shaumonekusse than to any other individual for the high reputation they have maintained, as he is not only one of the boldest of their warriors, but is very expert and politic in the management of their affairs.

He is more commonly known to the whites by the name of *Ietan*, or, as the French traders denominate him, *L'Ietan*, a title which was given him in consequence of some exploit against the tribe of that name; probably on account of his having slain an Ietan warrior of distinction.

The countenance of this Indian expresses the qualities which he is known to have possessed in an eminent degree, but which are not common among his race; he was, when a young man, social, witty, animated, and mercurial in his temperament. Although he never obtained any reputation as an orator, he conversed well, and was an agreeable companion.

When Colonel Long's party were encamped on the upper Missouri, in 1819, they were visited by a party of Ottoes, among whom was Ietan, then a young but a distinguished warrior. A grand dance was performed in honour of the American officers; in the course of which, the leaders of the greatest repute among the Indians, narrated their exploits. Among others Ietan stepped forward and struck the flagstaff which had been erected, and around which the dancers moved. This ceremony is called *striking the post;* and such is the respect paid to it, that whatever is spoken by the person who strikes, may be relied upon as strictly true; and, indeed, it could not well be otherwise, for the speaker is surrounded by rival warriors, who would not fail to detect, and instantly expose, any exaggeration by which he should endeavour to swell his own comparative merits. In recounting his martial deeds, Ietan said, he had stolen horses seven or eight times from the Konsas; he had first struck the bodies of three of that nation, slain in battle. He had stolen horses from the Ietan nation, and had struck one of their dead. He had stolen horses from the Pawnees, and had struck the body of one Pawnee Loup. He had stolen horses several times from the Omahas, and once from the Puncas. He had struck the bodies of two Sioux. On a war party, in company with the Pawnees, he had attacked the Spaniards, and penetrated into one of their camps; the Spaniards, excepting a man and a boy, fled, himself being at a distance before his party, he was shot at and missed, by the man whom he immediately shot down and struck. "This," said he, "is the only martial act of my life that I am ashamed of."

This would be considered by an Indian audience a highly meritorious catalogue of martial deeds; nor would the stealing of horses be thought the least honourable of these daring exploits. Although the word stealing is used, and the proceeding itself is attended with the secrecy of actual theft, yet the act does not involve any idea of meanness or criminality, but is considered as a lawful capture of the property of an enemy. They deem it dishonest to steal from their friends or allies, but their code of morality justifies any deception or injury towards an enemy, and affords but slight protection to the person or property of any who are not bound to them by some strong bond of interest or friendship. Many of the wars of the Indians grow out of these predatory habits, and the capture of a few horses is repaid by the blood of warriors, and the sacrifice of life.

On the same occasion, alluded to above, we are told, "In this dance Ietan represented one who was in the act of stealing horses. He carried a whip in his hand, as did a considerable number of the Indians, and around his neck were thrown several leathern thongs, for bridles and halters, the ends of which trailed on the ground behind him; after many preparatory manœuvres he stooped down, and with his knife represented the act of cutting the *hopples* of horses; he then rode his tomahawk as children ride their broomsticks, making such use of his whip as to indicate the necessity of rapid movement, lest his foes should overtake him."

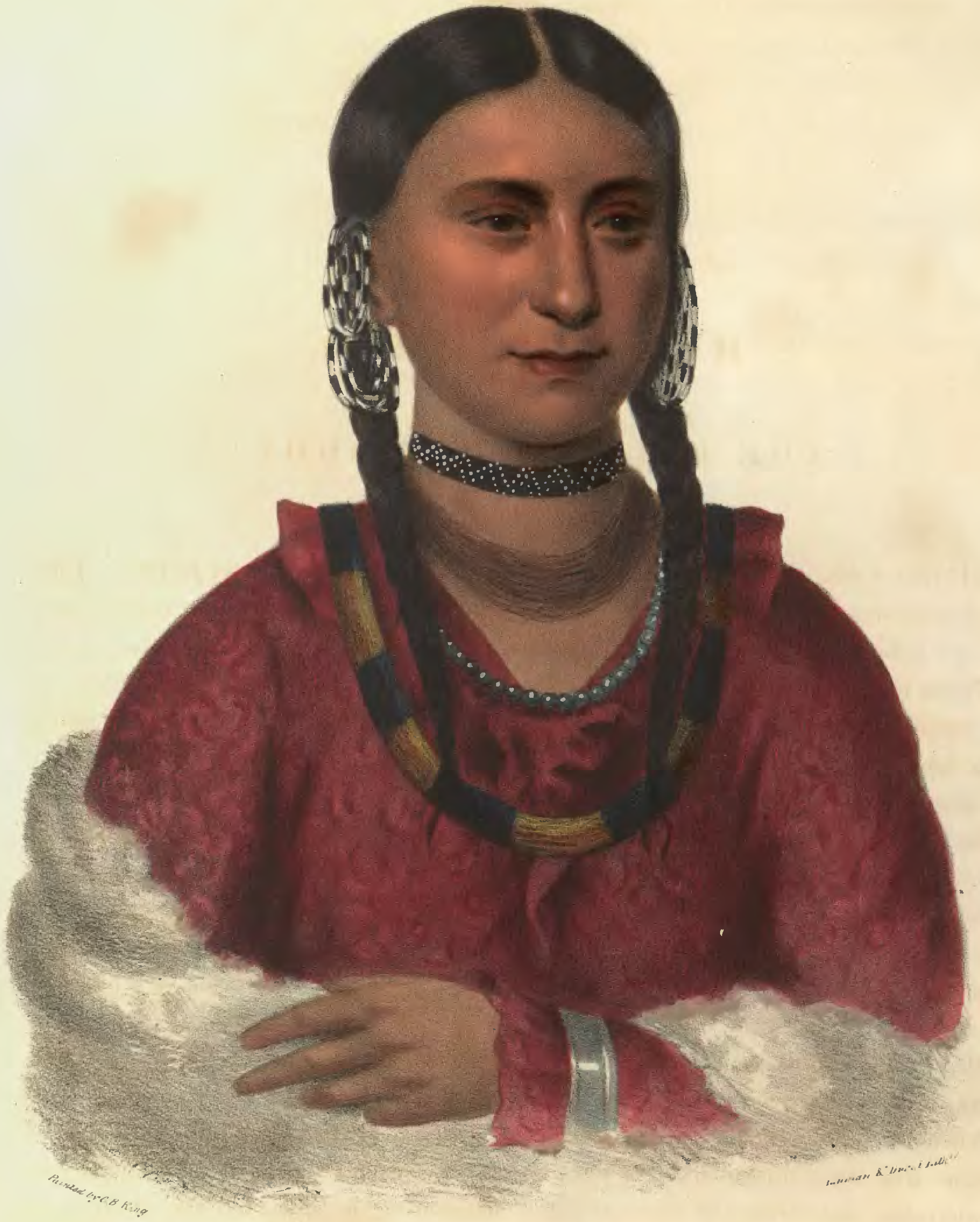
The authority already quoted, after remarking that the Indians sometimes indulge in pleasantry in their conversation, adds, that "Shaumonekusse seemed to be eminently witty, a quality strongly indicated by his well marked features."

The union between the Missouries and Ottoes took place about twenty years ago, when the former were conquered and dispersed by the Sauks and Foxes, and their allies, when a few families joined the Osages; a few took refuge among the Konsas, while the chief part of the tribe became amalgamated with the Ottoes. Having been previously very nearly assimilated in habits, manners, and language, the union has been cordial, and they may now be considered as one people.

These tribes boast of having faithfully adhered to their professions of friendship towards the American people; not one of whom, they assert, was ever killed by their warriors. Only two white men have been slain by them within the recollection of any living witnesses; one of these was a Frenchman, and the other a Spaniard, was killed by Shaumonekusse, in the manner already alluded to; and although this act was attended by a remarkable display of bravery, which no doubt gained him great credit, he declared publicly that it was the only martial act of his life that he was ashamed of.

This individual is distinguished not only as a warrior, but as a great hunter; and it is evident that he takes no small degree of pride in his exploits in the chase, from the manner in which his head was decorated with the spoils of the field, when he sat for his portrait. The horns of the buffalo are worn with a triumph which renders it probable that a legend of more than ordinary daring is connected with the identical pair thus ostentatiously displayed, while the claws of the grisly bear, the fiercest and most powerful quadruped of our continent, are suspended round his neck.

When this portrait was taken, Shaumonekusse was a young and gallant warrior; he has since become the head man of his tribe, and risen to great influence among his neighbours. The immediate cause of his rise from a half to a full chieftain, was the result of a quarrel that happened between one of his brothers and himself. In the fight produced by the quarrel, it was the lot of Shaumonekusse to have his nose bit off, whereupon he shot his brother. He immediately repaired to the council, and made known what had happened, when it was decreed, that any man who would bite off his brother's nose deserves to be shot; and in testimony of the respect entertained by the chiefs for the promptness of Shaumonekusse in punishing such an an outrage, they elected him chief.



Painted by C.B. King

Lehman & Duval Lith.

HAYNE HUDJIHINI, EAGLE of DELIGHT.

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1835 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa.

HAYNE HUDJIHINI,

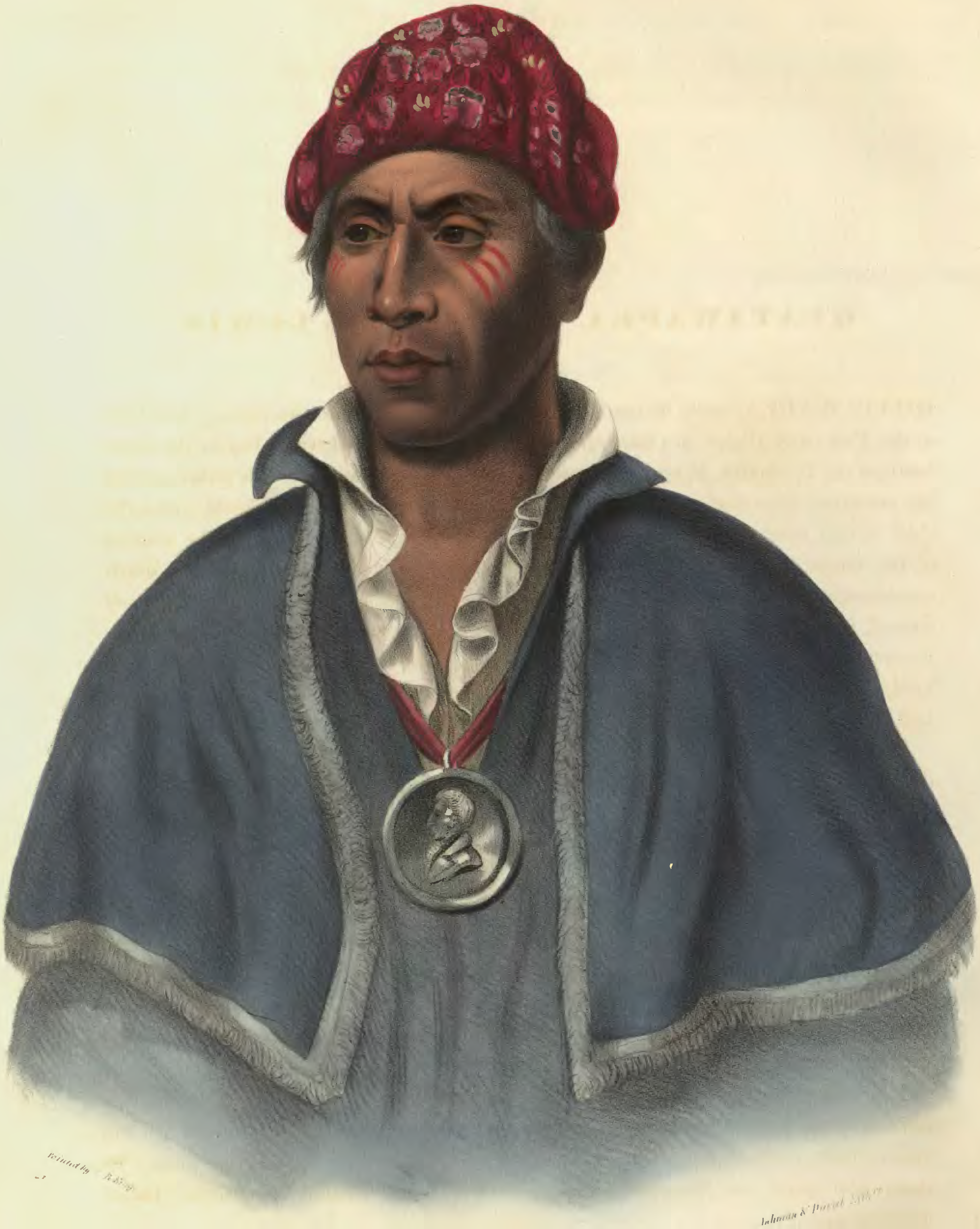
THE EAGLE OF DELIGHT.

WE regret that we have but little to say of the original of this pretty picture. Like many handsome women, her face was probably her principal treasure. The countenance does not indicate much character; without the intelligence of the civilised female, it has a softness rarely exhibited by the Indian squaw. There is a Chinese air of childishness and simplicity about it, which is rather striking, and which is as foreign to the features of the laborious, weather-beaten female of the prairies as it would be to the countenance of a practised belle in one of our cities.

She was the favourite wife of Shaumonekusse; whether the only one, we are unable to say, for the red men are in the habit of multiplying the chances of connubial felicity by marrying as many red ladies as they can support. A great hunter has usually several, while the sluggard, who has gained no reputation by his successes in the chase, is considered as very amply provided with a single helpmeet. We infer from the character of Ietan, as well as from the paraphernalia which decorates his person, that he was entitled by the etiquette and the economy of Indian life, to a plurality of wives, and that he was a personage who would probably live up to his privileges.

When he visited the city of Washington, in 1821, Hayne Hudjihini, the Eagle of Delight, was the companion of his journey. Young, and remarkably handsome, with an interesting appearance of innocence and artlessness, she attracted the attention of the citizens of our metropolis, who loaded her with presents and kindnesses. Among other things she received many trinkets; and it is said that her lord and master, who probably paid her the flattering compliment of thinking her, when unadorned, adorned the most, very deliberately appropriated them to his own use, and suspended them from his own nose, ears, and neck. If she was as good natured as her portrait bespeaks her, she was no doubt better pleased in administering to her husband's vanity, than she would have been in gratifying her own.

Shortly after her return home she died, and the bereaved husband was so sensibly affected by her decease, that he resolved to end his own life by starvation. With this view he threw himself on her grave, and for several days remained there in an agony of grief, refusing food, and repelling consolation. His friends, respecting his feelings, suffered him for a time to indulge his sorrow, but at last forced him away, and his immoderate grief became gradually assuaged.



Painted by C. B. King

Lehman & Duval Lith'rs

QUA-TA-WA-PEA
or
COL. LEWIS.
A Shawanee Chief

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of P.a

QUATAWAPEA, OR COLONEL LEWIS.

QUATAWAPEA, or "The man on the water who sinks and rises again," was born at the Pickaway Plains, in Ohio, almost sixty years ago, and was a boy at the great battle of the Kenhawa, in which his tribe acted a conspicuous part. His father and all his ancestors were distinguished for their feats in arms. He was for many years the chief of that band of the Shawanoe tribe which resided at Lewistown, on the sources of the Great Miami of the Ohio. With strangers he passed for a person of much consideration, in consequence of his fine address and appearance. He was a well formed, handsome man, dressed with much taste and elegance, and was graceful in his deportment. His horse and equipments, rifle, and side-arms, were all of the most costly kind, and few of his race ever appeared so well on public occasions. As a hunter he had no superior; but he was not distinguished in council or in war.

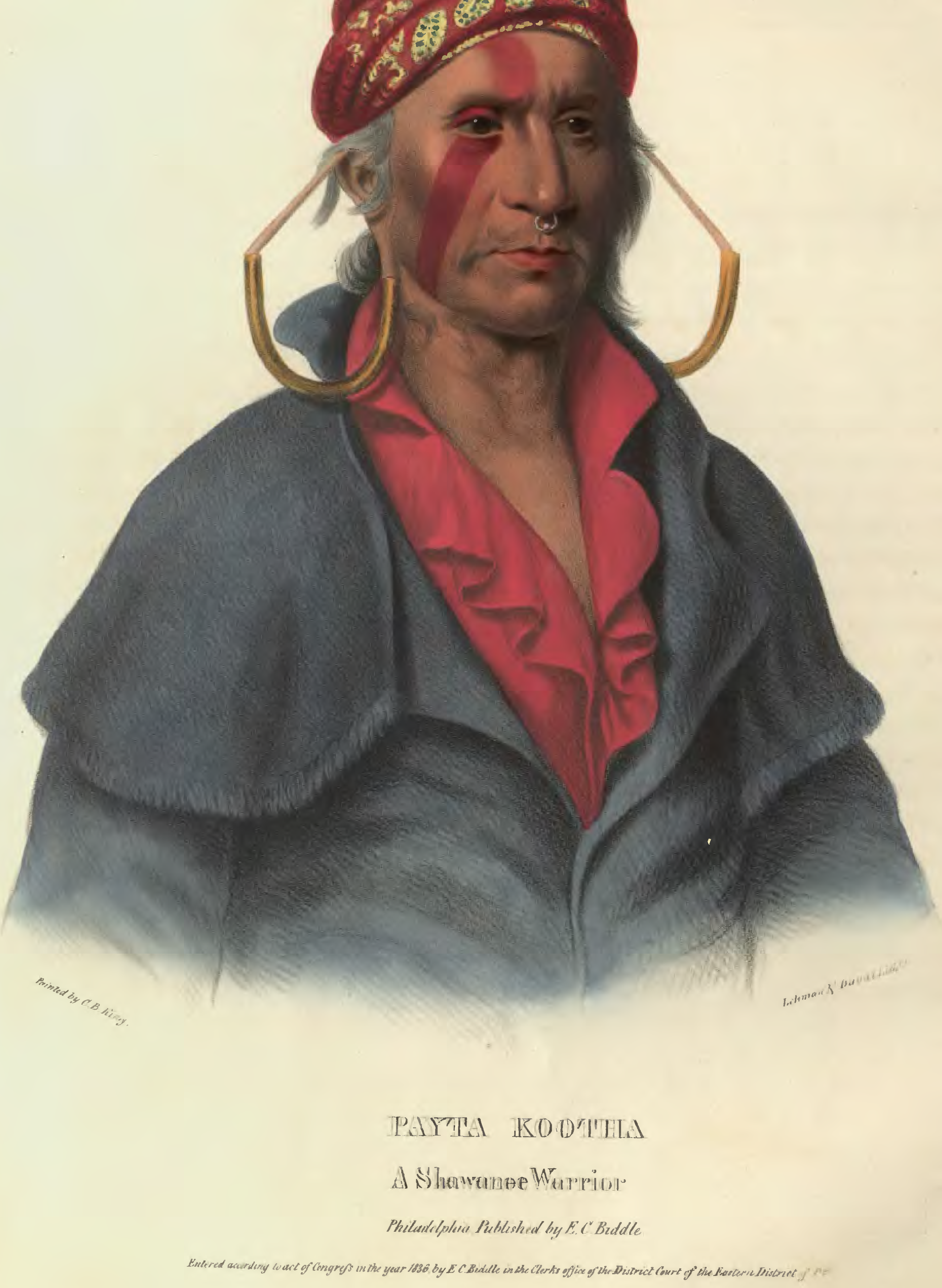
During the late war between the United States and Great Britain, this chief joined the American army with a small band of his braves, and rendered himself extremely useful, on account of his intimate knowledge of the whole country which formed the seat of war on our northwestern frontier. Only one martial exploit, however, is recorded to his honour. At a place called Savoirin's Mills, he attacked a small fortification, at the head of his warriors, with such fury, that the British garrison was compelled to evacuate it hastily, and seek safety in flight. They were overtaken, and many of them captured; the pursuit was continued for some hours; yet it is a fact, highly honourable to this chief, and the Shawanoe warriors under his command, that not a scalp was taken, nor a prisoner put to death. The British soldiers who were captured were treated with the greatest humanity.

The reader will have observed, that it is not uncommon for the Indian warriors and chiefs to have several names, and that many of them are named after eminent persons among their civilised neighbours. Thus the individual before us is better known by those who speak our language only, as *Colonel Lewis*, than by his original Indian designation.

He lived for many years near Waupaghconneta, in Ohio, where he cultivated a large farm, to which he devoted much attention. Unlike most of his race he had learned the value of property, and exerted himself to increase his possessions. This conduct rendered him unpopular with his tribe, by whom he had never been greatly esteemed; and he was at length deposed by them, under a charge of peculation, in having applied to his own private purposes the money received from the United States for the use of his people.

It is said that his appointment to the station of chief was entirely accidental. Being one of a delegation which visited the seat of government while General Dearborn was Secretary of War, the superiority of Colonel Lewis, in dress and manners, probably induced the secretary to regard him as the most conspicuous person of the party, and he presented him with a medal. On his return the Indians regarding this decoration as an indication of the wishes of the American government, and desirous to testify their obedience to the hint which they supposed to have been thus given, yielded to him tacitly, a precedence which soon grew into a confirmed authority; and such is their rigid notion of discipline, and their habitual respect for their chiefs, that they submitted to him cheerfully while he remained in office. They even retained him for some time after they were satisfied of his unworthiness, at the instance of the agents of our government, who supported his cause, because they found him inclined to peace, and friendly to the whites.

After his deposition from the chieftainship he emigrated with his family, and a few followers, to the country west of the Mississippi, allotted by the American government to the Shawanoes, where he died, in 1826.



Painted by C.B. King.

Lehman & Duval Lith's

PAYTA KOOTHA

A Shawanee Warrior

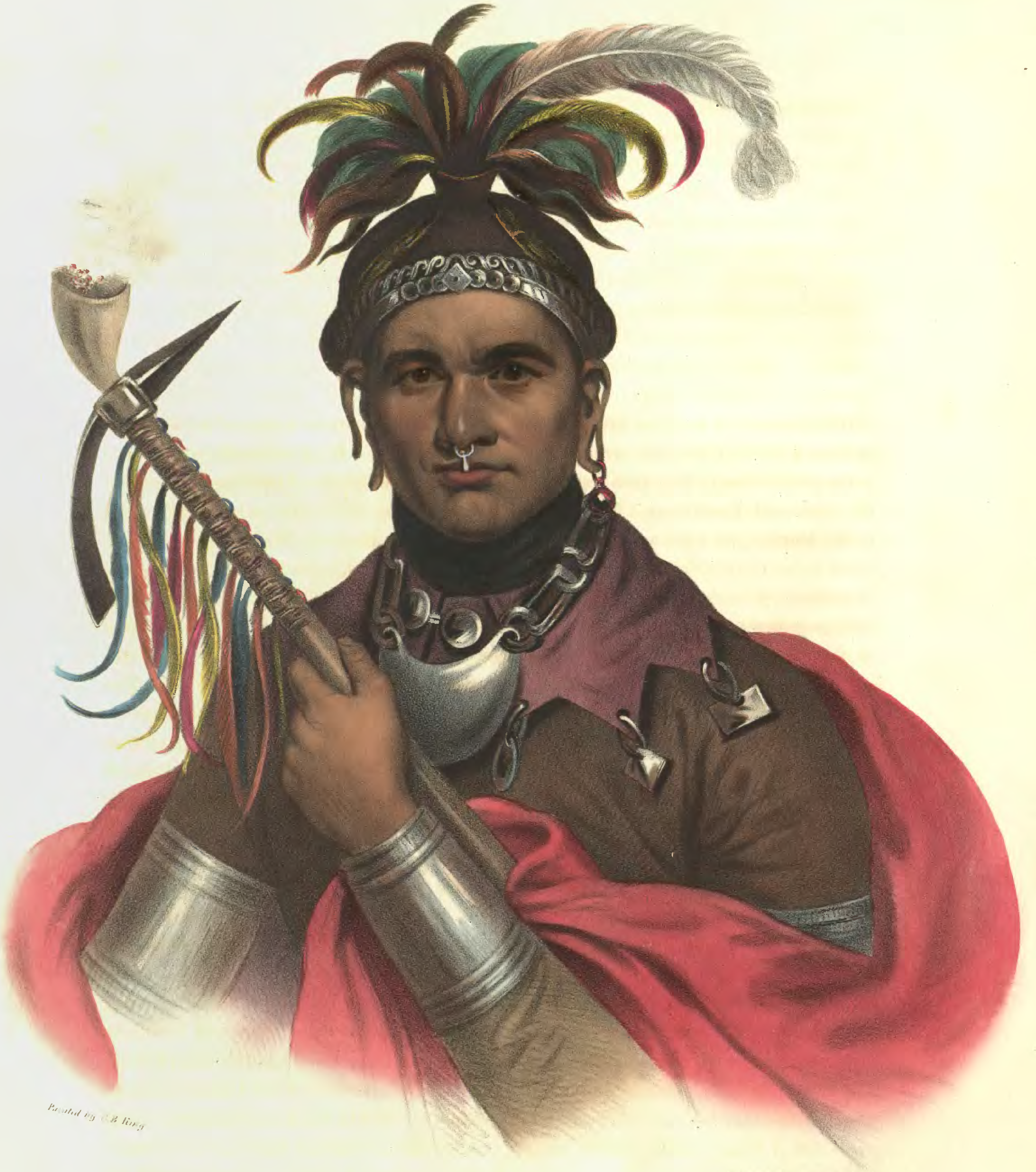
Philadelphia Published by E.C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836, by E.C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

PAYTA KOOTHA.

THE interpretation of the name of this Indian is "Flying clouds;" but he is better known among the Americans as "Captain Reed." He is a Shawanoe of the Chilicothe tribe, but was born in the country of the Creeks. His age, at the time his portrait was taken, is supposed to have been about fifty-five years. Although considered a brave man he has never gained any distinction as a warrior, but is a very good hunter. He had little popularity or influence in his tribe. In 1833 he was living west of the Mississippi.

Colonel John Johnston, of Ohio, a venerable and highly intelligent gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with the northwestern Indians, represents this individual as a wandering, unsettled man, often engaged in embassies between the tribes, and frequently journeying to distant villages. He was considered a peaceable, inoffensive person, without talents, but always disposed to exert himself in reconciling differences between tribes or individuals, and was esteemed by the red people as a benevolent man. However that reputation may have conciliated for him the good will of those around him, it gave him not the kind of standing which a daring warrior or a bold intriguing leader would have possessed among the fierce warriors of the forest, and Captain Reed had the common fate of enjoying the respect of his associates, while men of less moral worth directed their councils.



Painted by C. B. King

Lehman & Duval Lith^rs Phila.

KI-ON-TWOG-KY

or Cornplant

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the district Court of the Eastern District of P^a

CORN PLANT.

THE Senecas, as we have already stated in another place, were a tribe of the Iroquois, or Five Nations; and, more recently, the Six Nations, when the Tuscaroras were added to the confederacy, which then consisted of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Senecas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras. These Indians were among the earliest who were known to the English, who recognised them as a warlike and powerful people, and took no small pains to conciliate their friendship. In the year 1710, five chiefs of the Iroquois, were induced by the British officers to visit England, under the expectation that their savage natures might be softened by kindness, or their fears alarmed by an exhibition of the power and magnificence of the British sovereign. This event excited much attention in London. Steele mentioned it in his Tattler of May 13, 1710, while Addison devoted a number of the Spectator to the same subject. Swift, who was ambitious to be a politician, and who suffered no occurrence of a public nature to escape his attention, remarks, in one of his letters to Mrs. Johnson; "I intended to have written a book on that subject. I believe he (Addison,) has spent it all in one paper, and all the under hints there are mine too." Their portraits were taken, and are still preserved in the British Museum; and Steele says, of these illustrious strangers; "they were placed in a handsome apartment, at an upholsterer's in King street, Covent Garden."

In Oldmixon's History we find the following notice: "For the successes in Spain, and for the taking of Doway, Bethune, and Aire, by the Duke of Marlborough, in Flanders, there was a thanksgiving day appointed, which the Queen solemnised at St. James' chapel. To have gone, as usual, to St. Paul's, and there to have had *Te Deum* sung, on that occasion, would have shown too much countenance to those brave and victorious Enlgish generals who were fighting her battles abroad, while High Church was plotting, and railing, and addressing against them at home. The carrying of five Indian casaques about in the Queen's coaches, was all the triumph of the Harleian administration; they were called Kings, and clothed by the playhouse tailor, like other kings of the theatre; they were conducted to audience by Sir Charles Cotterel; there was a speech made for them, and nothing omitted to do honour to these five monarchs, whose presence did so much honour the new ministry."

In a work entitled "The Annals of Queen Anne's Reign, Year the IX, for 1710," written by Mr. Boyer, we find the following remarks: "On the 19th April, Te-ye-neenho-ga-prow, and Sa-ga-yean-qua-pra-ton, of the Maquas, Elow-oh-kaom ,and Oh-neah-yeath-ton-no-prow, of the river Sachem, and the Genajoh-hore sachem, four kings, or chiefs, of the Six Nations, in the West Indies, which lie between New England and New France, or Canada, who lately came over with the West India fleet, and were clothed and entertained at the queen's expense, had a public audience of her majesty, at the palace of St. James, being conducted in two of her majesty's coaches, by Sir James Cotterel, master of ceremonies, and introduced by the Duke of Somerset, lord chamberlain." The historian then proceeds to recite a long speech, which these sachems *from the West Indies, between New England and Canada,* are supposed to have made to the British monarch, but which is so evidently of English manufacture, that we refrain from giving it a place. We are farther informed, that our chiefs remained in London, after their audience with her majesty, about a fortnight, and were entertained by several persons of distinction, particularly the Duke of Ormond, who regaled them likewise with a review of the four troops of life guards. In Smith's History of New York, we are told, "The arrival of these five sachems in England, made a great bruit throughout the whole kingdom. The mob followed wherever they went, and small cuts of them were sold among the people."

The visits of Indian chiefs to the more refined and civilised parts of the world are, unhappily, to be regarded only as matter for curiosity, for we do not find that they have produced any beneficial results. The savage gazed with astonishment at the wonders of art and luxury which met his eye at every step, and returned to repeat the marvellous narrative of his travels to hearers who listened without understanding the recital, or being convinced of their own inferior condition. The distance between themselves and the white men was too great to be measured by their reasoning powers. There was no standard of comparison by which they could try the respective merits of beings so different, and modes of life so opposite; and they satisfied themselves with supposing that the two races were created with distinct faculties, and destined for separate spheres of existence. They took little pains to investigate any thing which was new or wonderful, but briefly resolved all difficulties by referring them to fatality, or to magic. A few of the more acute, obtained distant and misty glimpses of the truth, and were willing to spare the weaker intellects of their people, from a knowledge which filled themselves with dread and sorrow; for, in the little which they comprehended of European power, they saw the varied and overwhelming elements of a superiority which threatened their destruction. Hence their wisest and most patriotic chiefs have been prudently jealous of civilisation; while the Indians in general have feared and distrusted that which they could not comprehend. A striking instance, in illustration of these remarks, may be found in the story of an individual belonging to the Iroquois confederacy, upon whom the experiment of a civilised education was fairly tried.

Peter Otsaquette—we give his name as we find it—disguised by an English prefix, and a French termination, was an Oneida Indian, of a distinguished family. At the close of the American revolution, he attracted the attention of Lafayette, whose benevolent feelings, strongly enlisted by the intelligence and amiable qualities of the savage boy, induced him to send the young Oneida to France. At the age of twelve, he was placed in the best schools of Paris, and not only became a good scholar, but attained a high degree of proficiency in music, drawing, fencing, and all the accomplishments of a gentleman. His was one of the few native stalks upon which the blossoms of education have been successfully engrafted. Delighted with the French metropolis, and deeply imbued with the spirit of its polite inhabitants, he seems to have forgotten his native propensities, and to have been thoroughly reclaimed from barbarism. He returned to America an altered person, with a commanding figure, an intelligent countenance, the dress of the European, and the grace of a polished man. Proud of his acquirements, and buoyed up with the patriotic hope of becoming the benefactor of his tribe, and the instrument of their moral elevation, he hastened to his native forests. He was welcomed with hospitality; but on his first appearance in public, the Oneidas disrobed him of his foreign apparel, tearing it from his person with indignant violence, and reproaching him with apostacy in throwing off the garb of his ancestors. They forced him to resume the blanket, to grease his limbs with the fat of the bear, and to smear his body with paint. Nor was this enough; he was married to a squaw, and indoctrinated in the connubial felicities of the wigwam. The sequel of his story will be readily anticipated. With no relish for savage life, and without the prospect of happiness or distinction, he sank into intemperance, and so rapid was his degradation, that within three months after his return from Europe, he exchanged the portrait of Lafayette, the gift of his illustrious benefactor, for the means of gratifying the brutal propensity which was now his sole remaining passion.

As our object is to illustrate the Indian character, we may be permitted to extend this digression by relating, before we proceed to the proper subject of the article, another anecdote, which, while it exemplifies the self-possession of the Indian, and the readiness with which he adapts himself to circumstances, shows also how slight are the impressions made upon his mind by the finest incidents, or the most agreeable objects in civilised life. In 1819, an Indian warrior, named Makawitta, happened to be a passenger upon Lake Erie, in the steamboat Walk-in-the-water. On board the same vessel was a sprightly young lady, who, pleased with the fine appearance and manly deportment of the savage, played off upon him some of those fascinating coquetries, in which fair ladies are so expert, and which the wisest men are unable to resist, and unwilling to avoid. Makawitta was a youth of little over twenty years, neat in his dress, and graceful as well as dignified in his movements; we presume the lady was both witty and handsome, and we are assured that the passengers were highly amused at this encounter between a belle and a beau of such opposite nurture. For some time he sustained his part with admirable tact, but when his fair opponent drew a ring from her finger, and placed it on his, he stood for a moment in respectful silence, at a loss to understand the meaning of the ceremony. A gentleman, who spoke his language, apprised him that the ring was a token of affection; upon which, placing himself in a graceful attitude, he addressed her in an oratorical style, which showed that he entered fully into the spirit of the scene, in the following words:

"You have conferred the best gift—this ring, emblem of love—of love that lives while the Great Spirit endures. My heart is touched—it is yours for ever.

"I will preserve this ring while I live. I will bear it with me over the mighty waters, to the land of good spirits.

"I am happy to be with you in this wonderful canoe, moved by the Great Spirit, and conducted by the Big Fist of the great deep.

"I wish to be with you until I go to the land where my fathers have gone. Take back the ring, and give me that which I value more—*yourself*."

On the next day the ring was bartered for a drink of whiskey!

Such is the singular race whose history we are endeavouring to exemplify—patient under hardship, subtle in war, inflexible in the stern purpose of revenge, but fickle in every good resolution, and irreclaimable in barbarism. In the multitude, bravery is a common virtue, a prominent and almost a single merit; while here and there a noble character shines like a bright peculiar star among the host of mere warriors, adorned with the highest qualities that dignify and soften the harsher features of manhood.

The name of ***Corn Plant*** is very familiar to most of our countrymen, yet we have been unable to obtain the materials for a connected account of his whole career. He was a chief of the Senecas, and the rival of Red Jacket, from whom he differed in character, while he equalled him in influence. Without the commanding genius of Red Jacket, he possessed a large share of the common sense, which is more efficient in all the ordinary affairs of life. They were both able men; both acquired the confidence of their people; but the patriotism of Red Jacket was exhibited in an unyielding hatred of the whites, between whom, and the red men, he would have cut off all intercourse, while Corn Plant adopted the opposite policy of conciliation, towards his more powerful neighbours. The one was a warrior of unblemished reputation, the other an orator of unrivalled eloquence; both were shrewd, artful, and expert negotiators, and they prevailed alternately over each other, as opportunities were offered to either for the exertion of his peculiar abilities. The one rose into power when the Senecas were embittered against the whites, and the other acquired consequence when it became desirable to cultivate friendly relations upon the frontier.

The father of Corn Plant was a white man, and is said to have been an Irishman; but nothing is now known of him, except what may be gathered from a letter of Corn Plant to the Governor of Pennsylvania. This singular production was, of course, dictated to an interpreter, who acted as amanuensis, but the sentiments are undoubtedly his own. It was dated in 1822, when the lands reserved for the Indians in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania became surrounded by the farms of the whites, and some attempt was made to tax the property of the Seneca chief; in consequence of which he wrote this epistle to the governor.

"I feel it my duty to send a speech to the Governor of Pennsylvania, at this time, and inform him of the place where I was from—which was at Connewaugus on the Genessee river.

"When I was a child I played with the butterfly, the grasshopper, and the frogs; and as I grew up I began to pay some attention, and play with the Indian boys in the neighbourhood, and they took notice of my skin being of a different color from theirs, and spoke about it. I inquired of my mother the cause, and she told me that my father was a residenter in Albany. I still eat my victuals out of a bark dish. I grew up to be a young man, and married me a wife, and I had no kettle nor gun. I then knew where my father lived, and went to see him, and found he was a white man, and spoke the English language. He gave me victuals while I was at his house, but when I started home, he gave me no provision to eat on the way. He gave me neither kettle nor gun, neither did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against the government of England.

"I will now tell you, brothers, who are in session of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, that the Great Spirit has made known to me that I have been wicked; and the cause thereof has been the revolutionary war in America. The cause of Indians being led into sin at that time, was that many of them were in the practice of drinking and getting intoxicated. Great Britain requested us to join with them in the conflict against the Americans, and promised the Indians land and liquor. I myself was opposed to joining in the conflict, as I had nothing to do with the difficulty that existed between the two parties. I have now informed you how it happened, that the Indians took a part in the revolution, and will relate to you some circumstances that occurred after the close of the war. General Putnam, who was then at Philadelphia, told me there was to be a council at Fort Stanwix; and the Indians requested me to attend on behalf of the Six Nations, which I did, and there met with three commissioners who had been appointed to hold the council. They told me that they would inform me of the cause of the revolution, which I requested them to do minutely. They then said that it originated on account of the heavy taxes, that had been imposed upon them by the British government, which had been for fifty years increasing upon them; that the Americans had grown weary thereof, and refused to pay, which affronted the king. There had likewise a difficulty taken place about some tea which they wished me not to use, as it had been one of the causes that many people had lost their lives. And the British government now being affronted, the war commenced, and the cannons began to roar in our country.

"General Putnam then told me at the council at Fort Stanwix, that by the late war the Americans had gained two objects; they had established themselves an independent nation, and had obtained some land to live upon, the division line of which from Great Britain run through the Lakes. I then spoke, and said I wanted some land for the Indians to live on, and General Putnam said that it should be granted, and I should have land in the state of New York for the Indians. He then encouraged me to use my endeavours to pacify the Indians generally; and as he considered it an arduous task, wished to know what pay I would require. I replied, that I would use my endeavours to do as he requested with the Indians, and for pay therefor, I would take land. I told him not to pay me money or dry goods, but land. And for having attended thereto I received the tract of land on which I now live, which was presented to me by Governor Mifflin. I told General Putnam that I wished the Indians to have the exclusive privilege of the deer and wild game, to which he assented; I also wished the Indians to have the privilege of hunting in the woods and making fires, which he likewise assented to.

"The treaty that was made at the aforementioned council, has been broken by some of the white people, which I now intend acquainting the governor with. Some white people are not willing that Indians should hunt any more, whilst others are satisfied therewith; and those white people who reside near our reservation, tell us that the woods are theirs and they have obtained them from the governor. The treaty has also been broken by the white people using their endeavours to destroy all the wolves, which was not spoken about in the council at Fort Stanwix by General Putnam, but has originated lately.

"It has been broken again, which is of recent origin. White people get credit from Indians, and do not pay them honestly according to agreement. In another respect also, it has been broken by white people residing near my dwelling; for when I plant melons and vines in my field, they take them as their own. It has been broken again, by white people using their endeavours to obtain our pine trees from us. We have very few pine trees on our land in the State of New York; and whites and Indians often get into dispute respecting them. There is also a great quantity of whiskey brought near our reservation, and the Indians obtain it and become drunken.

"Another circumstance has taken place which is very trying to me, and I wish for the interference of the governor. The white people who live at Warren, called upon me some time ago to pay taxes for my land, which I objected to, as I never had been called upon for that purpose before; and having refused to pay, they became irritated, called upon me frequently, and at length brought four guns with them and seized our cattle. I still refused to pay and was not willing to let the cattle go. After a time of dispute they returned home, and I understood the militia was ordered out to enforce the collection of the tax. I went to Warren, and, to avert the impending difficulty, was obliged to give my note for the tax, the amount of which was forty-three dollars and seventy-nine cents. It is my desire that the governor will exempt me from paying taxes for my land to white people; and also to cause that the money I am now obliged to pay, be refunded to me, as I am very poor. The governor is the person who attends to the situation of the people, and I wish him to send a person to Alleghany, that I may inform him of the particulars of our situation, and he be authorised to instruct the white people in what manner to conduct themselves towards the Indians.

"The government has told us that, when difficulties arose between the Indians and the white people, they would attend to having them removed. We are now in a trying situation, and I wish the governor to send a person authorised to attend thereto, the fore part of next summer, about the time that the grass has grown big enough for pasture.

"The governor formerly requested me to pay attention to the Indians, and take care of them. We are now arrived at a situation in which I believe the Indians cannot exist, unless the governor should comply with my request, and send a person authorised to treat between us and the white people, the approaching summer. I have now no more to speak."

It is unfortunate that most of the interpreters through whom the productions of the aboriginal intellect have reached us, have been so entirely illiterate as to be equally incapable of appreciating the finer touches of sentiment and eloquence, and of expressing them appropriately in our language. The letter of Corn Plant is distinguished by its simplicity and good sense, and was no doubt dictated in the concise, nervous, and elevated style of the Indian orator, while we have received it in a garbled version of very shabby English. His account of his parentage is simple and touching; his unprotected yet happy infancy, when he *played with the butterfly, the grasshopper, and the frog,* is sketched with a scriptural felicity of style; there is something very striking in the description of his poverty, when he *grew up to be a young man, and married a wife, and had no kettle nor gun;* while the brief account of his visit to his father is marked by the pathos of genuine feeling. It is to be regretted that he did not pursue the narrative, and inform us by what steps he rose from his low estate to become the head of a tribe. We learn from other sources that he was a successful warrior, and it is probable that the traders and the missionaries, whose interest he espoused, in opposition to Red Jacket, aided in his elevation. In the latter part of the letter he has given a synopsis of the evils which his nation endured in consequence of their alliance with the whites, and which invariably attended the unnatural contact of civilised and savage men.

Corn Plant was one of the parties to the treaty at Fort Stanwix, in 1784, when a large cession of territory was made by the Indians; at the treaty of Fort Harmer, five years afterwards, he took the lead in conveying an immense tract of country to the American government, and became so unpopular that his life was threatened by his incensed tribe. But this chief, and those who acted with him, were induced to make these liberal concessions by motives of sound policy; for the Six Nations having fought on the royal side during the war of the revolution, and the British government having recognised our independence, and signed a peace without stipulating for the protection of her misguided allies, they were wholly at our mercy. In an address sent to the President of the United States, in 1790, by *Corn Plant, Half Town,* and *Big Tree,* we find the following remarks in allusion to these treaties:

"*Father:*—We will not conceal from you that the Great Spirit, and not men, has preserved Corn Plant from the hands of his own nation, for they ask continually, 'where is the land upon which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down? You told us that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario would mark it for ever on the east, and the line running from Beaver Creek to Pennsylvania would mark it on the west, and we see it is not so; for, first one comes, and then another, and takes it away, by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us.'

He is silent, for he has nothing to answer. When the sun goes down he opens his heart before the Great Spirit, and earlier than the sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night; for he feels that among men become desperate by the injuries they have sustained, it is God only that can protect him."

In his reply to this address, President Washington remarked; "The merits of Corn Plant, and his friendship for the United States are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten; and as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the Secretary of War to make him a present of two hundred and fifty dollars, either in money or goods, as the Corn Plant shall like best."

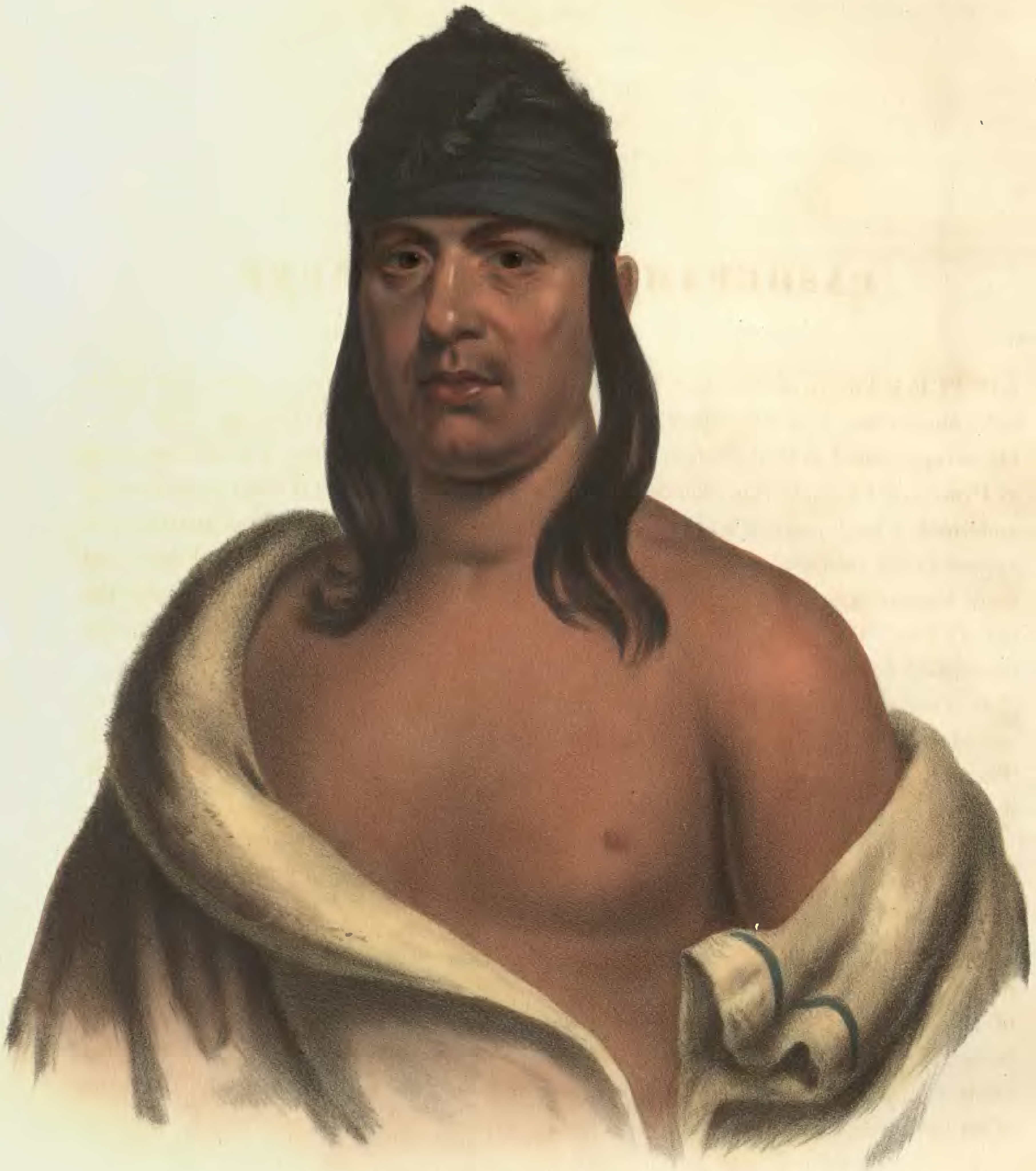
It would be tedious to pursue the history of this chief through the various vicissitudes of his life. His reputation as a warrior was gained previous to the American revolution, and during that war. Shortly after that struggle, the lands reserved for the Senecas became surrounded by the settlements of the American people, so as to leave them no occasion nor opportunity for hostilities with other tribes. In his efforts to preserve peace with his powerful neighbours, Corn Plant incurred, alternately, the suspicion of both parties—the whites imputing to him a secret agency in the depredations of lawless individuals of his nation, while the Senecas have sometimes become jealous of his apparent fame with the whites, and regarded him as a pensionary of their oppressors. His course, however, has been prudent and consistent, and his influence very great.

He resided on the banks of the Alleghany river, a few miles below its junction with the Connewango, upon a tract of fine land, within the limits of Pennsylvania, and not far from the line between that state and New York. He owned thirteen hundred acres of land, of which six hundred were comprehended within the village occupied by his people. A considerable portion of the remainder he cultivated as a farm, which was tolerably well stocked with horses, cattle, and hogs. Many of his people cultivated the soil, and evinced signs of industry. The chief favoured the Christian religion, and welcomed those who came to teach it. He lived in simple style, surrounded with plenty, and practising a rude hospitality, while his sway was kind and patriarchal.

In 1815, a missionary society had, at his earnest solicitation, established a school at his village, which at that time promised success. We are not aware that any permanent results were attained by the effort.

Corn Plant imbibed, in the feebleness of age, the superstition of the less intellectual of his race. His conscience reproached him for his friendship towards the whites, and in a moment of alarm, fancying that the Great Spirit had commanded him to destroy all evidence of his connection with the enemies of his race, he burned an elegant sword and other articles which he had received as presents. A favourite son, who had been carefully educated at one of our schools, became a drunkard, adding another to the many discouraging instances in which a similar result has attended the attempt to educate the Indian youth. When, therefore, the aged chief was urged to send his younger sons to school he declined, remarking, in his broken English, "It entirely spoil Indian."

Corn Plant died on his reservation on the Alleghany river, sometime in the winter of 1836—supposed to have been over ninety years old. His Indian name was Ki-on-twog-ky. The likeness we have given of him was taken in New York, about the year 1788, and when the original is supposed to have been in his forty-eighth year. It was intended for some friend of the Indians, in London, but Captain M'Dougall, who, at that time, commanded a merchant ship, between Philadelphia and Liverpool, and who was to have conveyed it to Liverpool, sailing without it, the portrait fell into the hands of Timothy Matlock, Esq., who cherished it, not only because of its admirable and close resemblance to the original, but because he was indebted to Corn Plant for his life. At his death the portrait was still cherished by his daughter. It was from that original the copy before the reader was taken.



Painted by C. B. King.

PAH-SHE-PAH-HOW.

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle.

Lehman & Duval Lith^rs

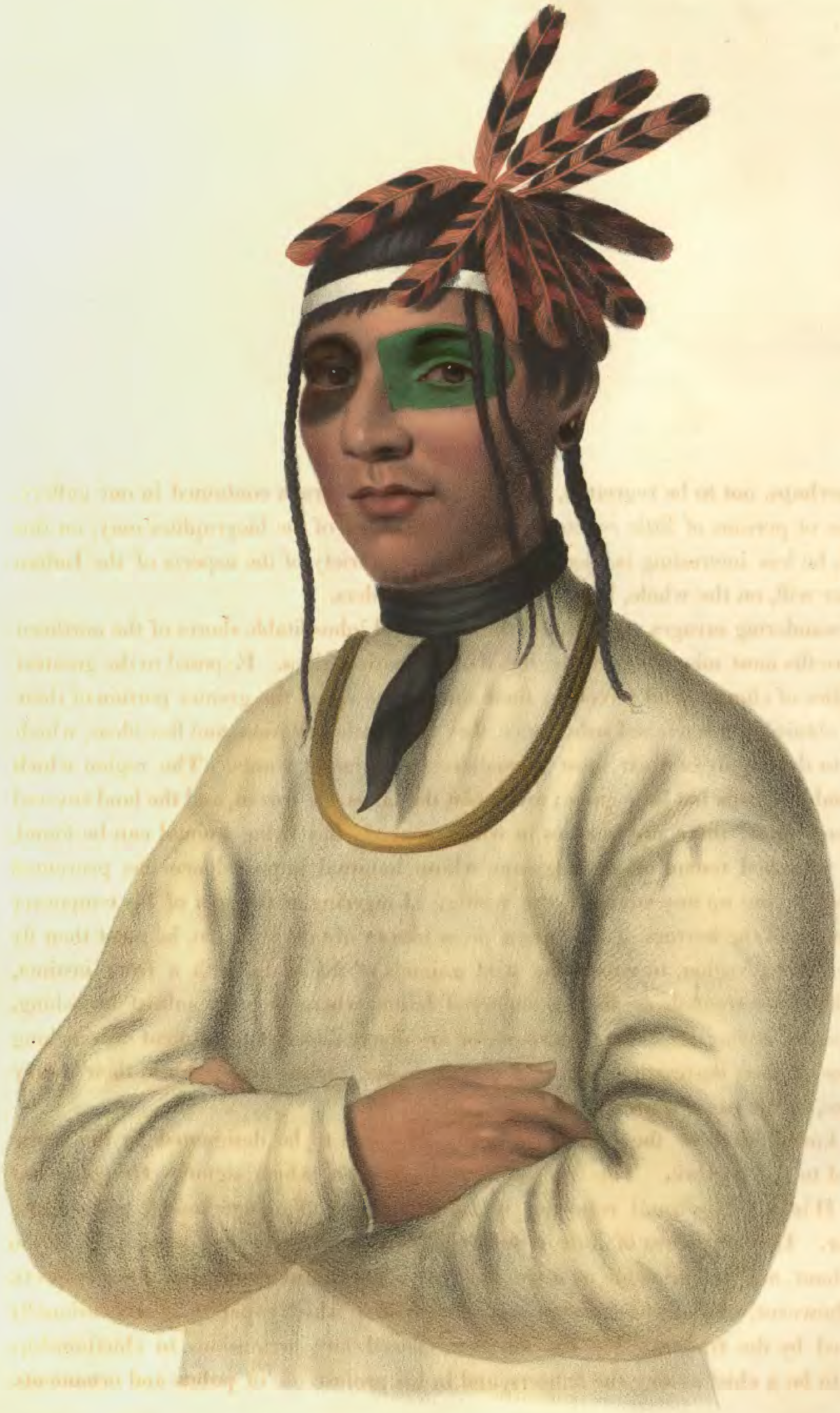
Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1835 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

PASHEPAHAW, THE STABBER.

LITTLE is known of this chief, except that he was of sufficient note among his people to be chosen one of a delegation to visit Washington on business relating to his tribe. He is represented to be vindictive and implacable in his resentments. The Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, having offended him, Pashepahaw resolved on revenge, and actually undertook a long journey with the view of killing him. *Tai-mah*, whose portrait will appear in the course of this work, hearing of the Stabber's purpose, outsped him, and made known to the agent his bloody design. This timely information, doubtless, saved the agent's life. The untrimmed locks that hang down on the Stabber's shoulders indicate unsatisfied revenge.

It is not probable, if more was known of this ferocious Indian, that his biography would afford any incident of sufficient interest to deserve a large space in our work. There can be no question that the agreeable epithet, by which he has chosen to be distinguished, is indicative of his character.

The Sauks, as a nation, afford favourable specimens of the Indian race. Among a large number that we have seen, the majority were tall, well formed, active men, who bestowed much care on the decoration of their persons, and were dignified in their manners. They are a warlike, active, and sprightly people, friendly to the whites, and hospitable to strangers. Their principal residence, until recently, was on the shores of Rock River, in Illinois, where their hunting grounds comprised the most fertile and beautiful region of the west. They have been removed from those lovely plains to other lands beyond the Mississippi, and their recent haunts are now covered with the farms of an industrious population.



CAA-TOU-SEE

An Ojibway

Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle.

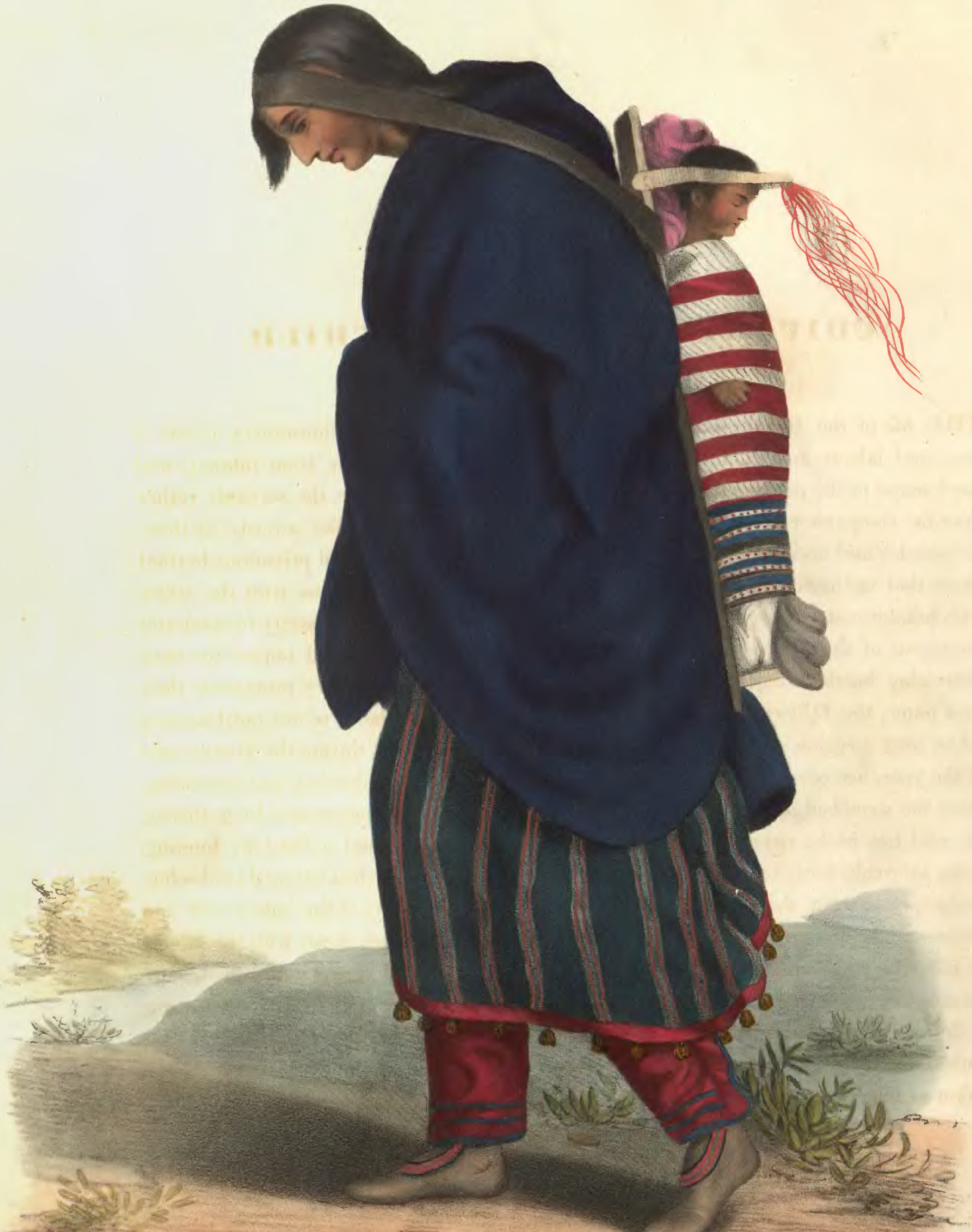
Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa.

CAATOUSEE.

IT is, perhaps, not to be regretted, that some of the portraits contained in our gallery, are those of persons of little repute; for, although many of the biographies may, on this account, be less interesting in themselves, a greater variety of the aspects of the Indian character will, on the whole, be presented to our readers.

The wandering savages who inhabit the sterile and inhospitable shores of the northern lakes, are the most miserable and degraded of the native tribes. Exposed to the greatest extremities of climate, and forced by their situation to spend the greater portion of their lives in obtaining a wretched subsistence, they have little ambition, and few ideas, which extend to the supply of their most immediate and pressing wants. The region which they inhabit affords but little game; and when the lakes are frozen, and the land covered with deep snow, there are seasons in which scarcely any living animal can be found, but the wretched tenant of the wigwam, whose habitual improvidence has prevented him from laying up any store for the winter. Lingering at the spot of his temporary residence until the horrors of starvation press him to instant exertion, he must then fly to some distant region, to which the wild animals of the plain, with a truer instinct, have already retreated, or seek a sheltered haunt where he may subsist by fishing. Many perish during these long journeys, or are doomed to disappointment on reaching the place of their destination, and thus they drag out, month after month, their weary existence, in the eager search for food.

We know not how the individual before us came to be designated by the name attached to the portrait. The true name is A-qua-o-da, which signifies *Creeping out of the Water*. His usual residence is La Pointe, or Shagoimekoong, upon Lake Superior. He is a person of little repute, either with white or red men. He is too idle to hunt, and has no name as a warrior; nor is his character good in other respects. He is, however, an expert fisherman and canoeman, in which capacity he is occasionally employed by the traders. He has never advanced any pretensions to chieftainship, except to be a chief among the dancers, and in his profuse use of paints and ornaments.


Painted by C. B. King
Lehman & Duval

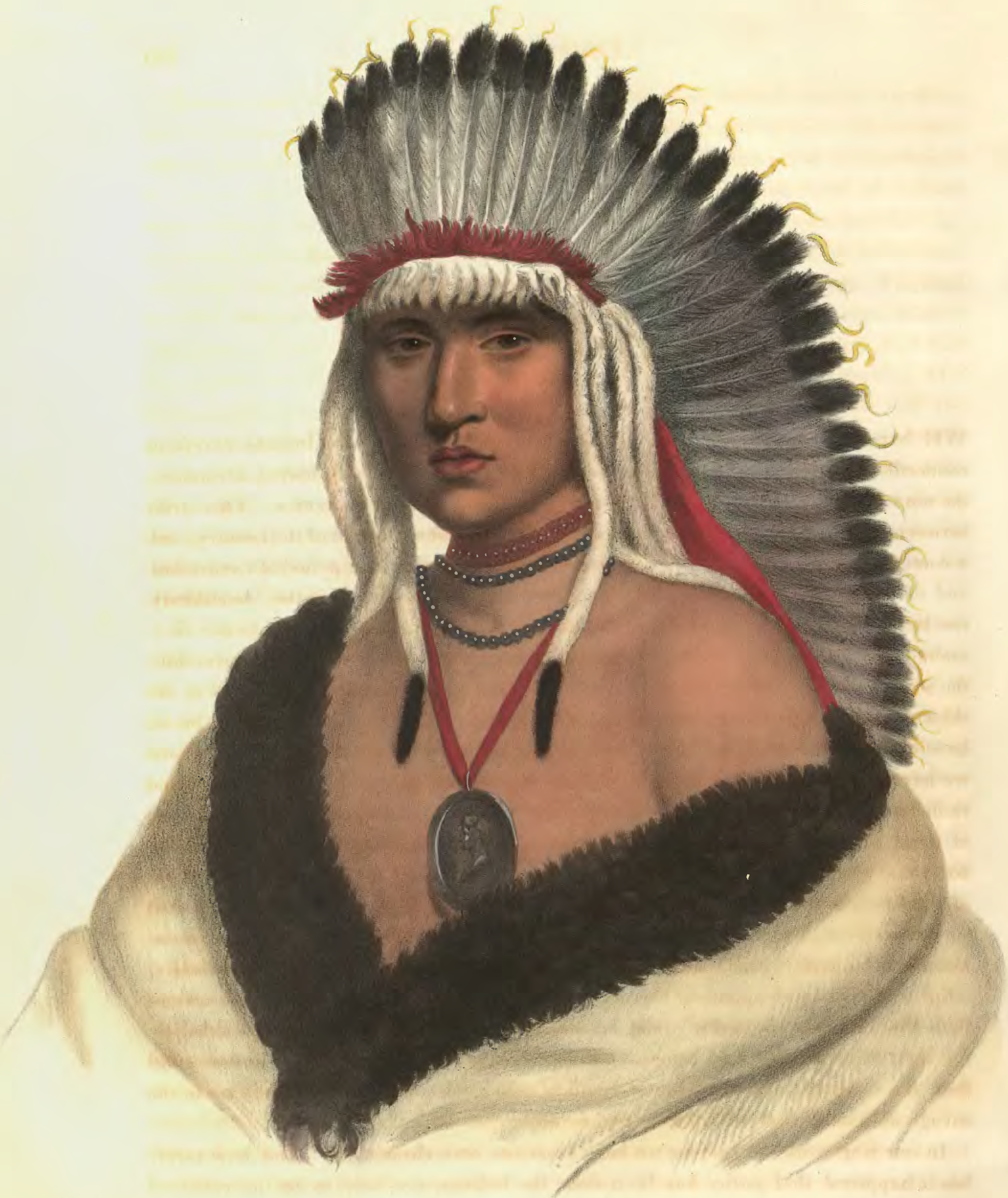
CHIPPEWAY SQUAW & CHILD

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1837 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa.

CHIPPEWAY SQUAW AND CHILD.

THE life of the Indian woman, under the most favourable circumstances, is one of continual labour and unmitigated hardship. Trained to servitude from infancy, and condemned to the performance of the most menial offices, they are the servants rather than the companions of man. Upon them, therefore, fall, with peculiar severity, all those vicissitudes and accidents of savage life which impose hardships and privations beyond those that ordinarily attend the state of barbarism. Such is the case with the tribes who inhabit a sterile region, or an inhospitable climate, where the scarcity of food and the rigour of the seasons enhance the difficulty of supporting life, and impose the most distressing burthens on the weaker sex. The Chippeway, or, as they pronounce their own name, the *Ojibway* nation, is scattered along the bleak shores of our northwestern lakes, over a region of barren plains, or dreary swamps, which, during the greater part of the year, are covered with snow and ice, and are at all times desolate and uninviting. Here the wretched Indian gleans a precarious subsistence; at one season by gathering the wild rice in the rivers and swamps, at another by fishing, and a third by hunting. Long intervals, however, occur when these resources fail, and when exposed to absolute and hopeless want, the courage of the warrior and the ingenuity of the hunter sink into despair. The woman who, during the season of plenty, was worn down with the labour of following the hunter to the chase, carrying the game and dressing the food, now becomes the purveyor of the family, roaming the forest in search of berries, burrowing in the earth for roots, or ensnaring the lesser animals. While engaged in these various duties, she discharges also those of the mother, and travels over the icy plains with her infant at her back.



Painted by C. B. King

Lehman & Duval Lith^{rs} Philad^{a}

PETALESHAROO

A PAWNEE BRAVE

Philadelphia Published by F. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

PETALESHARRO.

WE have been accustomed from childhood to hear but little of the Indians, except in connection with scenes of blood. The border wars, with their tales of horror, are among the nursery stories that have left the deepest impressions on our memories. This strife between the red and the white man, is coeval with the first settlement of the country, and it continues, even to this day. The prominent feature, in this long period of excitement and of war, and that on which all eyes are more intensely fixed, is the bloodthirsty cruelty of the Indian. This has been so often dwelt upon, and presented to our view under so many shocking forms, as to keep almost constantly before our eyes the warclub, the scalping knife, and the tomahawk, together with the ferocious red man clad in the skins of beasts, the glare of whose eyes, with his attitude, and his blood-stained limbs, have all combined to fill our minds with terror, and our hearts with revenge. Indeed we have been taught to consider the Indian as *necessarily* bloodthirsty, ferocious, and vindictive, until we have viewed him as a being deprived, at the creation of his species, of those faculties, whence come the nobler and more generous traits which are the boast and glory of his civilised brother. It is certainly true of the Indian, that his mode of warfare is barbarous. He spares neither age nor sex; and his victim is often subjected to the severest tortures. But it is no less true, that he has never been taught those lessons of humanity which have, under the guidance of civilisation and Christianity, stript war of its more appalling horrors, and without which we should be no less savage than the Indians. Indeed it would be easy to demonstrate, that even when aided by the light of civilisation and professing to be Christians, the white man is no less cruel than the red man; and often, in our conflicts with each other, we come fully up to the savage man in all that is barbarous and revolting.

In our wars with the Indians we have been our own chroniclers. And how rarely has it happened that justice has been done the Indians, not only as to the causes of these wars, but to the conduct of the parties to them? Every thing of a palliative nature has been minutely registered, to justify or excuse the white man, whilst the red man has been held up to the view of the world, and consigned over to the judgment of posterity, not only as *the cause* of sanguinary and vindictive conflicts, but as the Moloch of the human race. The Indian has never been able to leave a record of his wrongs; to illustrate his own position, or to justify the desperate means he has resorted to in defence of his inheritance and his life.

However true it is that the Indian mode of warfare is exclusively savage, yet there are exceptions to its barbarities; and we have well authenticated instances of the most refined humanity, confirming our decided belief, that the Indian is not, by any law of his nature, bereft of the more noble qualities which are the pride and boast of civilised man, or that he is *necessarily* savage. We might enumerate many cases in which the untutored Indian has melted into pity at sight of the perilous condition of the white man, and at the very moment when he was looked upon as an invader and enemy. The most beautiful illustration of the existence of this feeling in the Indian, is in the intervention of Pocahontas, to save the life of Captain Smith. History has recorded that deed, and the civilised world has united in awarding its plaudits to that noble princess. Her memory has been embalmed by a grateful posterity. At the siege of Detroit, the garrison owed its safety to the agency of an Indian woman, who made known to the commanding officer the plans of Pontiac for its destruction and massacre. Indeed the Indian women are remarkable for the exercise of this generous feeling—even among the Indians it is a common occurrence for them, in times of excitement, to secrete knives and guns, and all kinds of instruments of death; and, by so doing, often prevent the shedding of blood.

But this feeling of compassion, this boast of the civilised man and Christian, is not confined to the Indian women. We are not without examples of the same sort among the men. The famous Logan, notwithstanding the wrongs he was made to endure, in his own person, and in the persons of his family and kindred, until he exclaimed, in all the bitterness of bereavement, "*There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature*," has left behind him, in honour of his memory, a noble specimen of this humane feeling, in counselling one of his own captives, who was condemned by the council to undergo the severe tortures of the gauntlet, how to escape it; and when, afterwards, this same captive was condemned to be burned, and Logan, finding that his efforts and his eloquence in his behalf all failed, nobly and bravely advanced, and with his own hands released the prisoner from the stake to which he was bound.

But we hasten to sketch the character of *Petalesharro*, whose portrait is before the reader.

Petalesharro was a brave of the Pawnee tribe. His father, *Letalashaw*, was chief of his band, and a man of renown. Petalesharro early imbibed his father's spirit; often, no doubt, charmed with the songs of the chief, in which he recounted the battles he had fought, and told of the scalps he had taken, his youthful bosom heaved, and his heart resolved to imitate these deeds; and, in his turn, to recount his warlike exploits—tell of his victories, and count the scalps he had taken. Thus impressed, he went early into battle, and soon won the renown and the title of a "*brave*."

We saw him in Washington in 1821, whither he was sent as one of a deputation from his tribe, to transact business with the government. He was dressed, so far as his half-length discloses it, precisely as he is seen in the portrait. He wore a head-dress of the feathers of the war eagle, which extended, in a double series, down his back to his hips, narrowing as it descended. His robe was thrown carelessly but gracefully over his shoulders, leaving his breast, and often one arm, bare. The usual garments decorated his hips and lower limbs; these were the *auzeum*, the leggins, and the moccasin, all ornamented. The youthful and feminine character of his face, and the humanity of its expression, were all remarkable. He did not appear to be older than twenty years, yet he was then believed to be twenty-five.

A fine incident is connected with the history of this Indian. The Pawnee Loups had long practised the savage rite, known to no other of the American tribes, of sacrificing human victims to the *Great Star*, or the planet Venus. This dreadful ceremony annually preceded the preparations for planting corn, and was supposed to be necessary to secure a fruitful season. To prevent a failure of the crop, and a consequent famine, some individual was expected to offer up a prisoner, of either sex, who had been captured in war, and some one was always found who coveted the honour of dedicating the spoil of his prowess to the national benefit. The intended victim, carefully kept in ignorance of the fate that impended, was dressed in gay apparel, supplied with the choicest food, and treated with every tenderness, with the view of promoting obesity, and preparing an offering the more acceptable to the deities who were to be propitiated. When, by the successful employment of these means, the unhappy victim was sufficiently fatted, a day was appointed for the sacrifice, and the whole nation assembled to witness the solemn scene.

Some short time before Petalesharro was deputed to visit Washington, it chanced that an Itean maid, who had been taken prisoner, was doomed by her captor to be offered up to the Great Star, and was prepared with the usual secrecy and care for the grand occasion. The grief and alarm, incident to a state of captivity, had been allayed by deceptive kindness, and the grateful prisoner became happy in the society of strangers, who bestowed upon her a degree of adulation to which she had probably not been accustomed. Exempt from labour, and exalted into an unwonted ease of life, she soon required that serenity of mind, and comeliness of person, which rendered her worthy of being offered to the Great Star, as a full equivalent for an abundant harvest.

The reader will now fancy himself in view of the great gathering of the Pawnees, and that he is in sight of the multitude assembled in honour of the sacrifice. In his near approach he will hear their orgies. In the midst of the circle a stake is brought; its end is sharpened, when it is driven deep into the ground. Yells and shouts announce that all is ready. In the distance is seen a company of Pawnees; by the side of the leader is a delicate girl. They approach nearer. He who made her captive enters the circle—shouts welcome him. He takes the girl by the hand, and leads her to the fatal spot. Her back is placed against the stake; cords are brought, and she is bound to it. The fagots are now collected, and placed around the victim. A hopeless expression is seen in her eye—perhaps a tear! Her bosom heaves, and her thoughts are of home, when a torch is seen coming from the woods, hard by. At that moment a young brave leaps into the midst of the circle—rushes to the stake—tears the victim from it, and springing on a horse, and throwing her upon another, and putting both to the top of their speed, is soon lost in the distance. Silence prevails—then murmurs are heard—then the loud threats of vengeance, when all retire. The stake and the fagot are all that remain to mark the spot on which, but for this noble deed, ashes and bones would have distinguished. Who was it that intrepidly released the captive maid? It was the young, the brave, the generous ***Petalesharro!*** Whether it was panic, or the dread of Latalashaw's vengeance that operated, and kept the warriors from using their bows and arrows, and rifles, is not known, but certain it is they did not use them.

Our readers will, perhaps, expect to hear that Petalesharro conducted the maiden to her own people, and received the reward which valour deserves from beauty. But mere gallantry formed no part of this adventure. It was not induced, nor rewarded, by love. The Indian is very scriptural in his belief, that man is the head of the woman; but he is equally strong in the faith, that the female, if she has fair play, is quite as able to take care of herself as a man. Having escorted her into the broad plains, beyond the precincts of the Pawnee village, and supplied her with provisions, he admonished her to make the best of her way to her own nation, which was distant about four hundred miles, and left her to her fate and her reflections. She lost no time in obeying such salutary counsel, and had the good fortune, the next day, to fall in with a war party of her own people, by whom she was safely carried home.

Can the records of chivalry furnish a parallel to this generous act? Can the civilised world bring forward a case demonstrating a higher order of humanity, united with greater bravery? Whence did the youthful Petalesharro learn this lesson of refined pity? Not of civilised man. Great as have been the efforts of the good and the merciful, from the days of Elliot and Brainard to our own times, to enlighten the Indians, none had ever yet reached the ***Pawnees,*** to instruct them, or to enrapture their thoughts by such beautiful illustrations of the merciful. It was the impulse of nature—nature cast in a more refined mould; and, probably, as the sequel will show, nurtured by the blood and spirit of a noble though untaught father.

The tidings of this deed accompanied Petalesharro to Washington. He and his deed soon became the theme of the city. The ladies, especially, as is their nature, hastened to do him honour. A medal was prepared. A time was appointed for conferring upon him this merited gift. An assembly had collected to witness the ceremony. He was told, in substance, that the medal was given him in token of the high opinion which was entertained of his act in the rescue of the Itean maid. He was asked, by the ladies who presented it, to accept and wear it for their sake; and told, when he had another occasion to save a captive woman from torture, and from the stake, to look upon the medal, think of those who gave it, and save her, as he had saved the Itean girl. The reply of Petalesharro was prompt and excellent, but the interpretation of it was shocking! He was made to say, "I did it (rescued the girl,) in *ignorance.* I did *not know that I did good!* I now know that I did good, by your giving me this medal." We understood him to mean this; and so, we have no doubt, he spoke, in substance, though not in our words:—"He did not know, till now, that the act he had performed was meritorious; but, as his white brothers and sisters considered it a good act, and put upon it so high a value, he was *glad they had heard of it.*" We would almost venture to represent the words of the brave in reply to the compliment. We saw the medal put on his neck, and saw him take it in his hand, and look at it. Holding it before him, he said—"This brings rest to my heart. I feel like the leaf after a storm, and when the wind is still. I listen to you. I am glad. I love the pale faces more than I ever did, and will open my ears wider when they speak. I am glad you heard of what I did. I did not know the act was so good. It came from my heart. I was ignorant of its value. I now know how good it was. You make me know this by giving me this medal."

The rescue of the Itean girl might, if a solitary act, be looked upon as the result of impulse, and not as proceeding from a generous nature. It happens, however, not to stand alone, as the only incident of the sort in the life of Petalesharro. One of his brother warriors had brought in a captive boy. He was a Spaniard. The captor resolved to offer him in sacrifice to the Great Star. The chief, Letalashaw, had been for some time opposed to these barbarous rites. He sent for the warrior, and told him he did not wish him to make the sacrifice. The warrior claimed his right, under the immemorial usages of the tribe. They parted. Letalashaw sent for his son, and asked what was to be done to divert the captor from his purpose. Petalesharro promptly replied; "I will take the boy, like a brave, by force." The father thought, no doubt, that danger would attend upon the act, and resolved on a more pacific mode. It was to buy the boy. He accordingly gave out his intention, and those who had goods of any kind, brought them to his lodge, and laid them down as an offering on the pile which the chief had supplied from his own stores. The collection having been made, the captor was again sent for, and, in the authoritative tone of a chief, thus addressed: "Take these goods, and give me the boy." He refused, when the chief seized his warclub and flourished it over the head of the captor. At the moment, Petalesharro sprang forward, and said—"Strike! and let the wrath of his friends fall on me." The captor, making a merit of necessity, agreed, if a few more articles were added, to give up the boy to the chief. They were added, and thus the captive was saved. The merchandise was sacrificed instead of the boy. The cloth was cut into shreds, and suspended upon poles, at the spot upon which the blood of the victim had been proposed to be shed, and the remainder of the articles burned. No subsequent attempt to immolate a victim was made.

Petalesharro succeeded his father in the chieftainship of his tribe, and became highly distinguished in that station.

We conclude this sketch with the following stanzas, published some years ago, in the New York Commercial Advertiser, on the rescue of the Itean maid.

THE PAWNEE BRAVE.

The summer had fled, but there linger'd still,
A warmth in the clear blue skies;
The flowers were gone, and the night wind's chill
Had robed the forest and the woody hill
In richest of Autumn dyes.

The battle was fought, and the deadly strife
Had ceased on the Prairie plains;
Each tomahawk—spear—and keen-edged knife
Was red with the current of many a life,
It bore from the severed veins.

The Pawnee followed his victor band
That sped to their home afar—
The river* is passed, and again they stand,
A trophied throng, on their own broad land,
Recounting the deeds of war.

A beautiful captive maid was there,
Bedeck'd as a warrior's bride—
The glossy braids of her ebon hair,
Interwoven with gems, and adorned with care,
With the jet of the raven vied.

Her beaded robes were skilfully wrought,
With shells from the river isles,
The fairest that wash from the ocean, brought
From the sands by a brave young Chief, who sought
The meed of her sweetest smiles.

Beneath the boughs of an ancient oak—
They came to the council ground;
No eloquent tongue for the maiden spoke,
She was quickly doomed, and their shouts awoke
The woods to the piercing sound.

And when on her olive cheek, a tear
Stole out from her lustrous eye,
A youth from th' exulting crowd drew near,
And whispered words in her startled ear,
That told she was *not* to die.

They hurried away to the fatal spot,
Deep hid in the forest shade;
And bound her fast, but she murmured not—
They bared her breast for the rifle shot,
And brow for the scalping blade.

Then forth to the work of death they came,
While the loud death song was heard—
A hunter skilled in the chase, whose aim
Ne'er missed the heart of his mountain game—
He waited the signal word!

One instant more, ere the maid should bleed,
A moment and all were done—
The Pawnee sprang from his noble steed,
Unloosed her hands, and the captive freed—
A moment—and they were gone!

Then swift as the speed of wind, away
To her distant home they hied—
And just at the sunset hour of day,
Ere the evening dew on the meadow lay,
She stood at her father's side.

H.

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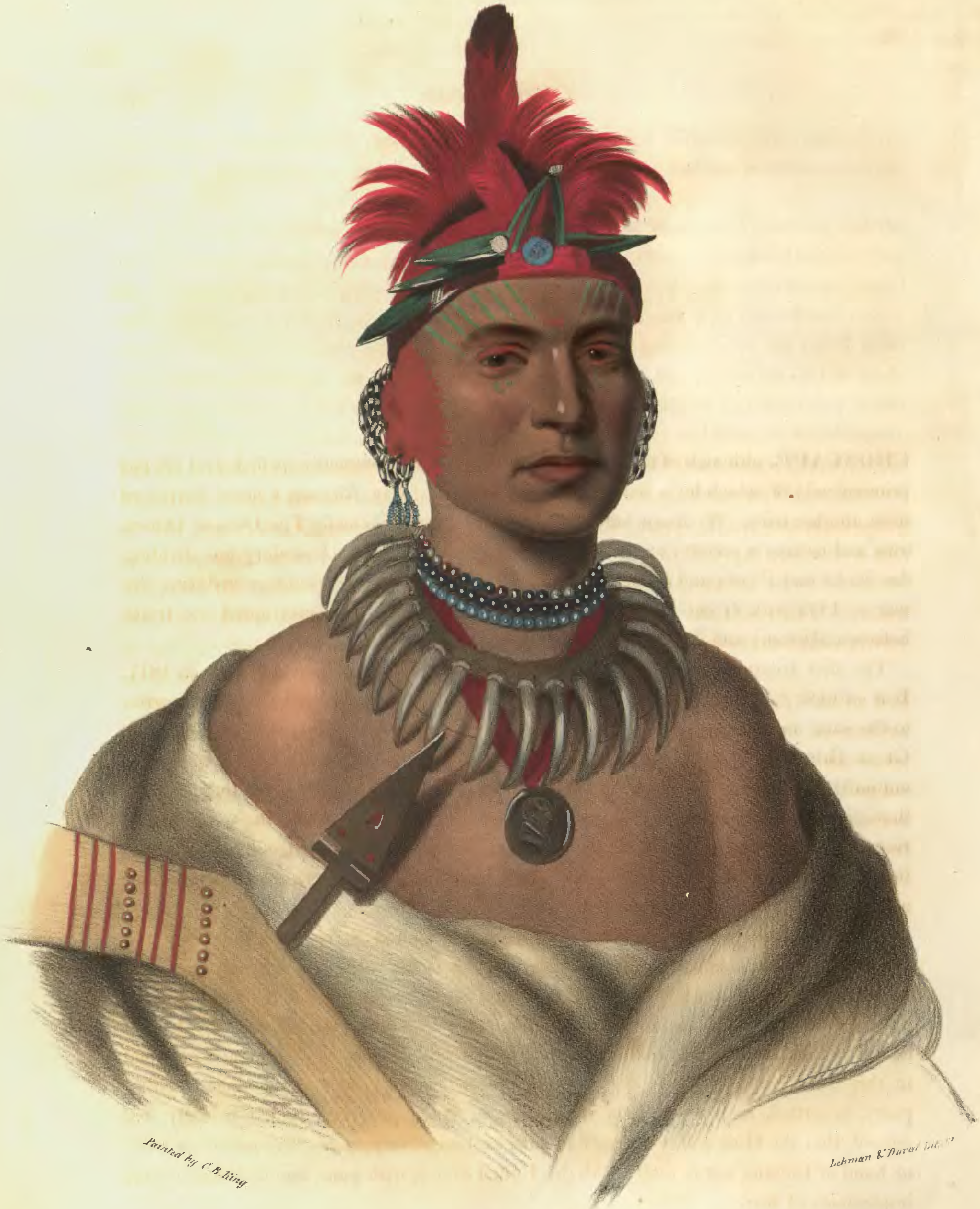
* The battle alluded to was fought with a trans-Mississippian tribe.



Painted by C.B. King

Lehman & Duval Lith.^{rs}

CHON-CA-PE

Philadelphia, Published by E.C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1837 by E.C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of P.^a

CHONCAPE.

CHONCAPE, although of the Otos tribe, (Ottoe, as it is commonly spelled, and *always* pronounced,) of which he is second chief, is called the ***Big Kansas***, a name borrowed from another tribe. We know but little of the history of this chief. The Otos, or Ottoes, own and occupy a country on the Missouri, east and south of the boundary line dividing the Sauks and Foxes, and Ioways, from the Sioux. They were troublesome during the war of 1812 with Great Britain, and frequently harassed and interrupted the trade between Missouri and New Mexico.

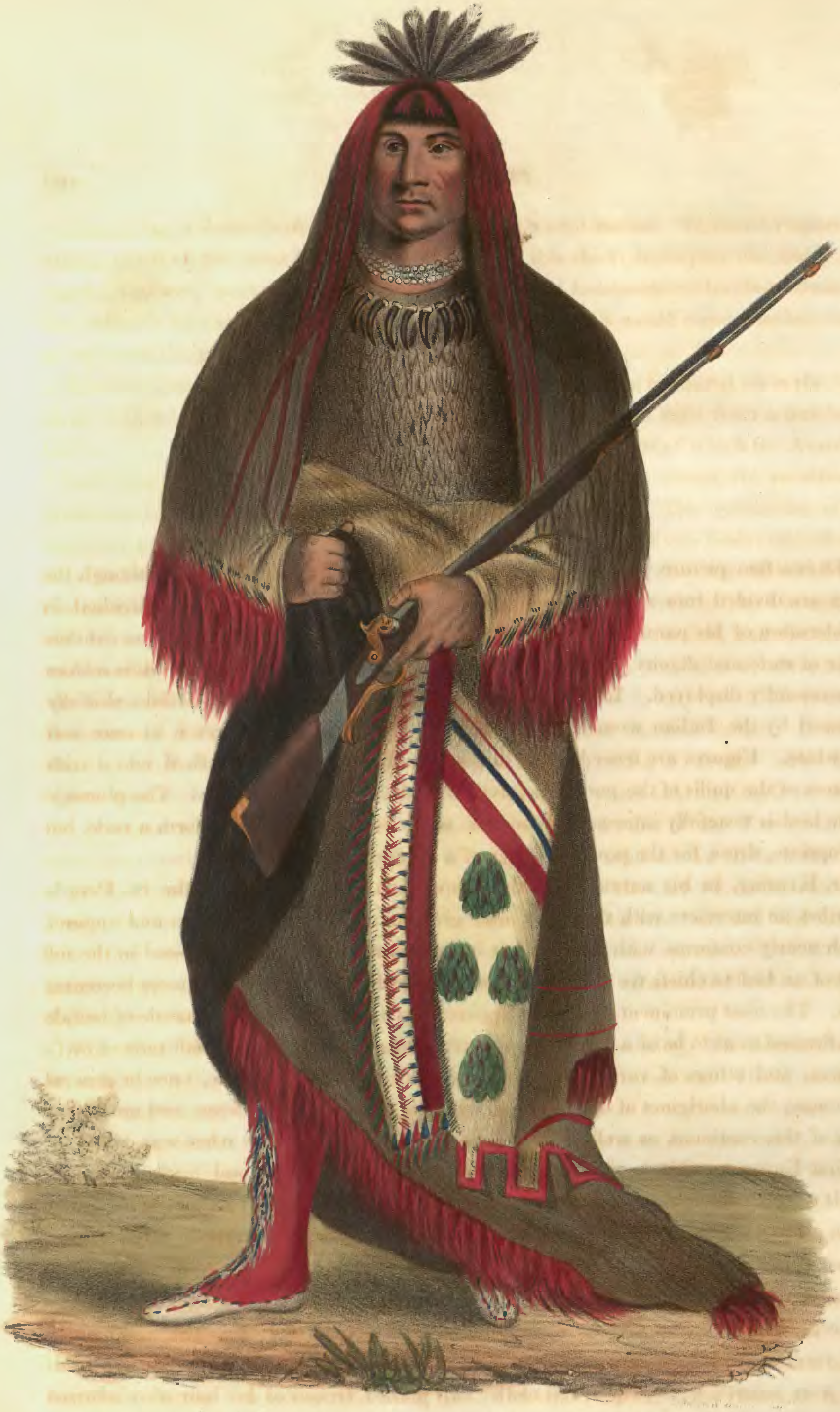
The first treaty between the United States and the Otos tribe was made in 1817. It is entitled, "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship." The preamble restores the parties to the same relations which they occupied towards each other previous to the war with Great Britain. The first article declares, that all injuries or acts of hostility, shall be mutually forgiven and forgotten. The second establishes perpetual peace, and provides, that all the friendly relations, that existed between the parties before the war, shall be restored. In the third and last, the chiefs and warriors acknowledge themselves and their tribe to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other nation, power, or sovereign whatever.

A second treaty was concluded between the United States and the Otos and Missouries, at the Council Bluffs, in 1825. In this treaty those tribes admit that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States; acknowledge the supremacy of the United States, and claim their protection; they also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them. Other conditions are included in this treaty; among these, the mode of proceeding, in case injury is done to either party, is settled, as is a condition in relation to stolen property; and, especially, it is agreed, that the Otos will not supply by sale, exchange, or presents, any nation or tribe, or band of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or other implements of war.

Among the names of the eighteen signers to this treaty, we find *Shunk-co-pee*. This is our Choncape. The scribe who wrote his name Shunk-co-pee, wrote it as it sounded to his ears. *Chon*, sounded to him as *Shunk*—and this may be regarded as one of the thousand instances serving to illustrate the difficulty of handing down the name of an Indian. The ear of the writer of it governs, and the pen obeys. Another scribe, of some other country, would, probably, in following the sound of this Indian's name, have written it *Tshon-ko-pee;* and thus we might have had three Indians manufactured out of one.

The rapidly increasing trade between Missouri and the Mexican dominions, and the frequent interruptions which it had experienced from the Otos, and other Indian tribes, the grounds of whose more distant excursions lay in the route of its prosecution, suggested the importance of this treaty. But the conditions of a treaty with distant and roving bands of Indians, who are as wild and untamed as their buffalo, were not relied upon as of sufficient strength out of which to erect barriers for the protection of the trade which the treaty of 1825 was mainly intended to secure. There was one other resort on which greater reliance was placed; and that was, to select and bring to Washington, and through our populous cities, some of the leading chiefs of those bands whose pacific dispositions it had become of such moment to secure. Among those who were selected for this object, was Choncape. We are to infer from this that he was a man of influence at home; and that he had the confidence of his tribe. It is to the reports of such a one, only, that the Indians will listen; and it was the design that he and his comrades should not only witness our numbers and our power, but that the reports that should be made of both, on their return, should operate upon the fears of their tribes, and thus render more secure our trade with the Mexican frontier.

That Choncape had won trophies in war is no more to be doubted than that he had been in contact with the grizzly bear, whose claws he wears as an ornament around his neck, in token of his victory over that animal. But, while he was at Washington, he was peaceful in his looks, and orderly in his conduct. Nothing occurred while on his visit to that city to mark him as a chief of any extraordinary talents. The impression he left on our mind was, that he was entitled to the distinction which his tribe had conferred upon him, in making him a chief, and to be chosen as one of a party to come among us, behold our strength, and report upon it to his people. He said nothing, which we heard, that is worth recording, and did nothing of which he or his tribe should be ashamed.



WA NA-TA ⁝ THE CHARGER

Grand Chief of the Sioux.

Philadelphia. Published by E. C. Biddle.

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1837 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of Eastern District of Pa.

WANATA.

THIS is a fine picture, and represents a very distinguished personage. Although the Sioux are divided into several tribes, governed by different leaders, this individual, in consideration of his paramount influence, is called the grand chief. His dress exhibits an air of state and dignity which is often assumed by the aboriginal chiefs, but is seldom so successfully displayed. It consists of a long robe of the skin of the buffalo, skilfully prepared by the Indian women, by a laborious process, which renders it at once soft and white. Figures are traced upon this material with paint, or worked into it with splinters of the quills of the porcupine, dyed with the most gaudy colours. The plumage of the bird is tastefully interwoven; and the whole is so disposed as to form a rude, but appropriate, dress, for the powerful ruler of a savage people.

Mr. Keating, in his narrative of the Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's, describes an interview with this chief, and gives an account of his person and apparel, which nearly conforms with the portrait in this number. "He was dressed in the full habit of an Indian chief; we have never seen a more dignified person, or a more becoming dress. The most prominent part of his apparel was a splendid cloak, or mantle of buffalo skin, dressed so as to be of a fine white colour; it was decorated with small tufts of owl's feathers, and others of various hues, probably a remnant of a fabric, once in general use among the aborigines of our territory, and still worn in the northeast and northwest parts of this continent, as well as in the South Sea Islands. It is what was called by the first European visiters of North America, the feather mantle and feather blanket, which were by them much admired. A splendid necklace, formed of about sixty claws of the grizzly bear, imparted a manly character to his whole appearance. His leggins, jacket, and moccasins, were in the real Dacota fashion, being made of white skins, profusely decorated with human hair; his moccasins were variegated with the plumage of several birds. In his hair he wore nine sticks, neatly cut and smoothed, and painted with vermilion; these designated the number of gunshot wounds which he had received; they were secured by a strip of red cloth; two plaited tresses of his hair were allowed to hang forward; his face was tastefully painted with vermilion; in his hand he bore a large fan of the feathers of the turkey; this he frequently used.

"We have never seen a nobler face, or a more impressive character, than that of the Dacota chief, as he stood that afternoon, in his manly and characteristic dress, contemplating a dance performed by the men of his own nation. It would require the utmost talent of the artist to convey a fair idea of this chief; to display his manly and regular features, strongly stamped, it is true, with the Indian character, but admirably blended with an expression of mildness and modesty; and it would require no less talent to represent the graceful and unstudied folds of his mantle."

Another interview with this chief is thus described: "As we appeared upon the brow of the hill, which commands the company's fort, a salute was fired from a number of Indian tents, which were pitched in the vicinity, from the largest of which the American colours were flying; and as soon as we dismounted from our horses, we received an invitation to a feast, which Wanata had prepared for us. The gentlemen of the company informed us, that as soon as the Indians had heard of our contemplated visit, they had commenced their preparations for a festival, and that they had killed three of their dogs. We repaired to a sort of pavilion which they had erected, by the union of several large skin lodges. Fine buffalo robes were spread all around, and the air was perfumed by the odour of sweet-scented grass which had been burned in it. On entering the lodge we saw the chief seated near the further end of it, and one of his principal men pointed out to us the place which was destined for our accommodation. It was at the upper end of the lodge; the Indians, who were in it, taking no further notice of us. These consisted of the chief, his son, a lad about eight years old, and eight or ten of the principal warriors. The chief's dress presented a mixture of the European and aboriginal costume; he wore moccasins and leggins of splendid scarlet cloth, a fine shirt of printed muslin, over this a frock coat of fine blue cloth, with scarlet facings, somewhat similar to the undress uniform coat of a Prussian officer; this was buttoned and secured round the waist by a belt. Upon his head he wore a blue cloth cap, made like a German fatigue cap. A very handsome Mackinaw blanket, slightly ornamented with paint, was thrown over his person."

The writer describes the countenance of Wanata as prepossessing. The portrait before us indicates a thoughtful and resolute, if not a generous, disposition. He is, however, a very magnificent savage, and has an air of command which is sufficiently regal.

The Dacotas are the Arabs of western America. Inhabiting the vast prairies which lie between the Mississippi and the Missouri, they wander extensively over those beautiful plains in search of game, or in pursuit of their enemies, roaming often beyond their proper limits, to the shores of the northern lakes, and to the banks of the Arkansas and Red rivers. The topography of their country makes them horsemen, the vast extent and even surface of the prairies rendering the service of the horse particularly desirable. Upon this noble animal they perform their long journeys, charge their enemies in battle, or chase the buffalo. They are expert and fearless riders, managing their horses with a surprising degree of dexterity, and using them with equal success in the chase, or in war.

Wanata is chief of the Yanktonas, a tribe of the Sioux, or Dacota Indians, whose proper residence is on the waters of the River St. Peter, which empties into the Mississippi, a short distance below the Falls of St. Anthony. They are divided into six bands, and have altogether about four hundred and fifty lodges, which contain a population of between five and six thousand, of whom thirteen hundred are warriors. Few chiefs can lead so many followers to battle. The whole Dacota nation is estimated to comprise sixty thousand souls. The Yanktona, or, as it is otherwise written, Yanktoanan, is one of the most important of the tribes, and may now be ranked as the first, in consequence of the influence of Wanata. The word Yanktona signifies *fern leaf.* They do not dwell in permanent houses, but in fine skin lodges, made of the hide of the buffalo, neatly dressed and decorated, and which they move with facility from place to place.

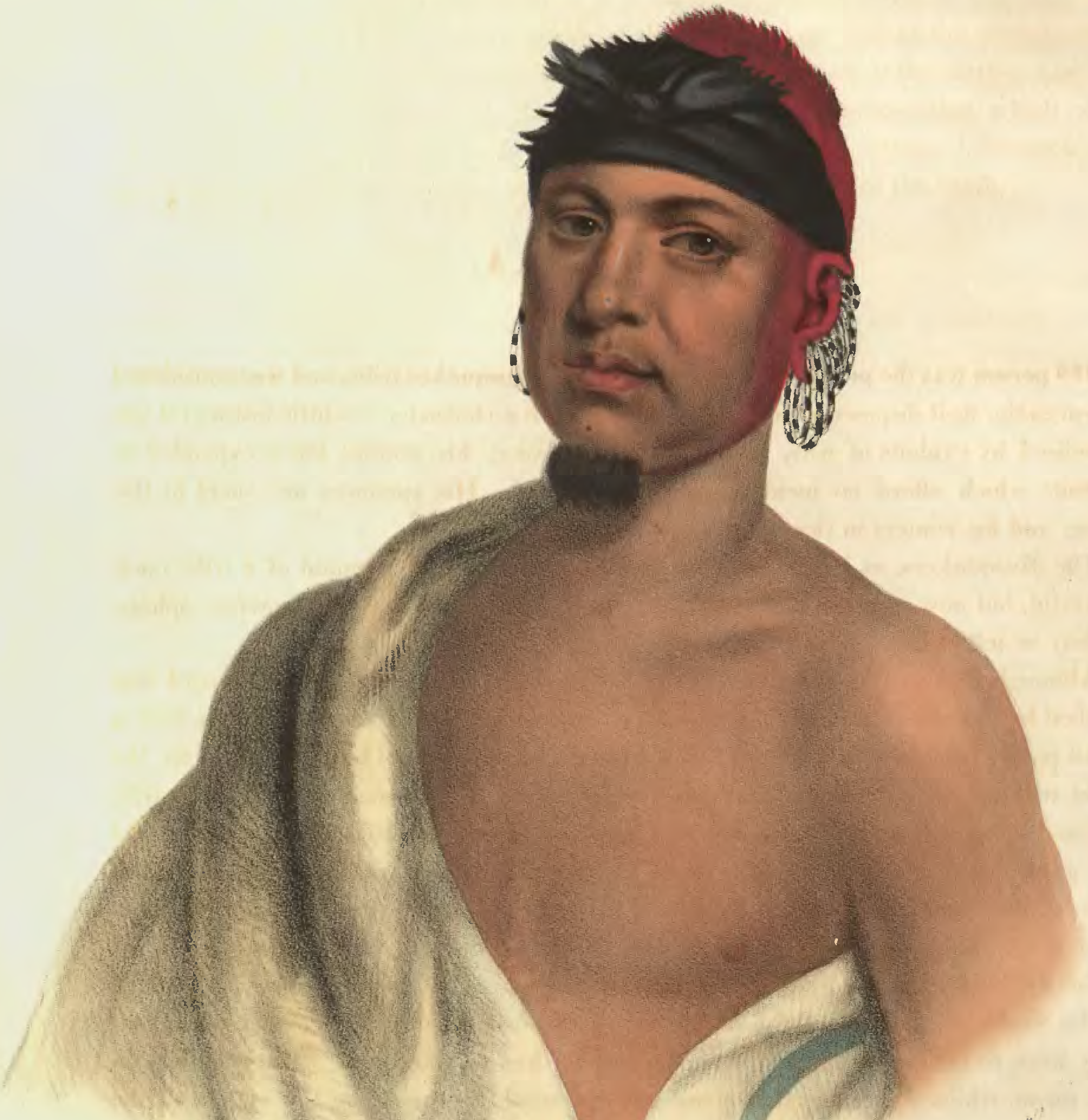
At the early age of eighteen Wanata was distinguished as a warrior, and fought against the Americans under the command of his father, who was then chief of the tribe, and who cherished a mortal hatred against the American people. During the last war between Great Britain and the United States, he joined the former, and was one of a murderous band of savages collected by Colonel Dixon, under whom he fought at Sandusky, where he was wounded. He has since professed friendship towards the United States, but he is well known to be a crafty leader, who would favour or plunder any party, as his interest might dictate. His position, however, is now such as to place him in our power, and offers him little inducement to incur the displeasure of our government. On the other hand, he continues to cultivate a good understanding with his former friends. Ranging through all the country, from the tributary streams of the St. Peter's to Lake Winnepeg, he often comes in contact with the inhabitants of the British colony in that isolated region, who have endeavoured to conciliate this powerful and wily savage by valuable presents, which he receives as the tribute due to his high reputation. He has had the sagacity to render this intercourse a source of regular profit, by practising successfully on the fears of these colonists.

There is an incident in the life of this chief which is highly illustrative of the superstition as well as the fortitude of the Indian character. On the eve of a journey which he made in 1822, in which he was likely to be exposed to great danger from the Chippewas, he made a vow to the sun, that if he should return safe, he would abstain from food and drink for four days and nights, and would distribute among his people all his property of every description. Returning, without accident, his first care was to celebrate the dance of the sun—a ceremony so shockingly painful and revolting, that we can scarcely imagine a sufficiently strong inducement for its voluntary performance. Deep incisions were made in the breast and arms, so as to separate the skin from the flesh, in the form of loops, through which a rope was passed, and the ends fastened to a tall vertical pole, erected for the purpose in front of his lodge. He began the horrid exercise at the commencement of his fast, and continued it throughout the four days, sometimes dancing, and frequently throwing his whole weight upon the cord which was passed through his skin, and swinging to and fro in this painful position. At the conclusion he sunk exhausted, and was relieved by his friends. After the ceremony was over, he distributed among his people all his property, consisting of his lodges, dogs, guns, trinkets, robes, and several fine horses; and he and his two wives, abandoning their tent, with its furniture, took up their lodging in the open air.

When the Rickara villages, on the Missouri, were burned in 1823, by the troops under Colonel Leavenworth, in retaliation for some acts of depredation committed by them, that tribe retired from the place, but returned in 1824. Wanata seized this occasion to strengthen his power; and, encouraged by traders who had been ill treated by the Rickaras, he made war upon that tribe, which, weakened and dispirited by the chastisement recently inflicted on them, made but a feeble resistance. He burned their villages again, and drove them from the country. Here he established himself, between the Rickaras and Mandans; and he has ever since retained his conquest.

Wanata was only twenty-eight years old when visited by the party under Colonel Long, whose description of him we have copied. Our portrait was taken some years later. He is a tall and finely formed man, more than six feet in height. His manners are dignified and reserved, and his attitudes, though studied, are graceful. He is now about forty-five years of age, and commands more influence than any other Indian chief on the continent. His rule over his own tribe is absolute. He has no rival or compeer. He resorts neither to presents nor to persuasion to secure obedience, but issues his peremptory mandates which are never disputed.

The traders speak of him as one who may be trusted, because it is policy to be at peace with the whites; but they place no confidence in his friendship, and have little faith in his integrity. Brave, skilful, and sagacious, he is grasping, artful, and overbearing; it is safer to secure his interest than to trust to his generosity or mercy.



Painted by C. B. King

Lehman & Duval Lithrs

PEAH-MAS-KA

A Musquawkee Chief

Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1837 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

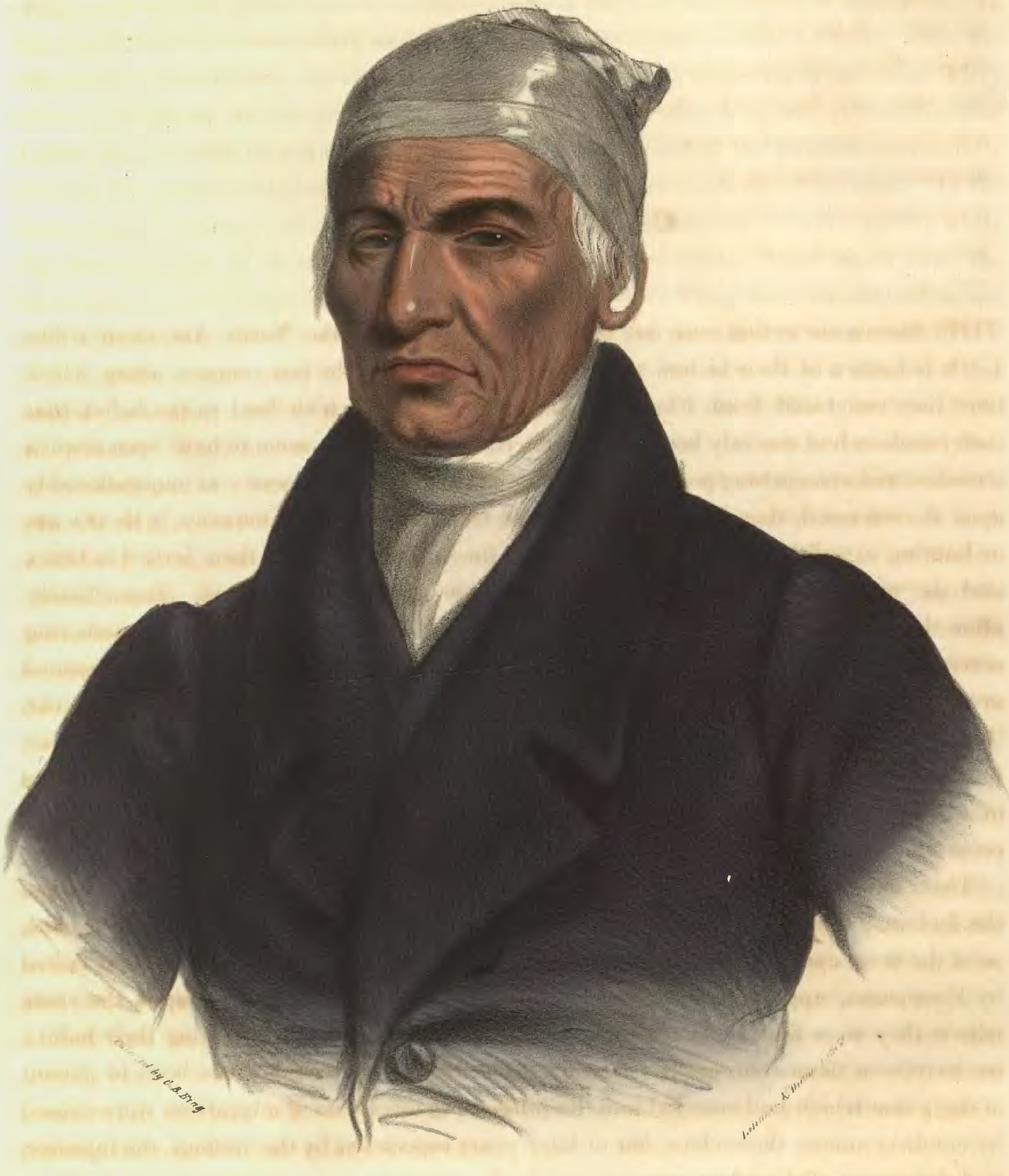
PEAHMUSKA.

THIS person was the principal chief of the Fox, or Musquakee tribe, and was considered a peaceable, well disposed man. An Indian of such a character has little history; if not signalised by exploits of war, revenge, or depredation, his slothful life is expended in pursuits which afford no incident worthy of record. His summers are spent in the chase, and his winters in sleep.

The Musquakees, as is remarked in another place, are the remnant of a tribe once powerful, but now incorporated with the Sauks, and the chief has but a narrow sphere of duty or influence.

Although Peahmuska lived an inoffensive, reputable life, we are sorry to record that he died by violence. He was proceeding, a few years ago, to Prairie du Chien, with a small party, consisting of eight or ten warriors of his tribe, and had encamped for the night within a day's journey of that place, when a party of Menomenies, who had secretly pursued them, surprised the sleeping band and murdered them all, except one, who had the good fortune to escape. In revenge for this massacre, a war party of Sauks and Foxes, afterwards stole upon a number of Menomenies, at Prairie du Chien, and slew them all, within sight of the American fort. The commanding officer, considering his authority insulted, and desiring to put a stop to these retaliatory measures, demanded of the Sauks the delivery of the murderers, but Keeokuk, the head chief, replied, that they were so numerous that it was impossible for him to take them. The offenders, in the mean while, expecting that some attempt would be made by the agents of the American government, to punish their audacity, had banded themselves under Black Hawk, and were preparing for war. It was during the existence of this state of excitement, that some other collisions took place, which led to the war in which Black Hawk figured as the principal leader.

The Sauks and Foxes are considered to be a hospitable people, and friendly to the whites; but, in the prosecution of their wars, or schemes of revenge, are regarded, even by the Indians, as remarkably cunning and treacherous. They relate of themselves, with great exultation, an exploit which they deem highly creditable to their character as warriors. A party of them, while on a hunting expedition, fell in with an equal number of Ioways, with whom they were then at peace, but against whom they cherished a secret hatred, arising out of some ancient feud. Professing to be delighted at the meeting, they invited the Ioways to a feast; and when their unsuspecting guests were seated round the banquet, consisting of a roasted dog, each warrior of the Sauk and Fox party selecting his victim, the whole of the Ioways were shot at the same instant; after which the murderers devoured the feast in triumph. Such is the daring and the chivalry of the red man; such the deeds of gratuitous extermination which often characterise them, and which, in connection with other destroying influences, are operating in passing these people away from among the nations of the earth.



CA-TA-HE-CAS-SA

BLACK HOOF

Principal Chief of the Shawannes

Philadelphia Published by F. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1837, by F. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of Eastern District of Pa

CATAHECASSA.

THE Shawanoe nation was one of the most warlike of the North American tribes. Little is known of their history previous to the middle of the last century, about which time they emigrated from Florida, under circumstances which lead to the belief, that their numbers had recently been much reduced by war. They seem to have been always a restless and enterprising people; for although their former residence was unquestionably upon the sea coast, they had often penetrated to Tennessee and Kentucky, in their wars or hunting expeditions. On their removal to the west a portion of them settled in Ohio, and the remainder ascended to Western Virginia and Pennsylvania. Immediately after the peace of 1763, the whole nation, consisting of four tribes, and numbering several thousand warriors, collected upon the Miami, at Piqua, where they remained until they were driven away by the Kentuckians, at the close of the revolutionary war. Their next residence was on the waters of the Maumee of Lake Erie, whence they removed, after the treaty of Greenville, to Wapakonetta, in Ohio; and, finally, a remnant of about eighty souls, to which this once fierce and powerful nation had dwindled, removed in 1833 to the western shore of the Mississippi.

These extensive wanderings are to be attributed, in part, to the erratic propensities of the Indians; but in many cases they are the result of force, either of tribe against tribe, or of the more operative power of the white man. The Indian nations, when first visited by Europeans, appeared, in many instances, not to have resided long upon the spots where they were found. Since we have had the opportunity of observing their habits, we have seen them continually changing place; but in many cases it has been in pursuit of the game which had receded into the interior; in others, these migrations were caused by conflicts among themselves, but of later years especially, by the wrongs, the injustice, and the power of the white man.

We are not informed as to the cause which drove the Shawanese from Florida; or why, passing over the prolific borders of the Ohio, which are known to have abounded in game at that time, a portion of them should wander to a more northern and less fertile region. Judging, however, from their subsequent history, we may suppose that they were induced by the rumour of wars between the English and French, to approach the scene of action, in search of plunder. We hear of them first, at the memorable defeat of Braddock, in 1755. That battle holds a melancholy preeminence in the annals of border warfare. It was one of the earliest occasions on which the savages dared to attack a regular force; and the entire annihilation of a numerous and well appointed army of European troops, gave them a confidence which led to a long series of disasters. In the hostilities which succeeded, and continued with little intermission for forty years, the Shawanese were among the most daring, audacious, and persevering of our foes. They were conspicuous actors in the sanguinary battle at Point Pleasant, where General Lewis, at the head of a gallant band of Virginians, defended his position successfully against a vigorous and obstinate attack made by a numerous body of savages. In the campaigns of Harmer, St. Clair, and Wayne, they were foremost in every battle; while the early settlers of Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio, found them ever the inveterate and uncompromising foes of the white man. They were considered as not only warlike, but treacherous and intriguing; and some of the other tribes accused them of being the instigators of those destructive wars which for many years disturbed our borders, and were not less disastrous to the Indians than to the civilised settlers of the wilderness. They asserted, that after peace had been made, and when the other tribes were disposed to observe their treaties in good faith, the Shawanese would secretly provoke the whites by committing a murder, or by some other act of hostility, in such a manner as to leave it doubtful who was the real offender. The whites, in retaliation, would attack the nearest village, or the first party of Indians who might fall in their way, and all the tribes in the vicinity would become entangled in the war. There might be some exaggeration and some truth in these statements, but there is little question that this nation was daring, restless, and treacherous. They retained this character to the last. During a period of several years preceding 1811, the famous Tecumthe, and his brother the Prophet, kept the frontier in a state of continual alarm by their intrigues and depredations. In the last mentioned year they made an audacious and well concerted attack on the American army, commanded by General Harrison, and were severely chastised by that intrepid officer; and during the war between Great Britain and the United States, which immediately succeeded, this tribe engaged with alacrity in the British cause, and were continually in the field, until, by the death of Tecumthe, and the loss of many of their warriors, the spirit of the nation was broken down.

Engaged continually in war, the leading men of the Shawanoe nation, ever since that people has been known by the whites, were persons of ability and courage. The most conspicuous of those who lived in our own times were Catahecassa, or Black Hoof—Shemenetoo, or the Snake, and Tecumthe.

Black Hoof was one of the greatest warriors of his race, and it is supposed that few individuals have ever been engaged in so many battles. He was present at the defeat of Braddock in 1755, and fought through all the subsequent wars until the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Among the Indians none are compelled to go to battle; public opinion is the only law by which any individual is bound to perform military service; and the war chiefs have no authority but such as is derived from the voluntary obedience of their followers. When a warrior conceives himself capable of leading an enterprise he forms his plan, announces his intention, and publicly appoints a time and place at which he may be met by those who may be disposed to join him. When the party is assembled, properly equipped, painted, and prepared in all respects, the leader explains his whole plan, which is usually assented to; if any warrior, however, chooses to make a suggestion, it is listened to with respect, and duly weighed; but after the whole plan has been concerted, the leader assumes the responsibility of its execution, and his followers render him the most implicit obedience throughout the enterprise. The number, therefore, and the character of the party, are determined by the reputation of him who proposes to take the direction. If the invitation is given by a person of little repute, few accept it, and those few are warriors of inferior note, or youths who are willing to embrace any occasion to go to war; while, on the other hand, the bravest warriors will enlist eagerly under one who has already gained distinction. In other cases, where the leader is respectable, but not eminent, he is followed by his personal friends, or by a small band who may be gained by solicitations, or induced by the prospect of plunder. An ambitious young warrior, who is desirous to become a war chief, but has not yet established any claims to popular favour, will sometimes induce two or three of his friends to accompany him on a hostile expedition; and, if successful, will, on the next occasion, be able to enlist a larger train. The practical effect of this system is obvious: the warrior who, in leading a small party at the commencement of his career, discovers sagacity, coolness, cunning, and patience, gains the confidence of his tribe, and if fortune continues to smile, rises gradually into a partisan of established reputation, while another, equally brave, who betrays a want of talent, sinks into the ranks, and ceases to be regarded as a suitable person to command in war.

The success of Black Hoof, both in planning and in execution, was so great that he gained the entire confidence of his nation, and could always command the services of any number of volunteers. He was known far and wide, as the great Shawanoe warrior, whose cunning, sagacity, and experience, were only equalled by the fierce and desperate bravery with which he carried into operation his military plans. Like the other Shawanoe chiefs, he was the inveterate foe of the white man, and held, that no peace should be made, nor any negotiation attempted, except on the condition that the whites should repass the mountains, and leave the great plains of the west to the sole occupancy of the native tribes.

He was the orator of his tribe during the greater part of his long life, and was an excellent speaker. The venerable Colonel Johnston, of Piqua, to whom we are indebted for much valuable information, describes him as the most graceful Indian he had ever seen, and as possessing the most natural and happy faculty of expressing his ideas. He was well versed in the traditions of his people; no one understood better their peculiar relations to the whites, whose settlements were gradually encroaching on them, or could detail with more minuteness the wrongs with which his nation was afflicted. But although a stern and uncompromising opposition to the whites had formed his policy through a series of forty years, and nerved his arm in a hundred battles, he became at length convinced of the madness of an ineffectual struggle against a vastly superior and hourly increasing foe. No sooner had he satisfied himself of this truth, than he acted upon it with the decision which formed a prominent trait in his character. The temporary success of the Indians in several engagements previous to the campaign of General Wayne, had kept alive their expiring hopes; but their signal defeat by that gallant officer, convinced the more reflecting of their leaders of the desperate character of the conflict. Black Hoof was among those who decided upon making terms with the victorious American commander; and having signed the treaty of 1795, at Greenville, he remained faithful to his stipulations during the remainder of his life. From that day he ceased to be the enemy of the white man; and as he was not one who could act a negative part, he became the firm ally and friend of those against whom his tomahawk had been so long raised in vindictive animosity. He was their friend, not from sympathy, or conviction, but in obedience to a necessity which left no middle course, and under a belief that submission alone could save his tribe from destruction; and having adopted this policy, his sagacity and sense of honour, alike forbade a recurrence either to open war or secret hostility.

Catahecassa was the principal chief of the Shawanoe nation, and possessed all the influence and authority which are usually attached to that office, at the period when Tecumthe, and his brother the Prophet, commenced their hostile operations against the United States. Tecumthe had never been reconciled to the whites. As sagacious and as brave as Black Hoof, and resembling him in the possession of all the better traits of the savage character, he differed widely from that respectable chief in his political opinions. They were both patriotic, in the proper sense of the word, and earnestly desired to preserve the remnant of their tribe from the destruction that threatened the whole Indian race. Black Hoof, whose long and victorious career as a warrior, placed his courage far above suspicion, submitted to what he believed inevitable, and endeavoured to evade the effects of the storm by bending beneath its fury; while Tecumthe, a younger man, an influential warrior, but not a chief, with motives equally public spirited, was, no doubt, biassed unconsciously to himself, by personal ambition, and suffered his hatred to the white man to overmaster every other feeling and consideration. The one was a leader of ripe fame, who had reached the highest place in his nation, and could afford to retire from the active scenes of warfare; the other was a candidate for higher honours than he had yet achieved; and both might have been actuated by a common impulse of rivalry, which induced them to espouse different opinions, in opposition to each other.

During several years immediately preceding 1811, the British cabinet prosecuted with renewed vigour their favourite policy of exciting the western savages into active hostilities against the United States. The agents of that government traversed the frontier, holding councils with the Indians, and seeking to inflame them by artful harangues, or to bribe them by liberal presents. The success of these intrigues is too well known. The tomahawk and firebrand were again busied in the fearful work of desolation, and a merciless war waged, not against the forts and armies of the American government, but upon the property and lives of individuals, upon the fields and firesides of a scattered population of enterprising farmers.

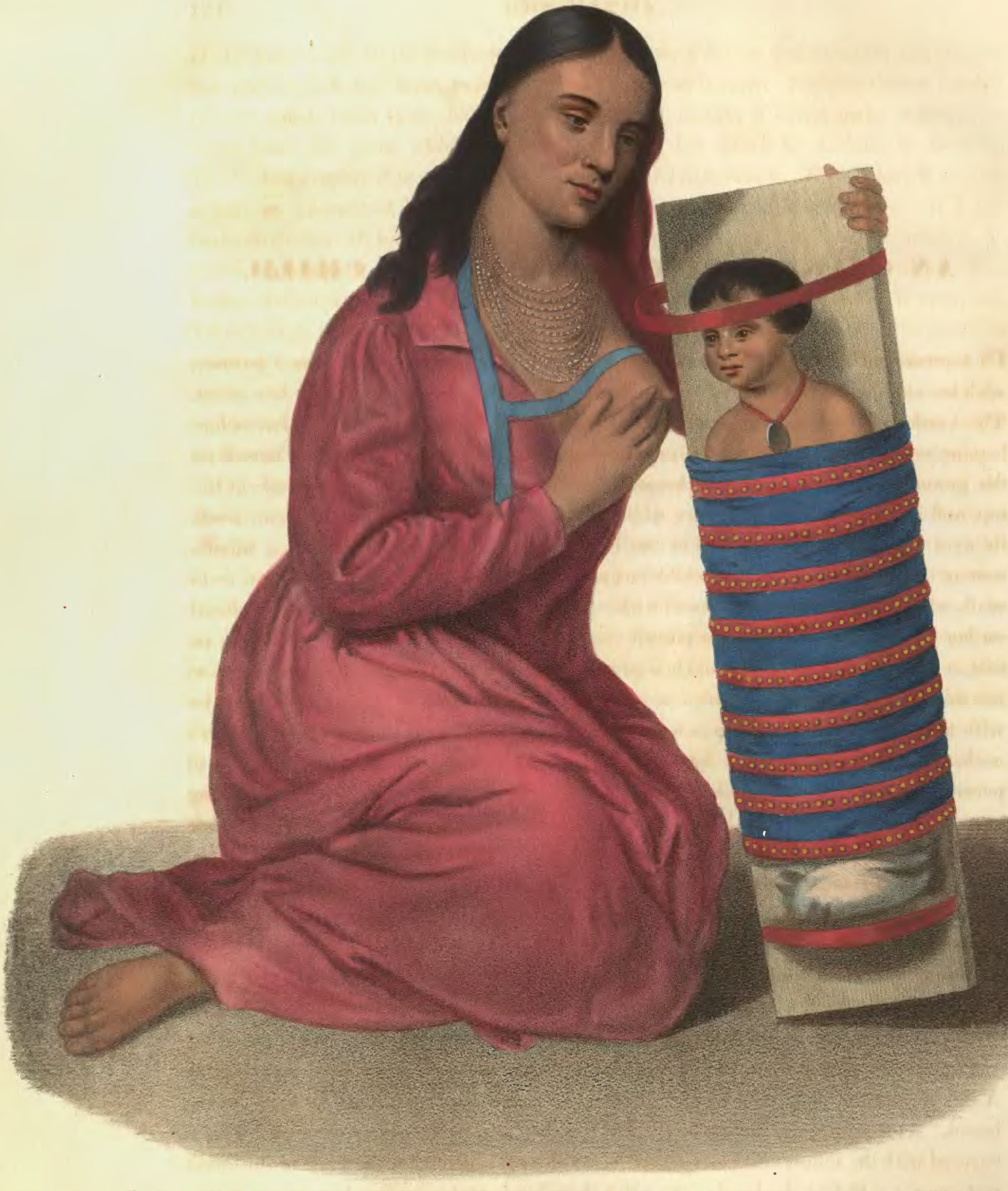
Tecumthe engaged eagerly in these scenes, and devoted all the energies of his bold genius to his darling scheme of fomenting the discord, which should bring about a general war, between the Americans on one side, and the united Indian tribes on the other. Aided by his brother the Prophet—a deceitful, treacherous, but cunning man, he endeavoured to enlist his own nation in the great conspiracy, but found an insurmountable obstacle in the determined opposition of Black Hoof, who, having made a treaty of peace with the United States, resolved to maintain his plighted faith. In vain did Tecumthe intrigue, harangue, and threaten; in vain did the pretended Prophet practise his incantations—equally in vain did the British agent spread out his alluring cargo of trinkets and munitions. Black Hoof preserved his integrity; the older and more reputable part of the tribe adhered to him; while the young and thoughtless, the worthless and dissolute, joined by a similar class from other tribes, followed the Prophet to his new town, and commenced a system of robbery and murder, which, doubtless, formed the extreme point to which either he or they had extended their views—while the more politic Tecumthe regarded them as a mere banditti, pushed forward to embroil the English with the Americans, and to force the savage tribes into a general war. The firmness with which Black Hoof stood aloof on this occasion, and his success in restraining the majority of his nation, showed alike his prudence, his foresight, and his popularity. His course was honourable to his judgment and his integrity.

Another trait in the character of this Indian is highly creditable, and indicates a perception of the social virtues not usually found in savage life. He lived forty years in harmony with one wife, and reared a numerous family, whom he treated with kindness, and by whom he was greatly beloved. The policy of the Indians, in this respect, is not fully understood. They permit, but do not in general encourage, polygamy. There is no law nor custom among them which forbids a plurality of wives; but they do not consider it creditable for any man to marry more women than he can support; and it is even considered a proof of weakness for a warrior to encumber himself with too large a family. The capacity to support a family differs among them, as with us, though not to the same extent. Their chief dependence for food being on the chase, the most expert hunter is best able to provide a subsistence; and the evils of poverty are most severely felt by those who are lazy, physically weak, or destitute of sagacity in finding game. Those who have established a reputation in war or in hunting, have each a small train of friends and defenders, composed of their sons and nephews—of youth who attach themselves to an experienced man for the benefit of his counsel or protection, or of the improvident, who need a leader. When a distinguished warrior, therefore, speaks of *his young men*, he alludes to this train of relatives or pupils, who support him in his quarrels, and follow him to the chase; while a chief employs the same form of expression in a more enlarged sense, as applicable to the young warriors of his nation. This explanation affords a key to one of the sources of the slight distinction in rank which exists among the Indians. Distinction in war or hunting draws around its possessor a band of two or three, or sometimes more, devoted followers, who, in a society where force is often the only law, increase the power of their leader, while they add to his wealth by attending him in the chase, and thus increasing his means of procuring food. A warrior of this rank may, with propriety, grace his wigwam with several wives, and may even require the services of more than one, to carry home his game, and perform the drudgery of his numerous family; while the improvident or unsuccessful hunter, or a youth who must rely entirely upon himself, may not venture to indulge himself with the same liberality. These distinctions are closely observed by the Indians in every tribe with which we are acquainted, and nothing more certainly provokes their contempt than the marrying an unreasonable number of wives. Black Hoof, as we have seen, was satisfied with one; Tecumthe had but one at a time, while the hypocritical Prophet, who, from laziness or incapacity, was not an active hunter, maintained a number of wives, who were supported by the contributions which he artfully levied upon his credulous followers. The two former were respected as men, even by their enemies, while the latter, as soon as he ceased to be sustained in his imposture by his politic and manly brother, sunk into disrepute. He died recently in Missouri.

An intelligent gentleman who spent many years among the Shawanese, in the discharge of public duties, and was often accompanied in long journeys through the wilderness by Black Hoof, describes him as a lively, agreeable, and instructive companion. On one of these occasions he shot a deer when he was more than ninety years of age. He preserved his eyesight to the last, and never used or needed glasses, nor was known to be sick. He was a small man, about five feet eight inches in height, well proportioned and active, and had a remarkably intelligent countenance. He died at Wapakonnetta in 1831, at the age of from one hundred and five to one hundred and twelve years.

There was a peculiarity in the eloquence of this chief, which distinguished him from the speakers of his race, who are usually grave and monotonous. He generally commenced his public harangues with some pleasant, facetious, or striking remark, thrown out to please his audience, and gain their attention. He would play awhile round his subject, until he saw the rigid features of the stern warriors around him beginning to relax, and then dive into it, becoming more earnest as he proceeded, until at last the whole energy of his vigorous mind was concentrated into a powerful and well digested effort.

It would be unjust to omit a feature in the character of Catahecassa which reflects upon him the highest credit. The practice of burning prisoners at the stake was not only prevalent among the western tribes, but was, we think, resorted to with the greatest frequency, and attended with the most brutal circumstances, during the wars in which the Shawanese bore a conspicuous part, and in which Black Hoof was a prominent leader. They did not sacrifice them to the Great Star, or any other favourite deity, as among the Pawnees, but generally in revenge for their losses or their wrongs. Notwithstanding the determined hostility of this chief against the whites, he invariably opposed that atrocious custom, and has often declared that he never witnessed such occurrences but twice, on both which occasions he was present accidentally. We are happy to record, that the more intelligent of the principal men of the Shawanese, coincided in condemning these shocking cruelties. Tecumthe was never known to insult a prisoner; and on several occasions during the last war, he upbraided the British officers for their cruel treatment of captive Americans. Another Shawanoe chief, the aged Biaseka, or the Wolf, once returned home after an absence of several months, and finding the village nearly deserted, was informed that the people were engaged in burning a prisoner, beyond the precincts of the town. Without communicating his intentions, he loaded a pistol and proceeded to the spot. The wretched captive was bound to the stake, the torch ready to be applied, and a ferocious multitude eagerly waiting to glut their savage appetite with the miseries of the victim. The chief passed through the crowd without speaking to any one, and, approaching the prisoner, placed the pistol to his head, and blew out his brains—coolly remarking, that he disapproved of the torture of a defenceless person, and had prevented it by despatching the captive.



Painted by C. B. King

Lehman & Duval

CHIPPEWAY SQUAW & CHILD

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania —

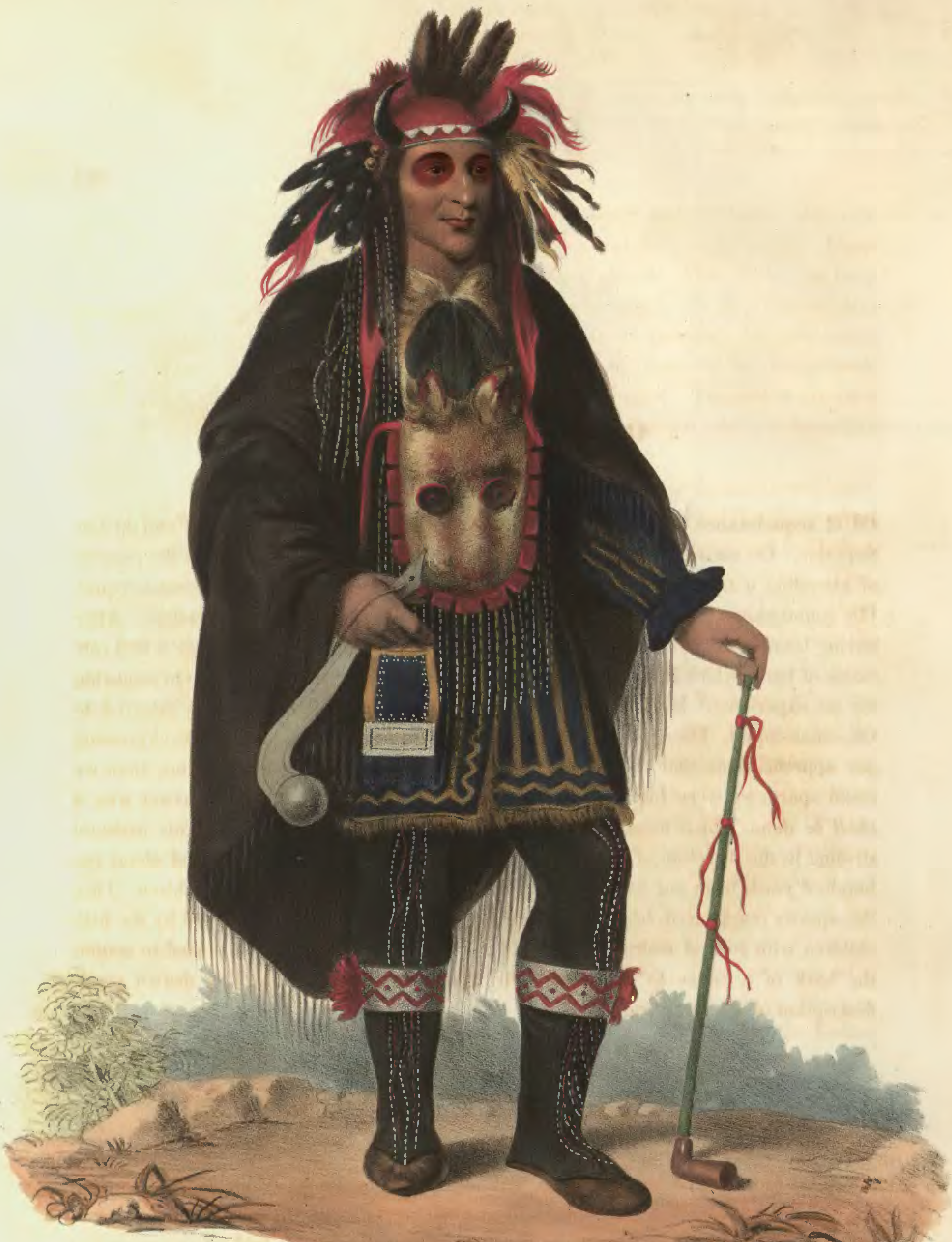
AN OJIBWA MOTHER AND HER CHILD.

IN a preceding number we have exhibited a sketch of an Indian mother on a journey, with her child on her back. We present, now, a mother in the act of suckling her infant. The reader will suppose the cradle before him to have been only a moment before leaning against a tree, or a part of the wigwam. The mother, having seated herself on the ground, and disengaged her breast from its covering, has taken the cradle at the top, and is drawing it towards her; while the child, anxious for its nourishment, sends its eyes and lips in the direction of the breast. This is one mode of suckling infants among the Indians. When the child has attained sufficient strength to sit alone, or to walk about, the cradle is dispensed with. Then it is taken by the mother and placed on her lap, she being in a sitting posture; or, if she have occasion to make a journey on foot, a blanket, or part of a blanket, is provided—two corners of which she passes round her middle. Holding these with one hand, she takes the child by the arm and shoulder with the other, and slings it upon her back. The child clasps with its arms its mother's neck, presses its feet and toes inward, against, and (as far as the length of its legs will permit) around her waist. The blanket is then drawn over the child by the remaining two corners, which are now brought over the mother's shoulder, who, grasping all four of these in her hand, before her, pursues her way. If the child require nourishment, and the mother have time, the blanket is thrown off, and the child is taken by the arm and shoulder, most adroitly replaced upon the ground, received upon the lap of the mother, and nourished. Otherwise, the breast is pressed upward, in the direction of the child's mouth, till it is able to reach the source of its nourishment, while the mother pursues her journey. This is the cause of the elongation of the breasts of Indian mothers. They lose almost entirely their natural form.

The cradle, in which the reader will see the little prisoner, is a simple contrivance. A board, shaven thin, is its basis. On this the infant is placed, with its back to the board. At a proper distance, near the lower end, is a projecting piece of wood. This is covered with the softest moss, and when the cradle is perpendicular the heels of the infant rest upon it. Before the head of the child there is a hoop, projecting four or five inches from its face. Two holes are bored on either side of the upper end of the board, for the passage of a deer skin, or other cord. This is intended to extend round the forehead of the mother, as is seen in a previous number, to support the cradle when on her back. Around the board, and the child, bandages are wrapped, beginning at the feet, and winding around till they reach the breast and shoulders, binding the arms and hands to the child's sides. There is great security in this contrivance. The Indian woman, a slave to the duties of the lodge, with all the fondness of a mother, cannot devote that constant attention to her child which her heart constantly prompts her to bestow. She must often leave it to chop wood, build fires, cook, erect the wigwam, or take it down, make a canoe, or bring home the game which her lord has killed, but which he disdains to shoulder. While thus employed her infant charge is safe in its rude cradle. If she place it against a tree, or a corner of her lodge, it may be knocked down in her absence. If it fall backwards then all is safe. If it fall sideways, the arms and hands being confined, no injury is sustained; if on the front, the projecting hoop guards the face and head. The Indian mother would find it difficult to contrive any thing better calculated for her purpose. To this early discipline in the cradle, the Indian owes his erect form; and to the practice, when old enough to be released from the bandages, of bracing himself against his mother's waist, with his toes inward, may be traced the origin of his straightforward gait, and the position of his foot in walking; which latter is confirmed afterwards by treading in the trails scarcely wider than his foot, cut many inches deep by the travel of centuries.

It is but justice, in this place, to bear our testimony to the maternal affection of the Indian women, in which they fall nothing behind their more civilised and polished sisters. We have often marked the anxiety of an Indian mother, bending over her sick child; her prompt obedience to its calls, her untiring watchfulness, her tender, and so far as a mother's love could make it so, refined attentions to its claims upon her tenderness. In times of danger we have witnessed her anxiety for its security, and her fearless exposure of her own person for its protection. We have looked upon the rough-clad warrior in the solitude of his native forests, attired in the skins of beasts, or wrapped round with his blanket, and realised all our preconceived impressions of his ferocity, and savage-like appearance—but when we have entered the lodge and beheld, in the untutored mother, and amid the rude circumstances of her condition, the same parental love and tender devotion to her children, we had known in other lands, and in earlier years, we have almost forgotten that we stood beside the threshold of the ruthless savage, whose pursuits and feelings we had supposed to have nothing in common with ours, and have felt, that as the children of one Father, we were brothers of the same blood—heirs of the same infirmities—victims of the same passions; and, though in different degrees, bound down in obedience to the same common feelings of our nature. Persecuted and wronged as he has been, the Indian has experienced the same feelings; and, on more than one occasion, in the rude eloquence of his native tongue, has given them vent, in words not far different from those of Cowper, with which we will conclude this sketch:—

> "I was born of woman, and drew milk
> As sweet as charity from human breasts.
> I think, articulate, I laugh, and weep,
> And exercise all functions of a man.
> ———————— Pierce my vein,
> Take of the crimson stream meand'ring there,
> Search it, and prove now, if it be not blood,
> Congenial with thine own; and if it be,
> What edge of subtlety canst thou suppose,
> Keen enough, wise and skilful as thou art,
> To cut the link of brotherhood, by which
> One common Maker bound me to the kind."



Painted by C. B. King *Lehman & Duval Lith.rs Phila.*

OKEE-MAAKEE-QUID

A Chippeway Chief

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa.

OKEEMAKEEQUID.

OUR acquaintance with Okeemakeequid began and ended in 1826, at La Fond du Lac Superior. On arriving there, among the multitude of Indians, collected for the purpose of attending a treaty, our interest was at once excited in relation to Okeemakeequid. His countenance was intellectual, and wore an unusually civilised expression. After having been at La Fond du Lac for some days, we determined to have built a first rate canoe of bark, which is the only kind of canoe used in these lake regions. On inquiring for an experienced hand among the Indians, for that purpose, we were referred to Okeemakeequid. He appeared directly, and the bargain was soon made. On expressing our apprehensions that the structure of the canoe might consume more time than we could spare, we were told to name our own time. We did so, and the answer was, *it shall be done.* In a moment afterwards we saw Okeemakeequid and his assistant striding in the direction of a piece of level ground, bordering the water, and about two hundred yards from our encampment, followed by a train of women and children. Then the squaws reappeared, bearing on their backs rolls of birch bark, followed by the little children with rolls of wattap (the root of the red cedar, or fir,) which is used to confine the bark of a canoe to its frame. Mr. Schoolcraft, in an admirably drawn poetic description of the birch canoe, says—

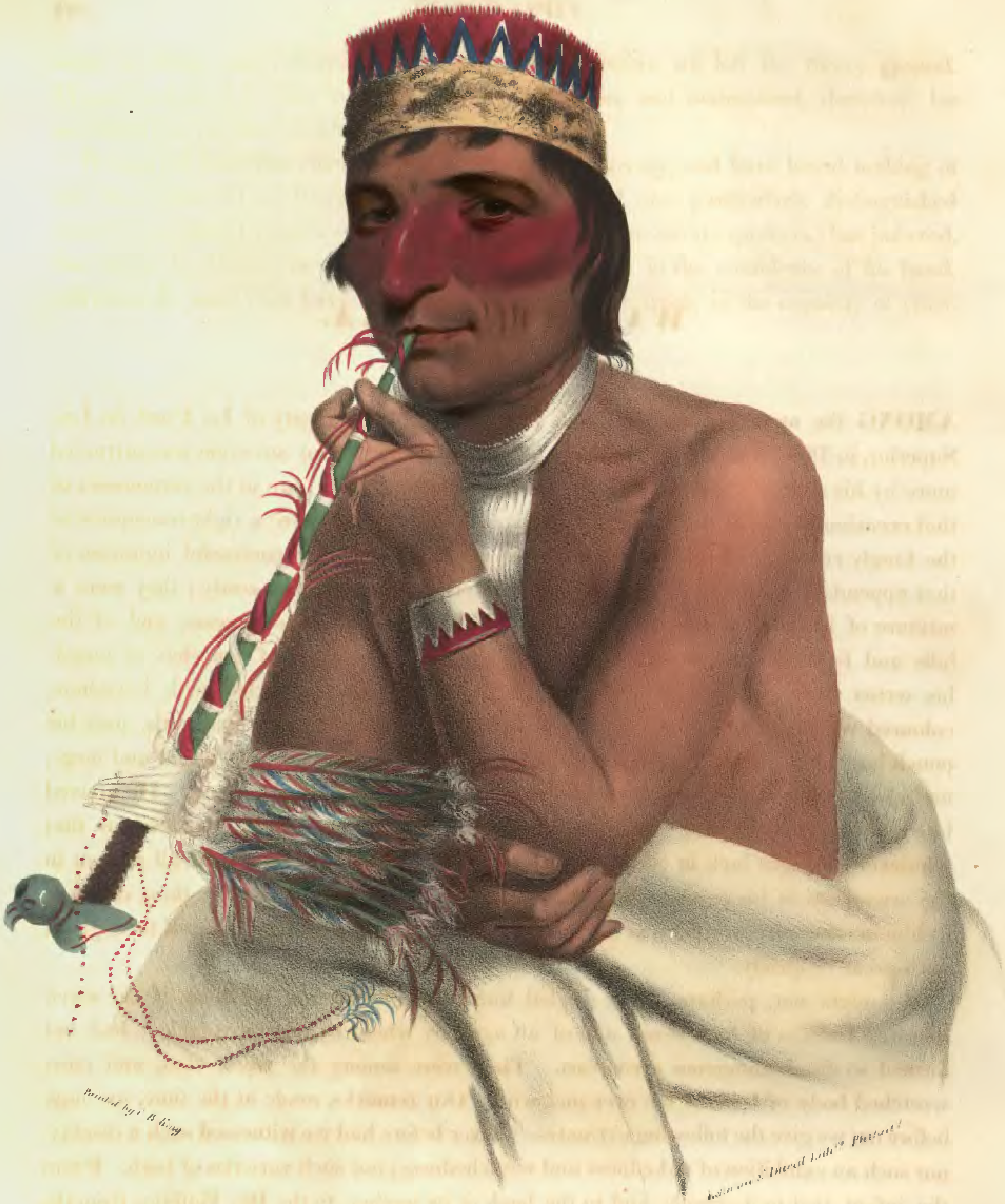
> The bright leafy bark of the betula tree,
> A flexible sheathing provides;
> And the fir's thready roots drew the parts to agree,
> And bound down its high swelling sides.

All the materials being ready, the work was commenced with great spirit. As it has not fallen to the lot of many persons, into whose hands this work may fall, to witness the building of a birchen canoe, we will avail ourselves of an extract from our work—"Tour to the Lakes," to describe the process. The ground being laid off, in length and breadth, answering to the size of the canoe, (this was thirty-six feet long, and five feet wide in its widest part,) stakes are driven at the two extremes, and thence on either side, answering, in their position, to the form of the canoe. Pieces of bark are then sewn together with wattap, and placed between those stakes, from one end to the other, and made fast to them. The bark thus arranged, hangs loose, and in folds, resembling in general appearance, though without their regularity, the covers of a book, with its back downwards, the edges being up, and the leaves out. Cross pieces are then put in. These press out the rim, and give the upper edges the form of the canoe. Next, the ribs are forced in—thin sheathing being laid between these and the bark. The ribs press out the bark, giving form and figure to the bottom and sides of the canoe. Upon these ribs, and along their whole extent, large stones are placed. The ribs having been previously well soaked, they bear the pressure of these stones, till they become dry. Passing round the bottom, and up the sides of the canoe to the rim, they resemble hoops cut in two, or half circles. The upper parts furnish mortising places for the rim; around, and over which, and through the bark, the wattap is wrapped. The stakes are then removed, the seams gummed, and the fabric is lifted into the water, where it floats like a feather.

We soon learned that Okeemakeequid was one of ten children of the most remarkable old squaw in those parts. Her name was Oshegwun. From childhood this woman had been the subject of affliction. When about fourteen years old she accompanied her father, with five lodges of his band, amounting to forty persons, on a hunting expedition. They had killed a deer, and were in the act of cooking it, when they were attacked by about one hundred Sioux. Fifteen of the Chippewas were killed; three only surviving the first assault. Oshegwun ran off—was overtaken and tied. A contention arose between two Sioux for the captive. One of them struck his war club into her back, and otherwise wounded her. She fell, crying, "They are killing me," At this moment she heard the crack of a rifle, when she became unconscious. Towards evening she was aroused by the pressure of a hand upon her arm. It was her father's. He saw the struggle between the two Sioux for his child, when, levelling his rifle, he killed them both. He was too much engaged in the fight to go to the spot, but sought it afterwards. On arriving at it he found his daughter gone, she having crawled a quarter of a mile. He tracked her by her blood on the snow. She was scalped in two places, on the right and left of her crown—the knife passing round her throat, cut a deep gash, driving in pieces of wampum, which remained there. She survived, however, and lived to marry three husbands, all of whom treated her unkindly, and to be the mother of nine sons and one daughter. She was subsequently cured of a disease in the forefinger, by Okeemakeequid, after the Indian fashion, by placing it on a block, laying a knife across it, and with a single blow upon the knife with the eye of a hatchet, cutting it off.

We were shown all these wounds; and also witnessed a scalping scene, by her two sons, Okeemakeequid and his brother, who went through the blank motions over the head of the mother, to show how the Sioux performed that ceremony. At this time, 1826, Oshegwun was about sixty years of age.

The dress in which Okeemakeequid appears is not a Chippewa, but a Sioux dress. The Indians would often jibe him about the circumstances under which he got it. At the treaty of Prairie du Chien, in 1825, peace was concluded, which terminated a war of nearly two hundred years' duration, between the Sioux and Chippewas. In memorial of this occurrence a Sioux warrior proposed to exchange dresses with Okeemakeequid. The latter acceded to the proposition. After the exchange had been made, the Sioux, looking Okeemakeequid archly in the face, and pointing to the head-dress, said, "*Brother*, when you put that dress on, feel up there—there are five feathers; I have put one in for each scalp I took from your people—remember that!"



Painted by C. B. King

Lehman & Duval Lith's Philad.

WA-EM-BOESH-KAA

A Chippeway Chief

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the district Court of the Eastern District of Pa

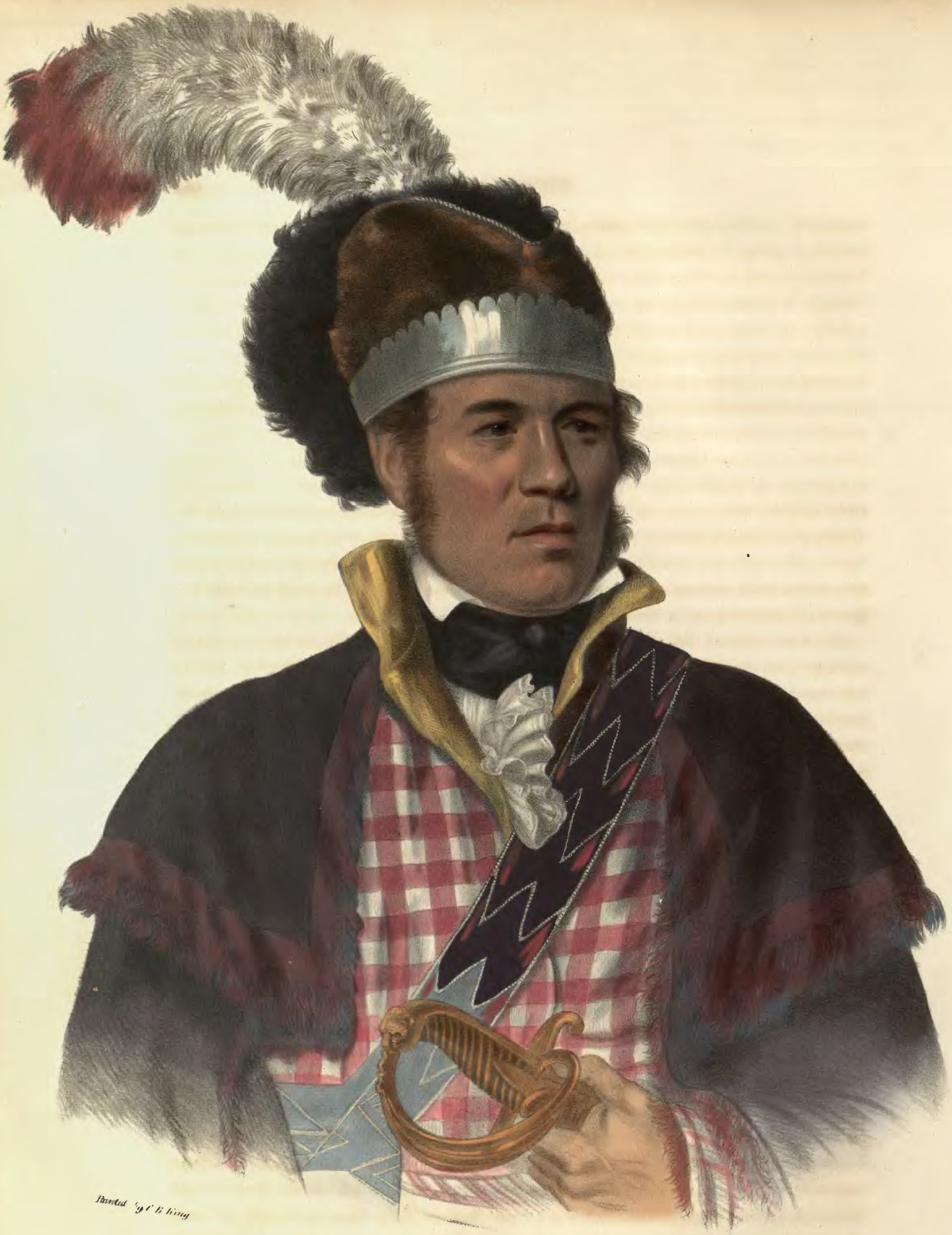
WAEMBOESHKAA.

AMONG the most remarkable chiefs we met with at the treaty of La Fond du Lac Superior, in 1826, was Waemboeshkaa, a Chippewa chief. Our attention was attracted more by his style of dress than by any particular part that he bore in the ceremonies of that occasion. He was the only Indian present who seemed to have a right conception of the kingly crown, and to have succeeded in constructing a very successful imitation of that appendage of royalty. It is true, the materials were far from costly; they were a mixture of feathers, glossy, and very beautiful, from the drake's breast, and of the bills and feathers from the head of the woodpecker. In place of bracelets of metal, his wrists were similarly ornamented, whilst his neck was encircled with horsehair, coloured with vermilion. His pipe was made gay with the same materials, and his pouch had been the object of his special attentions. His blanket was sound and large, and clean. He was one of the representatives of the Sandy Lake band. He arrived late at the treaty ground; and, on joining the assemblage, appeared conscious that whatever he might lack in other accomplishments, he was the superior of all present in the ornaments of his person. There did not, however, appear to be any thing deficient in him in other respects; he was thoughtful, respectful, and conducted himself throughout with great propriety.

We might not, perhaps, have singled him out on account of his dress, if the seven hundred Indians of both sexes, and of all ages, by whom he was surrounded, had not formed so disadvantageous a contrast. They were among the worst clad, and most wretched body of Indians we ever met with. Our remarks, made at the time, are now before us; we give the following extract:—"Never before had we witnessed such a display, nor such an exhibition of nakedness and wretchedness; nor such varieties of both. From the infant, tied to its cradle, and to the back of its mother, to the Big Buffalo; from the little fellow with a dress made of racoon skins, himself not much above the size of that animal, and looking, except his face, for all the world like one of them on its hinder feet, to Waemboeshkaa, one of the Sandy Lake chiefs, dressed like king Saul." So we denominated this chief at the time; and he bore a very remarkable likeness to that personage, crown and all, as we have seen him sketched by those who have indulged their fancy in presenting to the world their imaginings of this renowned personage.

Whatever of humiliation might have been produced by those who were lowest in the scale of want, was relieved by suitable presents, before we left the treaty ground. Waembaeskaa, it is true, received his due proportion, and maintained, therefore, his superiority in personal wealth and endowments.

We parted from this chief at the conclusion of the treaty, and have heard nothing of him since; nor did we learn at the time, that he had ever particularly distinguished himself, (not even by much smoking, for all Indians are inveterate smokers,) but inferred, that either by descent, or exploits in war, he was high in the confidence of his band, otherwise he would not have been deputed to attend the treaty in the capacity of chief.



Painted by C B King

Lehman & Duval Lith^{rs}

M^{c} INTOSH

A Creek Chief.

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of P^{a}

M'INTOSH.

M'INTOSH, whose admirable likeness is before the reader, was a half-breed, of the Muscogee, or Creek nation. His father was a Scotsman; his mother a native of unmixed blood. M'Intosh was intelligent and brave. In person he was tall, finely formed, and of graceful and commanding manners. To these qualities he probably owed his elevation to the chieftainship of the Coweta tribe.

We know little of the early history of this chief. The first notice we have of him is after his junction with the American forces in 1812. General Floyd mentions him in his report of the battle, or, as it may with more propriety be termed, the *massacre* of Autossee; on which occasion two hundred Creeks were slain. The Indians were surprised in their lodges, and killed, before they could rally in their defence. M'Intosh and his Indian forces are reported by General Floyd to have "fought with an intrepidity worthy of any troops."

Autossee was a favourite spot, and had been selected by the chiefs of eight of the Creek towns, for a last and desperate stand against the invading army; but the sudden and unexpected attack of General Floyd terminated the contest. The kings of Autossee and Tallassee were among the slain.

M'Intosh is again spoken of by the commanding general, Jackson, as Major M'Intosh, and is said by that officer, in his report of the famous battle of the Horseshoe, to have "greatly distinguished himself." He also signalised himself in the Florida campaign, by various acts of gallantry.

We shall leave our warrior chief for a while, and glance at a subject of great public interest, in relation to which, he was destined to act a conspicuous part, and which finally brought about his death.

In 1802, a compact was entered into between the United States and the State of Georgia; the fourth article of which stipulates, "that the United States shall, at their own expense, extinguish, for the use of Georgia, as early as the same can be *peaceably* effected, on *reasonable* terms, the Indian title to the lands within the forks of the Oconnee and Oakmulgee rivers, &c. &c.; and that the United States shall, in the same manner also, extinguish the Indian title to *all* the other lands within the State of Georgia."

The United States, in pursuance of this compact, proceeded, from time to time, by treaties, to extinguish the Indian title to lands within the limits of Georgia. The first treaty of cession, after the formation of the compact, was concluded on the Oconnee river, near Fort Wilkinson, in the month of June following; a second was negotiated in the city of Washington, in June, 1806; a third was the treaty of conquest, of August, 1814; a fourth treaty was negotiated in January, 1818; a fifth in January, 1821. Under these several treaties, the Indian title to about fifteen millions of acres of land was extinguished; and the United States paid Georgia, in money, one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in lieu of lands which had been ceded to the Indians.

These various and successful efforts to fulfil the intention of the compact of 1802, so early as 1811, alarmed the Creeks. In order to arrest this inroad upon their domain, they enacted a law in that year, at Broken Arrow, forbidding, under the penalty of death, the sale of any more lands, except by the chiefs of the nation, ratified in general council. This law was formally re-enacted in 1824, at the Polecat Springs. M'Intosh is said to have proposed this law.

After the treaty of 1821, various unsuccessful efforts were made to consummate the stipulations of the compact of 1802; but the Creeks refused to listen to any overtures. Meanwhile, the executive of Geogia became impatient of the delay, and opened a highly excited and painful correspondence with the government at Washington, in which the President was charged with bad faith; and, among other things, with attempting to defeat the objects of the treaty, by the introduction of schools, and other plans of civilisation and improvement among the Indians. If you enlighten the Indians, as to the value of their possessions, it was argued, you increase the difficulty of obtaining their consent to part with them. It was answered by the Federal Executive, that every thing on the part of the United States had been done in good faith; and the improvement of the Indians, which was complained of, was only a continuation of the policy adopted by Washington, and continued throughout the successive administrations to the present time. This policy, which one would think needed no defence before a civilised and Christian people, was maintained by unanswerable arguments. No efforts, consistent with principle, were spared by the executive at Washington to gratify the desires of Georgia, nor did congress ever refuse the means to effect a purchase of all the lands held by the Creeks within her limits.

During the latter part of the administration of President Monroe, Messrs. Campbell and Merriwether were appointed commissioners to make another attempt to treat with the Creek Indians. Letters were received at Washington from the commissioners, inquiring, whether the Executive would recognise a treaty entered into with M'Intosh? They were answered by the Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, that no treaty would be respected unless made with the chiefs of the nation. Meanwhile the commissioners called a meeting of the Indians at the Indian Springs, a reservation occupied by M'Intosh. Among those who attended was the chief of Tuckhabatchee. When the proposition was made by the commissioners, to purchase their country, that chief rose and said: "You asked us to sell more lands at Broken Arrow; we told you we had none to spare. I told M'Intosh then, that *he knew* no land could be sold except in full council, and by consent of the nation." The chief then added; "we have met here at a very short notice—only a few chiefs are present from the upper towns; and many are absent from the lower towns." He concluded by saying; "that's all the talk I have to make, and I shall go home." Whereupon he left the ground, and returned to Tuckhabatchee. Though M'Intosh had attended the meeting to sell the country, he is said, at this point, to have wavered. He looked round among the Indians, but saw no chief of influence, except Etomie Tustennuggee, whose consent he had procured to his scheme. The commissioners, however, intent upon the treaty, calmed the fears of M'Intosh by a promise of protection from the United States. The treaty which had been prepared was read, and signed by the commissioners, by "*William M'Intosh, head chief of the Cowetas*"—next by *Etomie Tustennuggee*, by his X, and by thirteen others, who, though chiefs, were of inferior rank; and, lastly, by about fifty men of no rank or power whatever, many of them being of the lowest and most degraded of their countrymen.

This treaty was executed at the Indian Springs, on the 12th of February, 1825, and on the 2d of March following, reached Washington. The very speed by which it had been transmitted indicated the fears entertained by the commissioners, and by Georgia, that the nation would protest against it, and cause its rejection. The Creek agent, Colonel Crowell, sent with it to Washington a protest against its validity. This confirmed the apprehensions of the Secretary of War, who, as it was generally understood, preferred delaying its submission to the Senate until further information could be received from the Indians, or to reopen the negotiation with a view to obtain the ratification of the treaty by the acknowledged chiefs of the nation. It was feared, that, if the treaty should prove, so far as the Creek nation was concerned, invalid, its ratification by the Senate would create intense excitement, and be the signal for bloodshed among the Indians. President Monroe, however, thought proper to lay the treaty before the Senate, together with the agent's protest, and leave it to that body to decide, as in its wisdom it might think best. He was led to this course by the consideration that the term of his office was about to close. The treaty was accordingly sent to the Senate, and was ratified on the 7th of March, 1825. Meanwhile Mr. Adams had succeeded to the presidency—the treaty was returned to him from the Senate, and *approved*.

The Creek nation had now become greatly excited; and M'Intosh, fearing the result, claimed protection from Georgia. We believe it was promised. The Creeks, however, had resolved on revenge. Menawa, whose likeness will appear in this work, and who is called the "Great Warrior," was commissioned by the chiefs to raise a party, to march to the Indian Springs, and execute the judgment of their law upon M'Intosh, on his own hearth-stone. They were also directed to slay Etomie Tustennuggee, and any other chiefs who had acceded to the treaty. With the usual promptitude of the Indians, in the prosecution of bloody business, Menawa was soon at the head of one hundred of his Oakfuskee braves, and after a rapid march arrived before the house of the fated M'Intosh, before day, on the morning of the first of May, just seventy-seven days after the signing of the treaty. The house having been surrounded, Menawa spoke:—"Let the white people who are in this house come out, and so will the women and children. We come not to injure them. M'Intosh has broken the law made by himself, and we have come to kill him for it." This summons was obeyed by all to whom it was addressed. M'Intosh's son, Chilly, who, having signed the treaty, was in the list of meditated victims, was enabled, by his light complexion, to pass out with the whites, and escaped. Only two remained, and these were M'Intosh and Etomie Tustennuggee. The house was fired; the two victims, forced by the flames, appeared at the door, where they were received by a shower of bullets, and instantly killed. A half breed, named Sam Hawkins, was taken the same day, and hanged; and Ben, his brother, also a half breed, was fired upon and severely wounded, but escaped. Menawa was careful to give out that the white people should not be molested; that the Creek nation meant only to punish those who had violated their law.

This bloody tragedy greatly excited the people of Georgia. Governor Troup threatened vengeance. It was feared that the State of Georgia might make it necessary for the general government to interfere, and that these two powers might come in collision. President Adams, however, met the crisis with coolness and resolution, and at length the fever abated, and Georgia, though still demanding the possession of *all* the Indian lands within her limits, subsided into comparative quiet. Upon minute inquiry into the circumstances of the treaty of the Indian Springs, it was abandoned, and a new treaty was made at Washington on the 4th of January, 1826. The first article of the treaty of Washington declared the treaty of the Indian Springs "to be null and void, to every intent and purpose whatever; and any right or claim, arising from the same, is declared to be cancelled and surrendered."

It is not difficult to imagine the inducements which led M'Intosh to enter upon this treaty in defiance of the law of his nation, and its bloody penalty. He probably foresaw that his people would have no rest within the limits of Georgia, and perhaps acted with an honest view to their interests. The intercourse he had enjoyed with the army of the United States, and the triumph of their arms over the desperate valour of the Indians, which he had witnessed at Autossee, the Horseshoe, and in Florida, induced him to believe he would be safe under the shadow of their protection, even from the vengeance of his tribe. But there were, besides, strong appeals to his cupidity, in the provisions of the treaty of the Indian Springs, and in its supplements. By one of these, the Indian Spring reservation was secured to him; and by another it was agreed to pay him for it twenty-five thousand dollars. Moreover, the second article of the treaty provided for the payment to the Creek nation, of four hundred thousand dollars. Of this sum he would of course have received his share. Such inducements might have been sufficiently powerful to shake a virtue based upon a surer foundation than the education of a heathen Indian could afford. Besides this, he was flattered and caressed by the commissioners, who were extremely eager to complete the treaty, and taught to believe that he was consulting the ultimate advantage of the nation. These considerations, in some measure, remove the odium from his memory. But it must still bear the stain which Indian justice affixes to the reputation of the chief who sells, under such circumstances, the graves of his fathers.

Out of this occurrence arose two parties among the Creek Indians. One was composed of the bulk of the nation, the other of the followers of M'Intosh, headed by his son, Chilly. The latter were intent on immediate removal. To aid them in this, the treaty of Washington, of January 1826, provided for an examination of the country west of the Mississippi, and for the distribution of one hundred thousand dollars among the friends and followers of the late General M'Intosh, if their party should number three thousand persons; fifteen thousand to be paid immediately after the ratification of the treaty, and the residue on their arrival west of the Mississippi. Provision was also made to ascertain the damages sustained by the friends and followers of General M'Intosh, in consequence of the treaty of the Indian Springs, and contrary to the laws of the Creek nation.

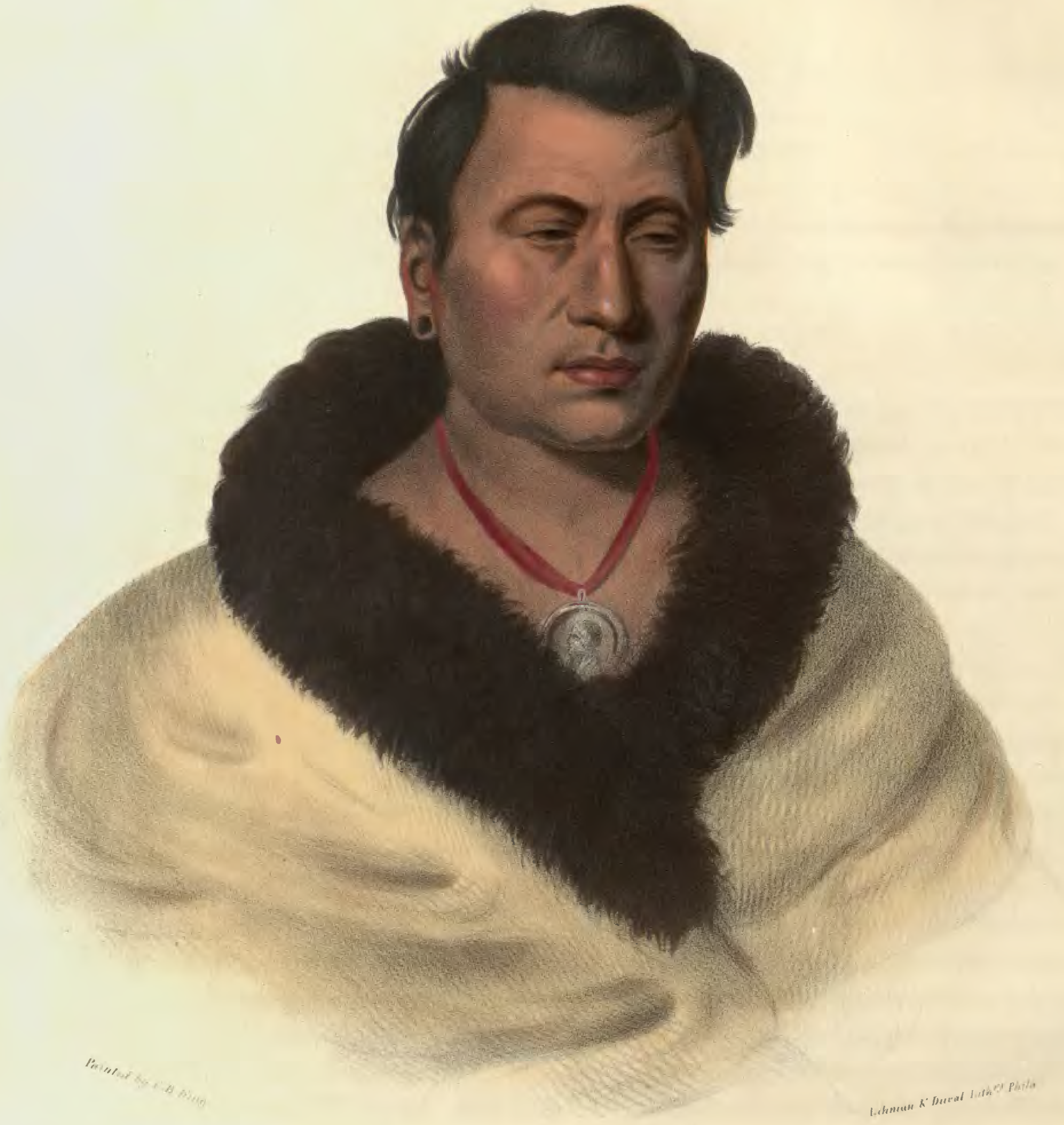
Every disposition was manifested by the general government to heal those breaches, and quiet those animosities which had been produced by that unfortunate treaty. No subsequent collisions happened between the parties.

The Creek nation were not long permitted to retain an inch of ground in Georgia. The treaty of Washington provided for a cession of the whole of it, except a small strip on the Chatahouchee. This, Georgia insisted on having. In 1827, a special commission was made out, directing Colonel M'Kenney, after he should have executed certain trusts confided to him, as joint commissioner with Governor Cass, in the Lake Country, to pass over to the Mississippi, descend the river, and thence proceed into the country occupied by the four southern tribes, to negotiate with the Creeks for the remnant of their inheritance in Georgia. This duty was performed. A treaty was concluded on the 15th of November, 1827, and ratified on the 4th of March following, which quieted for ever the controversy between Georgia and the United States, so far as it related to the Creek Indians.

The Creeks retired to their possessions in Alabama. But they were not long left in peace even there. That state demanded their removal from her limits, and was soon gratified by the general government. A final treaty was made with this wretched people. Subdued in spirit, and impoverished, they at length yielded to the power more than the persuasion of the whites, and crossed the Mississippi. Their present condition is said to be deplorable.

M'Intosh died as he had lived, bravely. He knew the fate that awaited him, and met it like an Indian warrior. Having been thrown into the society of the more polished of our people, and having been the associate of our officers in the wars on our southern borders, he had acquired all the manners and much of the polish of a gentleman. He lived in great comfort; possessed slaves, whom he treated kindly, and at his death was about forty years old.

We do not know enough of his family to furnish a sketch of its members. Chilly M'Intosh is an intelligent young man of good manners, and has considerable influence with his people, who emigrated with him to the west. One of the daughters, we believe, married a Mr. Hawkins, a sub-agent of the government.



Painted by C. B. King

Lehman & Duval Lithrs Phila

ONG-PA-TON-GA
or the Big Elk
Chief of the Omahas

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1836 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

ONGPATONGA.

THERE are few aboriginal chiefs whose character may be contemplated with so much complacency as that of the individual before us, who is not only an able but a highly estimable man. He is the principal chief of his nation, and the most considerable man among them in point of talent and influence. He uses his power with moderation, and the white men who have visited his country all bear testimony to his uniform fair dealing, hospitality, and friendship. He is a good warrior, and has never failed to effect the objects which he has attempted; being distinguished rather by the common sense and sagacity which secure success, than by the brilliancy of his achievements.

While quite a young man he performed an exploit which gained him great credit. The Omahas had sent a messenger of some distinction upon an embassy to the Pawnee Loups, who, instead of receiving him with the respect due to his character, as the representative of his nation, treated him with contempt. Ongpatonga, though young, was a chief of some distinction, and immediately took upon himself to revenge the insult. He determined to do this promptly, before the aggressors could be aware of his intention, and while the sense of injury was glowing in the bosoms of his people. Placing himself at the head of the whole population of his village, men, women, and children, he proceeded to the Pawnee town, and attacked it so suddenly, and with such a show of numbers, that the inhabitants deserted it without attempting a defence. He then destroyed the village and retired, taking with him a valuable booty, consisting chiefly of horses.

The Omahas inhabit the shores of the Missouri river, about eight hundred miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. They of course hunt over those beautiful and boundless prairies which afford pasturage to the buffalo, and are expert in the capture of that animal, and the management of the horse. They have but one permanent village, which consists of huts formed of poles, and plastered with mud. A fertile plain, which spreads out in front of their town, affords ground for their rude horticulture, which extends to the planting of corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. This occupation, with the dressing of the buffalo skins, procured in the previous winter's hunt, employs the spring months of the year; and, in June, they make their arrangements for a grand hunting expedition. A solemn council is held in advance of this important undertaking, at which the chiefs, the great warriors, and the most experienced hunters, deliberately express their opinions in relation to the route proposed to be pursued; the necessary preparations, and all other matters connected with the subject. A feast is then given by an individual selected for the purpose, to which all the chief men are invited, and several of the fattest dogs are roasted for their entertainment. Here the principal chief introduces again the great subject of debate, in a set speech, in which he thanks each person present for the honour of his company, on an occasion so important to the nation, and calls upon them to determine whether the state of their stock of provisions will justify their remaining longer, to allow the squaws time to weed their corn, or whether they shall proceed at once to the pastures of the game. If the latter be the decision of the company, he invites them to determine whether it would be advisable to ascend the running water or seek the shores of the Platte, or extend their journey to the black hills of the southwest, in pursuit of wild horses. He is usually followed by some old chief, who compliments the head man for his knowledge and bravery, and congratulates the tribe on their good fortune in having so wise a leader. Thus an Omaha feast very much resembles a political dinner among ourselves, and is improved as a fit occasion for great men to display their eloquence to the public, and their talent in paying compliments to each other. These consultations are conducted with great decorum, yet are characterised by the utmost freedom of debate; every individual, whose age and standing is such as to allow him, with propriety, to speak in public, giving his opinion. A sagacious head man, however, is careful to preserve his popularity by respecting the opinion of the tribe at large, or, as we should term it, *the people;* and for that purpose, ascertains beforehand, the wishes of the mass of his followers. Ongpatonga was a model chief in this respect; he always carefully ascertained the public sentiment before he went into council, and knew the wishes of the majority in advance of a decision; and this is, probably, the most valuable talent for a public speaker, who may not only lead, by echoing the sentiments of those he addresses, but, on important points, insinuate with effect, the dictates of his own more mature judgment.

After such a feast as we have described, others succeed; and the days of preparation for the grand hunt are filled with games and rejoicings; the squaws employing themselves in packing up their movables, and taking great care to make themselves important by retarding or accelerating the moment of departure. At length the whole tribe moves off in grand cavalcade, with their skin lodges, dogs, and horses, leaving not a living thing in their deserted village, and proceed to the far distant plains, where the herds of buffalo "most do congregate." About five months in the year are spent by this nation at their village, during which they are occupied in eating, sleeping, smoking, making speeches, waging war, or stealing horses; the other seven are actively employed in chasing the buffalo or the wild horse.

The Omahas have one peculiarity in their customs, which we have never noticed in the history of any other people. Neither the father-in-law nor mother-in-law is permitted to hold any direct conversation with their son-in-law; it is esteemed indelicate in these parties to look in each other's faces, or to mention the names of each other, or to have any intercourse, except through the medium of a third person. If an Omaha enters a tent in which the husband of his daughter is seated, the latter conceals his head with his robe, and takes the earliest opportunity to withdraw, while the ordinary offices of kindness and hospitality are performed through the female, who passes the pipe or the message between her father and husband.

Ongpatonga married the daughter of Mechapa, or the Horsehead. On a visit to his wife one day, he entered the tent of her father, unobserved by the latter, who was engaged in playing with a favourite dog, named Arrecattawaho, which, in the Pawnee language, signifies Big Elk—being synonymous with Ongpatonga in the Omaha. This name the father-in-law was unluckily repeating, without being aware of the breach of good manners he was committing, until his wife, after many ineffectual winks and signs, struck him on the back with her fist, and in that tone of conjugal remonstrance which ladies can use when necessary, exclaimed; "You old fool! have you no eyes to see who is present? You had better jump on his back, and ride him about like a dog!" The old man, in surprise, ejaculated "Wah!" and ran out of the tent in confusion. We know scarcely any thing so odd as this singular custom, which seems to be as inconvenient as it is unmeaning.

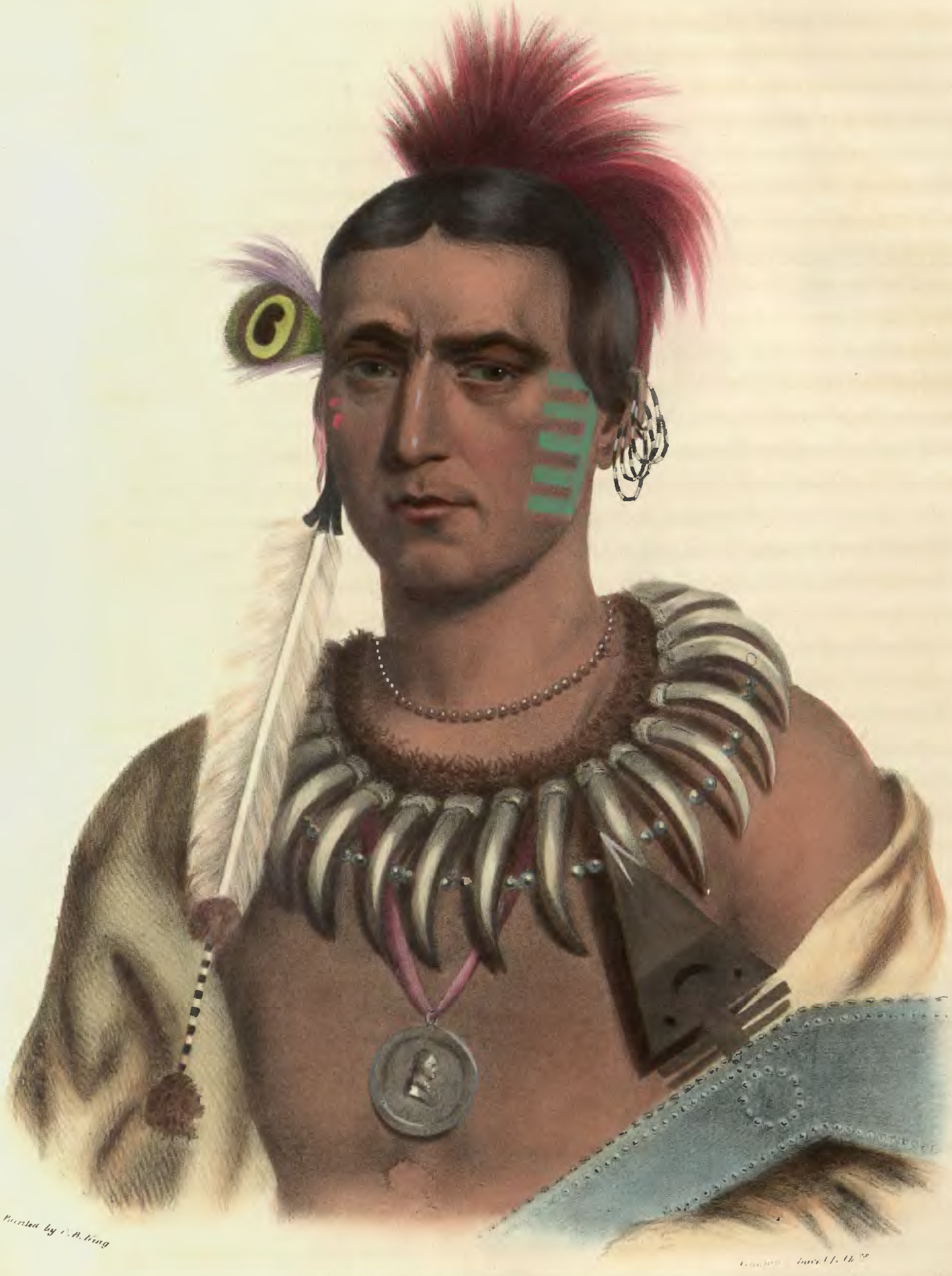
The Big Elk has been a very distinguished orator; few uneducated men have ever cultivated this art with more success. We have before us a specimen of his oratory, which is very creditable to his abilities. In 1811, a council was held at the Portage des Sioux, between Governor Edwards and Colonel Miller, on the part of the American government, and a number of Indian chiefs, of different nations. One of the latter, the Black Buffalo, a highly respected Sioux chief, of the Ietan tribe, died suddenly during the conference, and was buried with the honours of war. At the conclusion of the ceremony Ongpatonga made the following unpremeditated address to those assembled: "Do not grieve. Misfortunes will happen to the wisest and best of men. Death will come, and always comes out of season. It is the command of the Great Spirit, and all nations and people must obey. What is past, and cannot be prevented, should not be grieved for. Be not discouraged nor displeased, that in visiting your father here, you have lost your chief. A misfortune of this kind, under such afflicting circumstances, may never again befall you; but this loss would have occurred to you perhaps at your own village. Five times have I visited this land, and never returned with sorrow or pain. Misfortunes do not flourish particularly in one path; they grow every where. How unhappy am I that I could not have died this day, instead of the chief that lies before us. The trifling loss my nation would have sustained in my death, would have been doubly repaid by the honours of such a burial. They would have wiped off every thing like regret. Instead of being covered with a cloud of sorrow, my warriors would have felt the sunshine of joy in their hearts. To me it would have been a most glorious occurrence. Hereafter, when I die at home, instead of a noble grave, and a grand procession, the rolling music, and the thundering cannon, with a flag waving over my head, I shall be wrapped in a robe, and hoisted on a slender scaffold, exposed to the whistling winds, soon to be blown down to the earth—my flesh to be devoured by the wolves, and my bones trodden on the plain by wild beasts. Chief of the soldiers! (addressing Colonel Miller,) your care has not been bestowed in vain. Your attentions shall not be forgotten. My nation shall know the respect that our white friends pay to the dead. When I return I will echo the sound of your guns." Had this speech been uttered by a Grecian or Roman orator, it would have been often quoted as a choice effusion of classic eloquence. It is not often that we meet with a funeral eulogium so unstudied, yet so pointed, and ingenious.

This chief delivered a speech to the military and scientific gentlemen who accompanied Colonel Long in his expedition to the Rocky Mountains, in 1819—20, in which he asserted, that not one of his nation had ever stained his hands with the blood of a white man.

The character of Ongpatonga is strongly contrasted with that of Washinggusaba, or the Black Bird, one of his predecessors. The latter was also an able man, and a great warrior, but was a monster in cruelty and despotism. Having learned the deadly quality of arsenic from the traders, he procured a quantity of that drug, which he secretly used to effect his dreadful purposes. He caused it to be believed among his people, that if he prophesied the death of an individual, the person so doomed would immediately die; and he artfully removed by poison every one who offended him, or thwarted his measures. The Omahas were entirely ignorant of the means by which this horrible result was produced; but they saw the effect, and knew, from mournful experience, that the displeasure of the chief was the certain forerunner of death; and their superstitious minds easily adopted the belief that he possessed a power which enabled him to will the destruction of his enemies. He acquired a despotic sway over the minds of his people, which he exercised in the most tyrannical manner; and so great was their fear of him, that even when he became superannuated, and so corpulent as to be unable to walk, they carried him about, watched over him when he slept, and awoke him, when necessary, by tickling his nose with a straw, for fear of disturbing him too abruptly. One chief, the Little Bow, whom he attempted ineffectually to poison, had the sagacity to discover the deception, and the independence to resist the influence of the impostor; but being unable to cope with so powerful an oppressor, he withdrew with a small band of warriors, and remained separated from the nation until the decease of the Black Bird, which occurred in the year 1800. It is creditable to Ongpatonga, who shortly after succeeded to the post of principal chief, that he made no attempt to perpetuate the absolute authority to which the Omahas had been accustomed, but ruled over them with a mild and patriarchal sway.

In a conversation which this chief held, in 1821, with some gentlemen at Washington, he is represented as saying—"The same Being who made the white people made the red people; but the white are better than the red people;" and this remark has been called a degrading one, and not in accordance with the independent spirit of a native chief. We think the comment is unjust. Having travelled through the whole breadth of the United States, and witnessed the effects of civilisation, in the industry of a great people, he might readily infer the superiority of the whites, and make the observation with the candour which always formed a part of his character. But, it is equally probable, that the expression was merely complimentary, and was uttered in the same spirit of courtesy with the wish, which he announced at the grave of the Ietan, that he had fallen instead of the deceased.

This chief is a person of highly respectable character. His policy has always been pacific; he has endeavoured to live at peace with his neighbours, and used his influence to keep them upon good terms with each other. He has always been friendly to the whites, and kindly disposed towards the American government and people; has listened to their counsels, and taken pains to disseminate the admonitions which have been given for the preservation and happiness of the Indian race. He is a man of good sense and sound judgment, and is said to be unsurpassed as a public speaker. He bears an excellent reputation for probity; and is spoken of by those who know him well, as one of the best men of the native tribes. He is one of the few Indians who can tell his own age with accuracy. He is sixty-six years old.



Painted by C.B. King

[illegible]

MA-HAS-KAH
or
WHITE CLOUD
An Ioway Chief

Philadelphia Published by E.C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1837 by E.C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa.

MAHASKAH.

MAHASKAH, or White Cloud, the elder, was the son of Mauhawgaw, or the Wounding Arrow, who was principal chief of the Pauhoochee, or pierced-nose nation of Indians. Mauhawgaw emigrated, some hundred and fifty years ago, from Michillimacinac to the west bank of the Ioway river, and selected a position near its mouth, where his band kindled their fires and smoked their pipes to the Great Spirit. The name given to this river, by Mauhawgaw, was Neohoney, or the Master of Rivers. Having built his village, he was greeted with a salutation from the Sioux. A pipe was sent to him by that tribe, with an invitation to a dog feast, made in honour of the Great Spirit. He accepted the invitation, and joined in the ceremony. Whilst at the feast, and, no doubt, reposing in the most perfect security, he was suddenly attacked; but, though surprised, he succeeded in killing one man and three women, before he was slain. This outrage upon the national honour has never been forgiven.

The portrait before the reader is that of the son of Mauhawgaw, who was thus treacherously slain. The Ioways, indignant at the conduct of the Sioux, resolved immediately on revenge. They raised a war party. Of this party, the son, Mahaskah, was the legitimate chief; but being young, and having never distinguished himself in battle, he declined taking the command, but by virtue of his right, he conferred upon a distinguished and tried warrior, the authority to lead his warriors against the Sioux—stating, at the time, that he would accompany the expedition as a common soldier, and fight till he should acquire experience, and gain trophies enough to secure to him the confidence of his people. Arrangements being made, the party marched into the Sioux country, and gained a great victory, taking ten of the enemy's scalps. The young Mahaskah brought home, in his own hand, the scalp of the Sioux chief, in whose lodge the life of his father had been so treacherously taken.

Having thus shown himself a brave, he assumed the command of his warriors and of his tribe. His war adventures were numerous and daring. He was in eighteen battles against various bands, and was never defeated. In one of his expeditions against the Osages, with whom his conflicts were many, he arrived on the north bank of the Missouri, and while there, and engaged in trying to stop an effusion of blood from his nose, he espied a canoe descending the river, in which were three Frenchmen. Wishing to cross over with his party, he called upon the Frenchmen to land and assist him. The Frenchmen not only refused, but fired upon the Indians, wounding one of White Cloud's braves. The fire was instantly returned, which killed one of the Frenchmen. White Cloud had, so far, taken no part in this little affair, but on seeing one of his braves wounded, he called for his gun, saying—"You have killed one of the rascals, I'll try if I cannot send another along with him to keep him company to the *Chee*."—Chee means the house of the Black Spirit.

As usual, the whites raised a great clamour against the Ioways, giving out, all along the borders, that they were killing the settlers. A party was raised and armed, and marched forthwith against Mahaskah and his warriors. They were overtaken. White Cloud, not suspecting their designs, and being conscious of having committed no violence, was captured, and thrust into prison, where he remained many months. He finally made his escape, and succeeded in reaching his own country in safety. He then married four wives. It is the custom of the tribe, when husbands or brothers fall in battle, for a brave to adopt their wives or sisters. White Cloud found, on his return, four sisters who had been thus deprived of their protector, all of whom he married. Of these, Rantchewaime, or the Female Flying Pigeon, was one, and the youngest. Her fine likeness, with a sketch of her character, will succeed this narrative.

Often, after White Cloud had thus settled himself, was he known to express his regret at having permitted his warriors to fire upon the Frenchmen. On these occasions he has been seen to look upon his hand, and heard to mutter to himself—"There is blood on it." He rejoiced, however, in the reflection, that he had never shed the blood of an American. And yet his father's death, and the manner of it, made him restless, and rendered him implacable against the perpetrators of that outrage, and their allies. Not long after his escape from prison, and return to his home, and soon after his marriage, he planned an expedition against the Osages. He resolved to march with a select party of ten braves to the Little Osage plains, which lie south of the Missouri river, and about two hundred and fifty miles above St. Louis. Arriving at the plains, a favourable opportunity soon offered, which was seized by Mahaskah, and the battle commenced. It was his misfortune, early in the conflict, to receive a rifle ball in his leg, just above the ankle. He had succeeded, however, before he was wounded, in taking three of the enemy's scalps, when he sought a retreat, and found one under a large log that lay across a water course. The Osages followed close upon him—being guided by the blood that flowed from his wound; but they lost the trail on arriving at the water course, for Mahaskah had taken the precaution to step into the water some distance below the log, by which stratagem he misled his pursuers, for they supposed he had crossed over at the place where they last saw blood. He remained under the log, which lay on the water, with just so much of his nose out as to enable him to breathe.

In the night, when all was silence, save the tinkling of the bells of the Indian horses in the plains below, Mahaskah left his place of concealment, and coming up with one of the horses, mounted him and made off in the direction of his home, which was on the river Des Moines. Arriving at the Missouri, he resorted to the Indian mode of crossing, which is, to tie one end of the halter around the head or neck of the horse, and, taking the other end between his teeth, he drives the animal into the water, and unites his own exertions, as a swimmer, to those of the horse, and is by this means carried over in safety. In all these difficulties he took care not to part with either his gun or his scalps. On arriving at home he paraded his trophies, and ordered the scalp dance to be danced. Not being able, on account of his wound, to lead the dance himself, he placed the scalps in the hand of Inthehone, or the Big Axe, who, being the first brave of his band, was entitled to the distinction. Mahaskah accompanied the presentation of the scalps to Big Axe with these words:—"I have now revenged the death of my father. My heart is at rest. I will go to war no more. I told Maushuchees, or Red Head, (meaning General Clark,) when I was last at St. Louis, that I would take his peace talk. My word is out. I will fight no more."

In the year 1824, Mahaskah left home, being one of a party on an embassy to Washington, leaving his wives behind him, their number having increased to seven. When about one hundred miles from home, and near the mouth of the river Des Moines, having killed a deer he stopped to cook a piece of it. He was seated, and had just commenced his meal, when he felt himself suddenly struck on the back. Turning round, he was astonished to see Rantchewaime standing before him with an uplifted tomahawk in her hand! She thus accosted him—"Am I your wife? Are you my husband? If so, I will go with you to the Mawhehunneche, (or the American big house,) and see and shake the hand of Incohonee," which means great father. Mahaskah answered—"Yes, you are my wife; I am your husband; I have been a long time from you; I am glad to see you; you are my pretty wife, and a brave man always loves to see a pretty woman."

The party arrived at Washington. "A talk" was held with President Monroe; the present of a medal was made to Mahaskah, and a treaty was concluded between the United States and the Ioways. It is a treaty of cession, of limits, &c., and of considerations therefor. These considerations include a payment, in that year, of five hundred dollars, and the same sum annually, for ten years thereafter. Provision is made for blankets, farming utensils, and cattle; and assistance is promised them in their agricultural pursuits, under such forms as the President might deem expedient.

The following occurrence happened at Washington during that visit. Mahaskah would occasionally indulge in a too free use of ardent spirits. On one of these occasions he was exercising one of an Indian husband's privileges on the Flying Pigeon. The agent, hearing the scuffle, hastened to their room. Mahaskah, hearing him coming, lifted up the window sash and stepped out, forgetting that he was two stories from the ground. In the fall he broke his arm; yet so accustomed had he been to fractures and wounds, that he insisted on riding the next day, over rough roads and pavements, a distance of at least two miles, to see a cannon cast. A few days after, he sat to King, of Washington, for his portrait. The reader will remark a compression of his eyebrows. This was caused by the pain he was enduring whilst the artist was sketching his likeness.

On his return to his country and home, Mahaskah began in earnest to cultivate his land—he built for himself a double log house, and lived in great comfort. This, he said, was in obedience to the advice of his great father.

Soon after his return to his home, it was his misfortune to lose his favourite wife, and under very painful circumstances. They were crossing a tract of country. Mahaskah, having reason to apprehend that hostile bands might be met with, kept in advance. Each was on horseback; the Flying Pigeon carrying her child, Mahaskah the younger, then about four years old. Turning, at a certain point, to look back to see what distance his wife was from him, he was surprised, his position being a high one, enabling him to overlook a considerable extent of country, not to see her. He rode back, and, sad to relate, after retracing his steps some five or six miles, he saw her horse grazing near the trail, and presently the body of his wife near the edge of a small precipice, with her child resting its head upon her body. The horror-stricken chief, alighting near to the spot, was soon assured of her death! Standing over her corpse, he exclaimed, in his mother tongue:—"Wau-cunda-menia-bratuskunnee, shungau-menia-nauga-nappo!"—which being interpreted, means—"God Almighty! I am a bad man. You are angry with me. The horse has killed my squaw!" At the moment, the child lifted its head from the dead body of its mother, and said—"Father, my mother is asleep!"

The inference was, that the horse had stumbled and thrown her. The occurrence took place about four days' journey from his home. Mahaskah, within that time, was seen returning to his lodge, bearing the dead body of Rantchewaime, with his child in his arms. He proceeded at once to dispose of the corpse. His first business was to gather together all the presents that had been made to her at Washington; also whatever else belonged to her, and to place them, with the body, in a rude box; and then, according to the custom of the Indians of that region, the box was placed upon a high scaffold. This mode of disposing of the dead has a twofold object—one is, to elevate the body as high as possible in the direction of the home of the Great Spirit; that home being, according to their belief, in the sky; the other is to protect the corpse from the wolves, whose ravages would disfigure it, and render it unsightly in the eyes of the Great Spirit. This much of the ceremony over, the chief killed a dog, made a feast, and called his braves together. A second dog, and then a horse were killed. The dog was fastened, with his head upwards, to the scaffold, while the tail of the horse had a position assigned to it on that part of the scaffold nearest the head of the deceased. On the head of the dog was placed a twist of tobacco.

These ceremonies have their origin in a superstition of the nation, which attributes every death to the anger of the Great Spirit, who is supposed to be always in motion, searching for the spirits of those who have recently died, with the calumet, or pipe of peace in his mouth. As the scaffold is approached by this mysterious being, the watchful dog is expected to see and address him—inform him of the locality of the body, and invite him to take the tobacco, and smoke. This offer the Indian believes is always accepted. The Great Spirit then proceeds to reanimate and remodel the dead body; to restore the trinkets and property of the deceased; impart vitality to the dog and the horse, and commission them, forthwith, the one to bear the deceased to the land of game and of plenty—the other, to hunt the deer in the regions of the blessed.

In 1833, the son of an Ioway chief of distinction, named Crane, was killed by the Omahas. A party of Ioways applied to Mahaskah to head them in the pursuit of the enemy. He replied, "I have buried the tomahawk; I am now a man of peace." He added; "the treaty made with our great father provides for the punishment of such outrages." The party, however, resolved that they would punish the aggressors. They made an incursion into the enemy's country, and returned, bringing with them six scalps. The customary feast was prepared, and all was made ready for the scalp dance; but Mahaskah refused to partake of the one, or participate in the other.

The murders, on both sides, having been reported to the government, General Clark was directed to cause the Ioways to be arrested. This duty was assigned to their agent, General Hughes, who called on the chief, Mahaskah, to whom he made known the order. Mahaskah answered, "It is right; I will go with you." The offenders were arrested and conveyed to Fort Leavenworth. While confined there, one of the prisoners called Mahaskah to the window of his dungeon, and looking him full in the face, said; "Inca, (father,) if ever I get out of this place alive, I will kill you. A brave man should never be deprived of his liberty, and confined as I am. You should have shot me at the village."

Unfortunately for Mahaskah, that Indian succeeded in making his escape from prison. He forthwith went in pursuit of the object of his revenge. Mahaskah was found encamped on the Naudaway, about sixty miles from his village. His pursuer and party attacked him with guns, tomahawks, and clubs, and slew him. After he was dead, one of the party remarked, that "he was the hardest man to kill he ever knew." This was in 1834, Mahaskah being then about fifty years old.

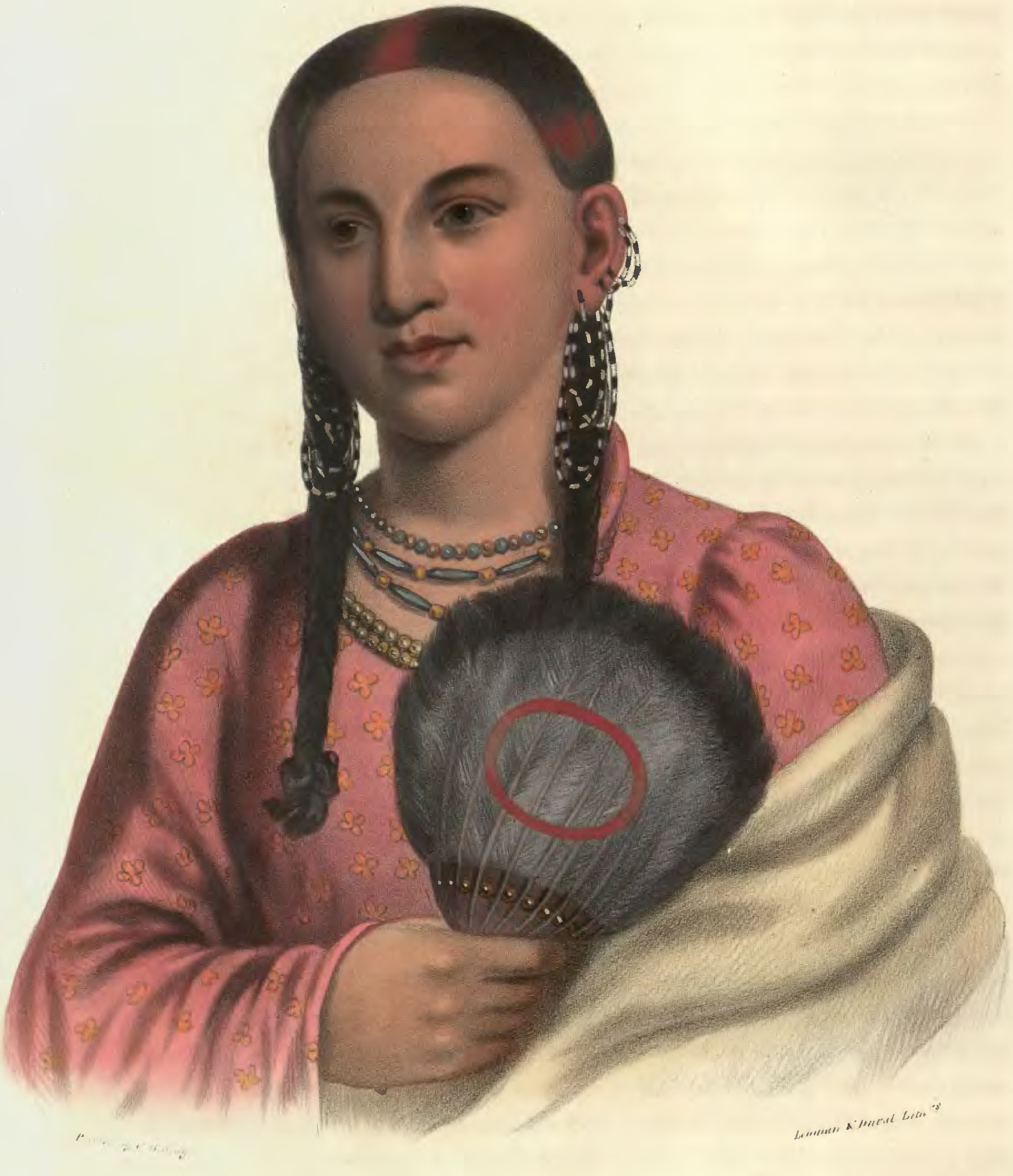
The tidings of Mahaskah's death soon reached his village. One of the murderers escaped and sought refuge among the Ottoes; but, on learning the cause of his visit to them, they shot him in their camp. The other, with the utmost indifference, returned to the village of the murdered chief. Young Mahaskah, now the successor of his father, and principal chief of the nation, on hearing the news of his father's death, and that one of the murderers had returned to the village, went immediately to his lodge, killed his dogs and horses, and with his knife cut and ripped his lodge in every possible direction. This last act, especially, is an insult to which no brave man will submit. Having hurled this defiance at one of the murderers of his father, and expressed his contempt for him under every possible form, he turned to the assassin, who had observed in silence the destruction of his property, and, looking him sternly in the face, said—"You have killed the greatest man who ever made a moccasin track on the Naudaway; you must, therefore, be yourself a great man, since the Great Spirit has given you the victory. To call you a dog would make my father less than a dog." The squaw of the murderer exclaimed to her husband, "Why don't you kill the boy?" He replied, "He is going to be a great brave, I cannot kill him." So saying, he handed the young chief a pipe, which he refused, saying, "I will leave you in the hands of the braves of my nation." To which the inflexible murderer replied, "I am not going to run away; I'll meet your braves to-morrow." The Indian knew full well the fate that awaited him. He felt that his life was forfeited, and meant to assure the young chief that he was ready to pay the penalty.

The next day a general council was convened. The case was submitted to it. The unanimous voice was, "He shall die." It was further decreed, that young Mahaskah should kill him; but he declined, saying, "I cannot kill so brave a man;" whereupon he was shot by one of the principal braves. His body was left on the ground, to be devoured by wolves, as a mark of the disgust of the tribe, and of their abhorrence of the assassin of their chief.

It is customary among the Ioways, and the neighbouring tribes, for the wives and children of the deceased to give away every thing which had belonged to him and his family. This custom was rigidly adhered to on the occasion of Mahaskah's death. His surviving squaws went into mourning and poverty. The mourning is kept up for six moons, and consists, in addition to the blacking of the face, in much wailing, and in the utterance of long and melancholy howls. At its expiration, the tribe present the mourners with food and clothing, and other necessaries of savage life. One of Mahaskah's widows, however, named Missorahtarrahaw, which means, the Female Deer that bounds over the plains, refuses to this day to be comforted, saying, her husband "was a great brave and was killed by dogs"—meaning, low, vulgar fellows.

The subject of this memoir was six feet two inches in height, possessed great bodily strength and activity, and was a man of perfect symmetry of person, and of uncommon beauty.

The Ioways were once the most numerous and powerful, next to the Sioux, of all the tribes that hunt between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. They have been reduced by wars, the small pox, and by whiskey, to about thirteen hundred souls.



Painted by C. King

Lehman & Duval Lith.rs

RANT-CHE-WAI-ME

FEMALE FLYING PIGEON

Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle.

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1837 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa.

RANTCHEWAIME.

THIS portrait is a perfect likeness of the wife of Mahaskah, a sketch of whose life precedes this. Rantchewaime means, Female Flying Pigeon. She has been also called, the beautiful Female Eagle that flies in the air. This name was given to her by the chiefs and braves of the nation, on account of her great personal beauty.

We have already, in the sketch of her husband's life, made the reader acquainted with the tragic end of this interesting woman. It remains for us to speak of her character. General Hughes, the agent of the tribe, who was well acquainted with her, speaks of her in terms of unmixed approbation. She was chaste, mild, gentle in her disposition, kind, generous, and devoted to her husband. A harsh word was never known to proceed from her mouth; nor was she ever known to be in a passion. Mahaskah used to say of her, after her death, that her hand was shut, when those who did not want came into her presence; but, when the poor came, it was like a strainer, full of holes, letting all she held in it pass through. In the exercise of this generous feeling she was uniform. It was not indebted for its exercise to whim, or caprice, or partiality. No matter of what nation the applicant for her bounty was, or whether at war or peace with her tribe, if he were hungry, she fed him; if naked, she clothed him; and if houseless, she gave him shelter. The continual exercise of this generous feeling kept her poor. She has been known to give away her last blanket—all the honey that was in the lodge, the last bladder of bear's oil,* and the last piece of dried meat.

Rantchewaime was scrupulously exact in the observance of all the religious rites which her faith imposed upon her. Her conscience is represented to have been extremely tender. She often feared that her acts were displeasing to the Great Spirit, when she would blacken her face, and retire to some lone place, and fast and pray. The Ioways, like all other Indians, believe in a Great Spirit, and in future rewards and punishments; and their priests make frequent sacrifices of dogs and horses, to appease the anger of their God. For their virtue, which, with these Indians, means courage, kindness, honesty, chastity, and generosity, they believe most sincerely they will be rewarded; and, for bad actions, they as fully believe they will be punished. Among these they enumerate dishonesty, laziness, the sacrifice of chastity, &c. But they do not view the stealing of a horse in the light of a dishonest act—they class this among their virtues.

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* Bear's oil is kept in bladders, and used by the Indians in cooking, for the same purposes for which we use lard or butter.

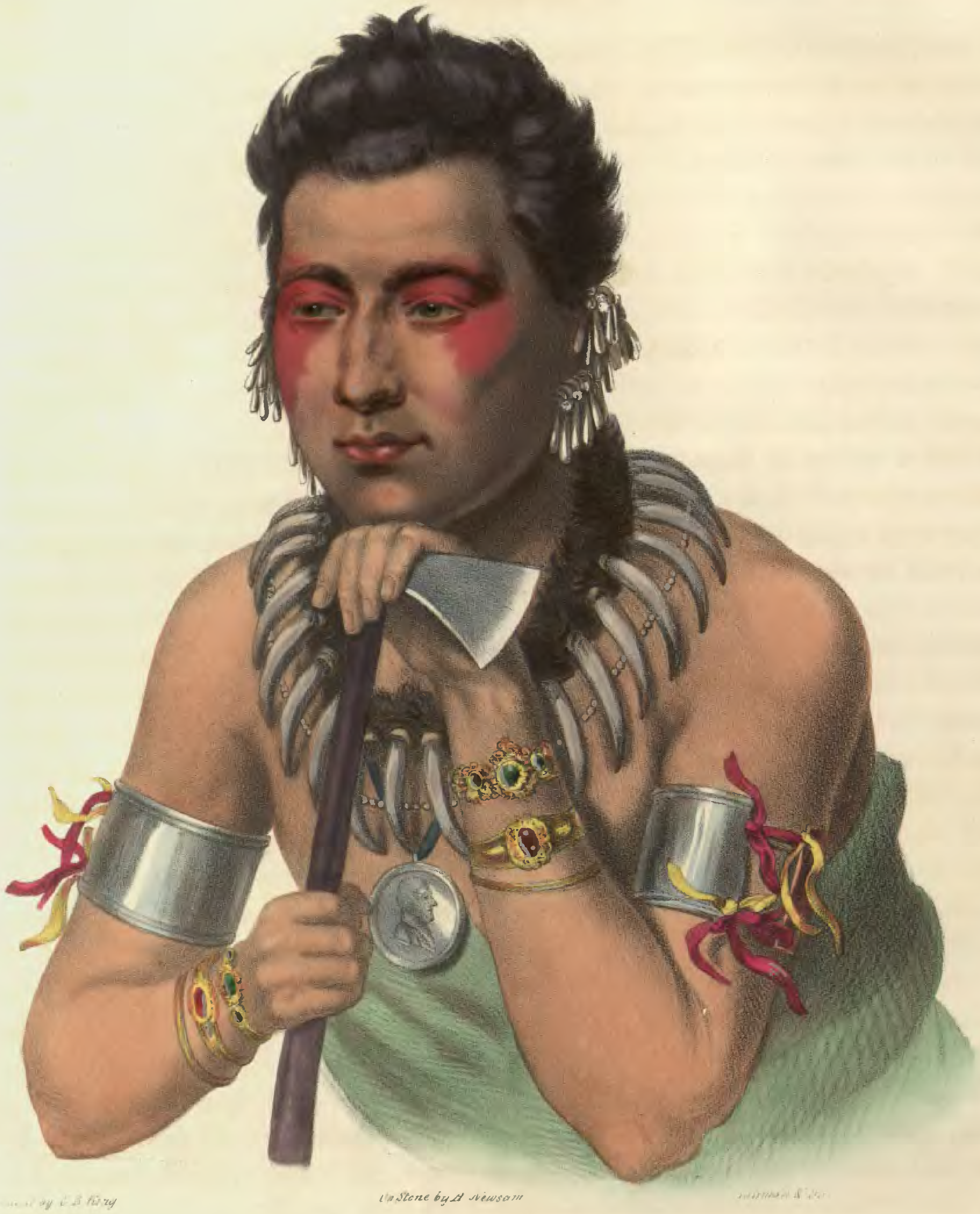
Rantchewaime has been known, after her return from Washington, to assemble hundreds of the females of her tribe, and discourse to them on the subject of those vicious courses which she witnessed during that journey, among the whites, and to warn them against like practices. The good effect of such a nice sense of propriety has been singularly illustrated among the Ioways. It is reported, on unquestionable authority, that an illegitimate child has never been known to be born among them. It is true, uncles (parents do not interfere, the right being in the uncle, or the nearest relative,) sometimes sell their nieces for money or merchandise, to traders and engagees. Marriages thus contracted frequently produce a state of great connubial happiness; but, if the purchaser abandon his purchase, she is discarded, and is never taken for a wife by a brave, but is left to perform all the drudgery of the lodge and the field, and is treated as an outcast.

An affecting incident occurred in 1828, on the Missouri. A connection, by purchase, had been formed between a trader and an Ioway maid. They lived together for some time, and had issue, one child. The trader, as is often the case, abandoned his wife and child. The wife, agitated with contending emotions of love and bereavement, and knowing how hard would be her fate, strapped her child to the cradle, and throwing it on her back, pursued her faithless husband. She came within sight of him, but he eluded her. Arriving at the top of a high bluff that overlooked the country, and after straining her eyes by looking in every direction to catch a glimpse of him, or to see the way he was travelling, in vain, she stepped hastily to a part of the bluff that overhung the Missouri, and exclaiming, "O God! all that I loved in this world has passed from my sight; my hopes are all at an end; I give myself and child to thee!" sprang into the river, and with her child was drowned.

We have spoken of the firm belief of the Ioways in a future state. What that state is, in their view of it, we will now briefly state. They believe, that after death, and after they are found by the Great Spirit—who, as we have said in a preceding sketch, is constantly going about with a pipe of peace in his mouth, seeking the bodies of the dead—they are guided by him to a rapid stream, over which always lies a log that is exceedingly slippery. Those who are destined to be happy are sustained by the Good Spirit in crossing upon this slippery log. The moment they reach the opposite shore, they are transported to a land filled with buffalo and elk, the antelope and beaver; with otters, and raccoons, and muskrats. Over this beautiful land the sun always shines; the streams that irrigate it never dry up, whilst the air is filled with fragrance, and is of the most delightful temperature. The kettles are always slung, and the choicest cuts from the buffalo, the elk, &c., are always in a state of readiness to be eaten, whilst the smoke of these viands ascends for ever and ever. In this beautiful and happy country the departed good meet, and mingle with their ancestors of all previous time, and all the friends that preceded them, all recognising and saluting each other.

But when the wicked die they are guided to this slippery log, and then abandoned, when they fall into the stream, and, after being whirled about in many directions, they awake and find themselves upon firm ground, but in the midst of sterility, of poverty, and of desolation. All around them are snakes, lizards, frogs, and grasshoppers; and there is no fuel to kindle a fire. This barren land is in full view of the beautiful country and of all its delights, whilst over it constantly pass the odours of the viands; but from a participation in any thing there, they are for ever debarred.

In this belief Rantchewaime grew up. It was to gain admission into this heaven, and to avoid this place of punishment, she so often went into retirement to pray; and all her virtues and good works, she believed, were put down as so many titles to this beautiful heaven. There can be little doubt, that a mind thus formed, and a conscience thus tender, would, under the guidance of the Christian faith, and the enlightening influence of our most holy religion, have carried their possessor to the highest attainments, and made her a bright and a shining light. It is impossible to contemplate a child of nature so gifted in all that is excellent, without feeling a regret that the principles of a more rational religion had not reached Rantchewaime, and that she had not participated in its enjoyments. But He to whom she has gone will know how to judge her. Certain it is, of those to whom little has been given, but little will be required; and although Rantchewaime may not have found the heaven she aspired to reach, she has found one far more delightful, and as eternal.



Painted by C. B. King *On Stone by H. Newsam* *Lehman & Duval*

YOUNG MA-HAS-KAH

CHIEF OF THE IOWAYS

Philadelphia Published by E. C. Biddle.

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1837 by E. C. Biddle in Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

YOUNG MAHASKAH.

THIS is the son of Mahaskah the elder, and Rantchewaime. On the death of his father, young Mahaskah took charge of his family. Inheriting by birth the title and prerogatives of chief, it was supposed he would assume the authority of one; but this he refused to do, saying, he would not occupy the place of his father unless called to that station by a majority of his people. This decision being made known to the nation, a general council was called, by which he was elected chief without a dissenting voice. He was then in the twenty-fourth year of his age. The decision of the council being announced to him, he thus addressed it:—"One of my sisters, and other young squaws, have been taught to spin and weave. My father approved this and encouraged it. He also taught the lessons of peace, and counselled me not to go to war, except in my own defence. I have made up my mind to listen always to that talk. I have never shed blood; have never taken a scalp, and never will, unless compelled by bad men, in my own defence, and for the protection of my people. I believe the Great Spirit is always angry with men who shed innocent blood. I will live in peace."

This talk clearly indicated the policy he had resolved to pursue; and, that the force of example might be added to his precept, he immediately engaged in agricultural pursuits. He has now under cultivation about sixteen acres of land, on which he raises corn, pumpkins, beans, squashes, potatoes, &c., all which are well attended, and cultivated with great neatness—the plough being the principal instrument; and this he holds in his own hand. The surplus produce he distributes with great liberality among his people. This, and his father's example, have had a most beneficial effect upon his tribe. Mahaskah not only follows, thus practically, the example set by his father, but he also counsels his people, on all suitable occasions, to abandon war and the chase, and look to the ground for their support. He is, literally, the monarch of his tribe. Naucheninga, or No Heart, his father's brother, acts in concert with, and sustains him nobly, in these lessons of industry and peace.

Young Mahaskah considered that great injustice had been done by the United States government to his people, in failing, by a total disregard of the stipulations of the treaty of 1825, to keep off intruders from his lands, and in overlooking the obligations of that treaty in regard to the conduct of the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi, who had not only made large sales of the mineral regions about what are called De Buque's mines, without consulting the Ioways, who, by the treaty, are entitled to an equal portion of that country, but who also threatened in their talks, to advance within the limits of the Grand and Des Moines rivers, and take possession of the country. In view of these things, young Mahaskah called on the United States agent, and made known his grievances. The agent replied, that his will was good to see justice done to the Ioways, but that he had no power to enforce it. Mahaskah resolved to proceed immediately to Washington, and appeal, in person, to his great father, and ask for redress. This intention of the chief was made known to the government. The answer was, in substance, "There is no appropriation to pay his expenses." He then determined to make the visit at his own cost, which he did in the winter of 1836--7, selecting for his companion a notable brave, called the Sioux Killer, whose portrait will follow this, and of whose life and actions we have something to say. The Ioways engaged the services of Major Joseph V. Hamilton and Major Morgan, and invested them with full power to adjust their difficulties with the government. Major Morgan declined, Major Hamilton consented; when, in company with their long tried and faithful agent, General Andrew H. Hughes, the party started for Washington.

Mahaskah had indulged the hope that these difficulties might be adjusted at St. Louis, and thereby save the trouble and expense of pursuing their journey to Washington. With this view, he visited the old and constant friend of his people, General William Clark, who received the chief and his party with all the kindness which has so long characterised his intercourse with the Indians of the far West. But he was unable to redress the grievances complained of, and, therefore, declined to interfere in the adjustment of their claims. He, however, gave Mahaskah a letter, which was addressed to Major Hamilton, to be laid before the President, together with a very able petition which had been prepared. The petition was addressed to Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, or his successor; and also to the congress of the United States; the object being that, if the President had no authority to interfere, congress might confer it.

The young chief and his party were received with great kindness by the authorities at Washington. He told, in his own simple but eloquent style, the story of his wrongs, and claimed the interposition of the government. He was promised, in reply, that his business should be attended to, and his grievances redressed. Reposing entire confidence in these promises, he was satisfied. A medal was presented to him, and other testimonials of respect shown him. After remaining about ten days, he returned in February, 1837, to his own country. The portrait before the reader was taken during that visit, by that celebrated artist, King, the same who had taken, previously, a large portion of those which embellish this work.

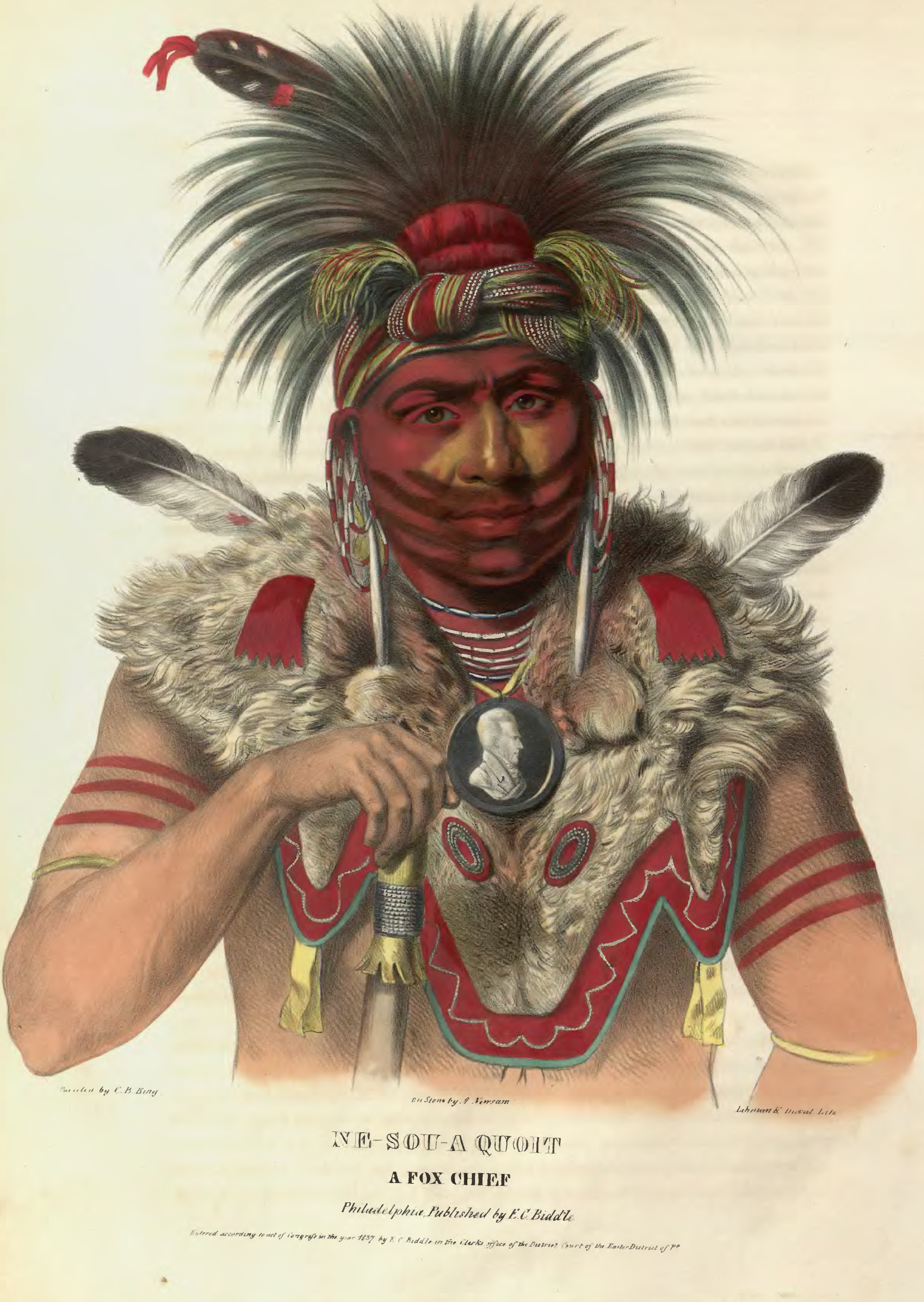
In person, young Mahaskah is about five feet ten inches high, and so finely proportioned as to be a model, in all respects, of a perfect man. The reader will see, on turning to his portrait, how striking is its resemblance to his father's, and how clearly it indicates the character of the man. Around his neck are seen the same bear's claws which his father had long worn before him.

It happened when Mahaskah was at Washington, that the agent for this work was there also. He waited on the party, and exhibited the specimen number. As he turned over the leaves bearing the likenesses of many of those Indians of the far West, who were known to the party, Mahaskah would pronounce their names with the same promptness as if the originals had been alive and before him. Among these was the likeness of his father. He looked at it with a composure bordering on indifference. On being asked if he did not know his father, he answered, pointing to the portrait, "That is my father." He was asked if he was not glad to see him. He replied, "It is enough for me to know that my father was a brave man, and had a big heart, and died an honourable death, in doing the will of my great father"—referring to the duty he was engaged in, as stated in his father's life, which resulted in his death.

Another leaf being turned over, he said, "That is Shaumonekusse, the Ottoe chief, and added, "he is a brave and sensible man, and I am glad to see him." They had long been friends; in fact, ever since Mahaskah was a boy, they had smoked the calumet together. The portrait of the Eagle of Delight, wife of Shaumonekusse, was then shown to him. "That," said he, "is my mother." The agent assured him he was mistaken. He became indignant, and seemed mortified that his mother, as he believed her to be, should be arranged in the work as the wife of another, and especially of a chief over whom his father had held and exercised authority. The colloquy became interesting, until at last some excitement, on the part of Mahaskah, grew out of it. On hearing it repeated by the agent, that he must be mistaken, Mahaskah turned and looked him in the face, saying, "Did you ever know the child that loved its mother, and had seen her, that forgot the board on which he was strapped, and the back on which he had been carried, or the knee on which he had been nursed, or the breast that had given him life?" So firmly convinced was he that this was the picture of his mother, and so resolved that she should not remain by the side of Shaumonekusse, that he said, "I will not leave this room until my mother's name, Rantchewaime, is marked over the name of Eagle of Delight." The agent for the work complied with his demand, when his agitation, which had become great, subsided, and he appeared contented. Looking once more at the painting, he turned from it, saying, "If it had not been for Waucondamony," the name he gave the agent for the work, which means Walking God, so called, because he attributed the taking of these likenesses to him, "I would have kissed her, but Waucondamony made me ashamed."

Soon after this interview the party went to King's gallery, where are copies of many of these likenesses, and among them are both the Eagle of Delight and the Female Flying Pigeon. The moment Mahaskah's eye caught the portrait of the Female Flying Pigeon, he exclaimed, "*That* is my mother; that is her fan; I know her now. I am ashamed again." He immediately asked to have a copy of it, as also of the Eagle of Delight, wife of Shaumonekusse, saying, of this last, "the Ottoe chief will be so glad to see his squaw, that he will give me one hundred horses for it."

It was most natural that Mahaskah should have mistaken the Eagle of Delight for his mother, and no less so, when they were seen together, that he should become convinced of his error. His mother, it will be recollected, was killed when he was only four years old. She and the Eagle of Delight were neighbours and friends, and much together; and were particular in braiding their hair alike, and dressing always after the same fashion, and, generally, in the same kind of material. He knew, moreover, that the Eagle of Delight was of royal birth, and, though a child, he recollected she had a blue spot on her forehead, which is the ensign of royalty. In the portrait before him, the colourer had omitted the spot; not seeing this, and seeing the braided hair and the dress, and the strong resemblance to the features of his mother as they remained impressed upon his memory, he was easily deceived. The moment, however, he came into the presence of his mother's likeness, and had both before him, he knew her on whose back he had been carried, the knee on which he had been nursed, and the breast that had given him life; and even the fan in her hand served to recall the mother he had loved, and painfully to remind him of her melancholy death—for he said that she had that same fan in her hand when the horse fell with her. In the other painting before him, he saw the blue spot. He was no longer mistaken, and rejoiced in once more beholding so good a mother. It is scarcely necessary to add, that copies of both were sent to him, and that both he and Shaumonekusse, the husband of the Eagle of Delight, were made happy, the one in receiving back, as from the dead, a mother so beloved; the other, a wife whose loss he deeply deplores.



Painted by C. B. King *On Stone by A. Newsam* *Lehman & Duval Lith.*

NE-SOU-A QUOIT

A FOX CHIEF

Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1837 by E. C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Easter District of Pa

NESOUAQUOIT.

NESOUAQUOIT, being interpreted, means, the Bear in the forks of a tree. The portrait before the reader was taken at the city of Washington, in the winter of 1837, Nesouaquoit being, at that time, about forty years of age. He is full six feet high, and in his proportions is a model of manly symmetry. He is a Fox Indian, and the son of the famous chief Chemakasee, or the Lance. This chief is yet living, but being old and superannuated, has retired from the chieftainship of his band, having conferred upon his son, Nesouaquoit, all his authority and dignity.

In 1812, soon after the United States had declared war against Great Britain, the agents of that kingdom, then among us, sought to draw the band, of which Chemakasee was chief, into an alliance with them. A council was held, at which a proposal to this effect was formally made. Chemakasee answered, by saying, "We will not fight *for* the red coats, but we will fight *against* them." This laconic response being final, a strong excitement was produced, which threatened not only the peace, but the lives, of Chemakasee's band. To relieve them from this perilous situation the United States government directed that they should be removed to a place of security, and protected against both the British and their Indian allies. General Clark, being charged with this order, caused them to be removed to Fort Edwards, where they were kept, and fed, and clothed at the expense of the United States, till the termination of the war. The band numbered then about four hundred souls.

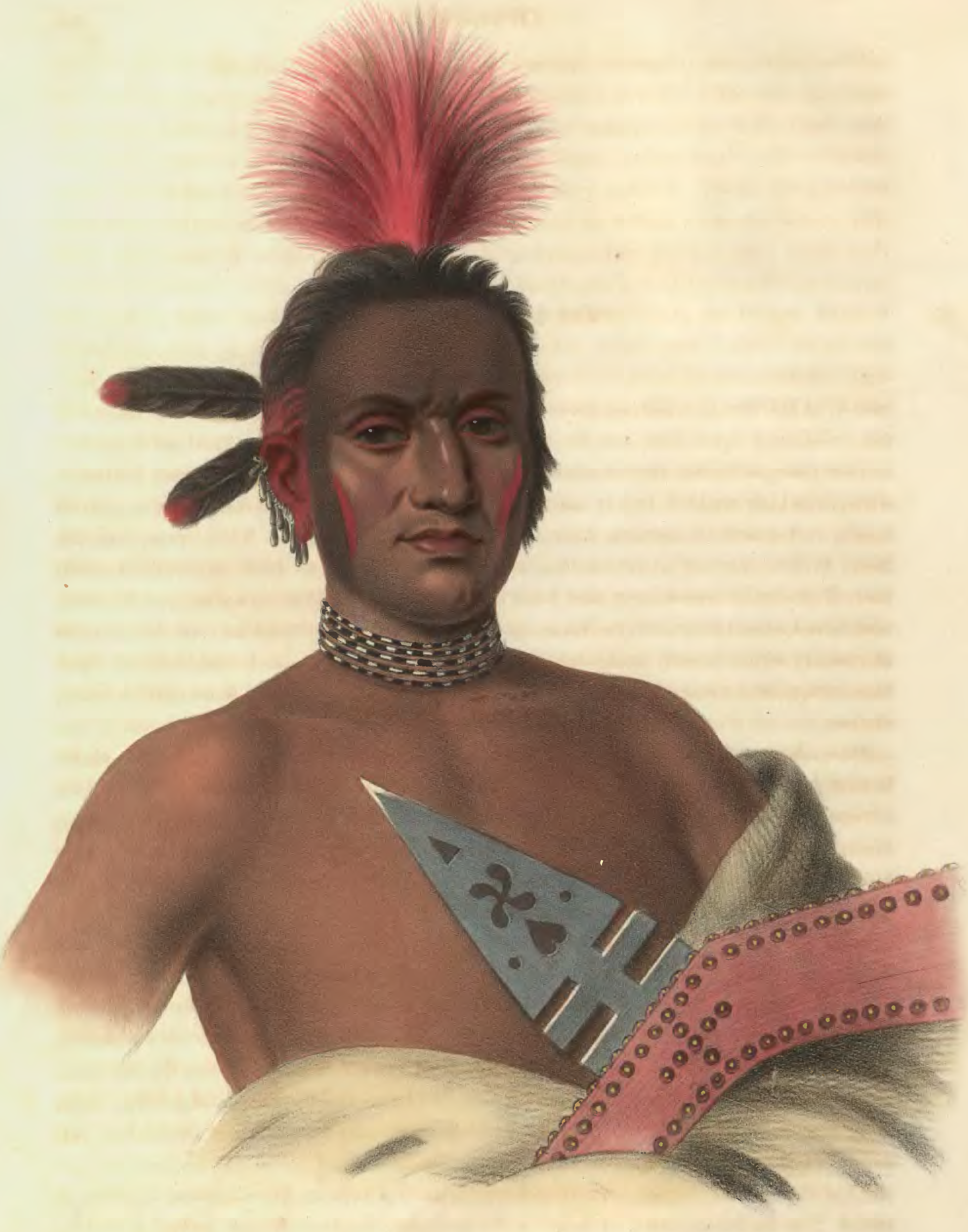
After the war, Chemakasee, instead of returning to his former position, and renewing his relations with the Sauks and Foxes of the Mississippi, determined to avoid the one and decline the other—so he sought a country by ascending the Missouri, until arriving at La Platte, he settled on that river, near the Black Snake hills, where he continues to reside.

In 1815, a treaty was concluded between this band and the United States; the third article of which stipulates, that a just proportion of the annuities, which a previous treaty had provided to be paid to the Sauk and Fox Indians, should be paid to the Foxes of La Platte. By some strange oversight, this provision of the treaty had been overlooked—unintentionally, no doubt, by the government, whilst the age and infirmities of Chemakasee, it is presumed, caused him to forget it. An arrearage of twenty years had accumulated, when Nesouaquoit, having succeeded to the chieftainship of his band, resolved to ascertain why the government had so long delayed to fulfil this stipulation. He first held a conference with the agent; but this officer had no power over the case. He then resolved to visit Washington, and plead the cause of his people before his great father; and, if he should fail there, to present it to congress. But he had one great difficulty to overcome, and that was to raise the money to pay his expenses to Washington. To accomplish this he opened a negotiation with a Mr. Risque, of St. Louis, who agreed to pay his expenses to Washington and home again, for "*three boxes and a half of silver*"—equivalent to three thousand five hundred dollars. That he might be punctual in paying the loan, he ordered his hunters to collect furs and peltries of sufficient value, and have them ready for the St. Louis market, in time to redeem his pledge for the return of the money. This being done, he started upon his mission. Arriving at Washington, he explained the object of his visit. This he did in a firm and decided manner. The authorities recognised his claim, and he was assured that the provisions of the treaty in favour of his people, though so long overlooked, should be scrupulously fulfilled, and respected in future. Having attained the object of his mission he returned home, highly pleased with its result.

This chief is, perhaps, the only Indian of whom it can be said—*he never tasted a drop of spirituous liquor or smoked a pipe!* Of many thousands, and perhaps hundreds of thousands, it might be truly affirmed, that they never tasted a drop of spirituous liquor, but that was before this bane of the Indians had found its way into their country; but, with this single exception, we believe it can be said of no Indian—*he never smoked a pipe!* It is certainly remarkable that, in the present abundance of these aboriginal luxuries, Nesouaquoit should have the firmness to abstain from both.

His antipathy to whiskey extends to those who sell it. He will not permit a whiskey dealer to enter his country. Indeed, whenever a trader, not informed of the determined purpose of this chief to keep his people free from the ruinous effects of whiskey, has strolled within his borders, he has been known to knock in the heads of his casks, and with the staves beat him out of his country. Though thus temperate, and free from the exciting influence of whiskey and tobacco, Nesouaquoit is known to be as brave an Indian as ever made a moccasin track between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers.

This chief has seven wives, who live as Indian wives generally do, in the most perfect harmony with each other. He is remarkable for his generosity, giving freely of what he has to all who need assistance. To those who visit his lodge he is represented as being most courteous; and this exterior polish he carefully preserves in his intercourse with his people. But his aversion to traders is perfect. He has long since formally interdicted marriage between them and the women of his band. So stern is his resolution on this point, that no union of the kind has been known since he succeeded to the rank of chief. In his deportment towards the whites he is most friendly, but he maintains his own rights with firmness and dignity.



MOA-NA-HON-GA.

Great Walker.

AN IOWAY CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY E. C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA.
J & Colored at I. T. Bowens Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.

Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1837 by E. C. Biddle, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

MOANAHONGA.

MOANAHONGA, which signifies Great Walker, was an Ioway brave. This name was conferred upon him, not for his having performed any great feat as a walker against time, as in the case of the Sioux Killer, but on account of his great muscular strength, which enabled him to endure the toils of the chase, and to lead war parties over a vast extent of country, without appearing to be fatigued. This brave, like the Sioux Killer, was called by another name, by which he was more generally known, viz: ***Big Neck;*** and he was also known by the name of Winaugusconey, or the man who is not afraid to travel; the meaning of which is, that he would traverse large tracts of country alone, utterly reckless of danger, relying for protection and defence, upon his courage, and great physical strength, both of which he possessed in an extraordinary degree.

Moanahonga was of a morose and sour disposition; the result, doubtless, of his having been the descendant of obscure parents, which circumstance much impeded his advancement to the higher honours, to which his bravery, skill, and talents entitled him. He was emulous of glory, but found himself always held in check by the lowness of his origin. There was nothing which he valued so highly as the honours and dignity of a chieftain, and to this elevation he constantly aspired; seeking ardently, by daring exploits, to challenge the admiration of his nation, and in the midst of some blaze of glory, to extinguish all recollection of the meanness of his descent. As was natural, under such circumstances, he was envious of distinction in others; and the more exalted the incumbent the more he disliked him. He even avoided those who were in command, because of his aversion to being the subordinate of any; and, acting under the influence of this feeling, he would separate himself from his band and people, build a lodge of his own, and, taking with him as many as had been won over to him by his bravery, exercise the authority of their chief.

This brave was one of a party led by General Clark to Washington, in 1824, at which time he united with Mahaskah in concluding a treaty, by which they ceded all their lands lying within the State of Missouri, amounting to some millions of acres, for the renumeration of five hundred dollars per annum, for ten years, in connection with some other paltry considerations. It appears he did not comprehend the import of the treaty; and, on his return to his country, finding it overrun with the whites, who had taken possession of the ground that covered the bones of his ancestors, he is said to have become greatly affected. He sought relief, but was told the treaty was made, and that he and Mahaskah had sold the country. He continued to endure this state of things until 1829, when, unable to sustain it any longer, he determined to go to St. Louis, and state his grievances to General Clark. On his way thither, he encamped on the borders of the river Chariton, his party consisting of about sixty persons. While there, resting his comrades from the fatigues of their march, a party of whites came up, having with them some kegs of whiskey. It was not long before the Indians were completely besotted, when the whites plundered them of their blankets and horses, and whatever else was of value, and retired. Recovering from their debauch, the Indians felt how dearly they had paid for the whiskey with which the whites had regaled them, and being hungry, one of the young men shot a hog. Big Neck rebuked him, saying, "That is wrong; it is true, we are poor, and have been robbed, but the hog was not ours, and you ought not to have shot it."

It was soon rumoured along the borders that the Indians were destroying the property of the settlers, and the dead hog was brought in evidence to prove the charge; whereupon a company of about sixty white men was raised, and marched to the Indian camp. They ordered Big Neck to leave the country instantly, adding, if he delayed they would drive him out of it with their guns. Big Neck thought it prudent to retire, and leaving his encampment he went fifteen miles higher up into the country, to a point which he believed was beyond the boundary of the state. While there, this same party, having pursued them, arrived. Seeing them coming, and not suspecting that there was now any cause of quarrel, Big Neck stepped from his lodge unarmed, with his pipe in his mouth, and his hand extended towards the leader of the party, in token of friendship. The pipe is a sacred thing; and is, among most of the Indian tribes, the emblem of peace; nor have they ever been known to permit any outrage to be committed upon a man who advances towards another with this symbol of peace in his mouth. While in the act of reaching his hand to the leader of the party, and as the Indians came out of their lodges to see the cavalcade of white men, they were fired upon. One child was killed, as was also the brother of Big Neck, who fell at his side. Enraged by this assault, the Indians flew to their arms, their number of fighting men being about thirty; and, against such fearful odds, Big Neck, supported by Maushemone, or the Big Flying Cloud, resolved to contend. The white man who had shot the child, was killed on the spot. Big Neck shot James Myers, the leader of the party, in the thigh; at about the same moment, a white man, named Win, shot a squaw, sister of Big Neck; as she fell, she exclaimed, "Brother! I am going to die innocent—avenge my blood!" She had scarcely spoken, when an Indian, sometimes called Ioway Jim, and at others, Major Ketcher, levelled his rifle and discharged its contents into Win's thigh, fracturing the bone. A furious fight ensued, in which the whites were defeated, and driven from the ground.

Win, being unable to escape, was found on the battle ground by his exasperated enemies, who immediately prepared to burn their victim. A pile was raised around him and fired. As the flames began to encircle him, Big Neck, pointing to the dead and wounded, thus addressed the murderer of his people:

"See there! look! You have killed all that was dear to me—my brother, my brother's wife, and her child. See the blood—it flows before you. Look at that woman; her arm was never raised against an American; the child never wronged you—it was innocent; they have gone to the Great Spirit. I came to meet you with the pipe of peace in my mouth. I did you no wrong; you fired upon me, and see what you have done—see my own squaw with her head bleeding; though not dead she is wounded. Now listen—you are not a *brave*, you are a *dog*. If you were a *brave* I would treat you as a *brave*, but as you are a *dog* I will treat you as a *dog*."

Here Big Neck paused, listened to the crackling of the fagots, and, with his knife drawn, eyed his victim for a moment, when, as the flames burst forth, and were approaching the body, he sprang over them, scalped the fated Win, and, while yet alive, cut open his breast, tore out his heart, bit off a piece of it, then throwing it back into the flames it was consumed with the body.

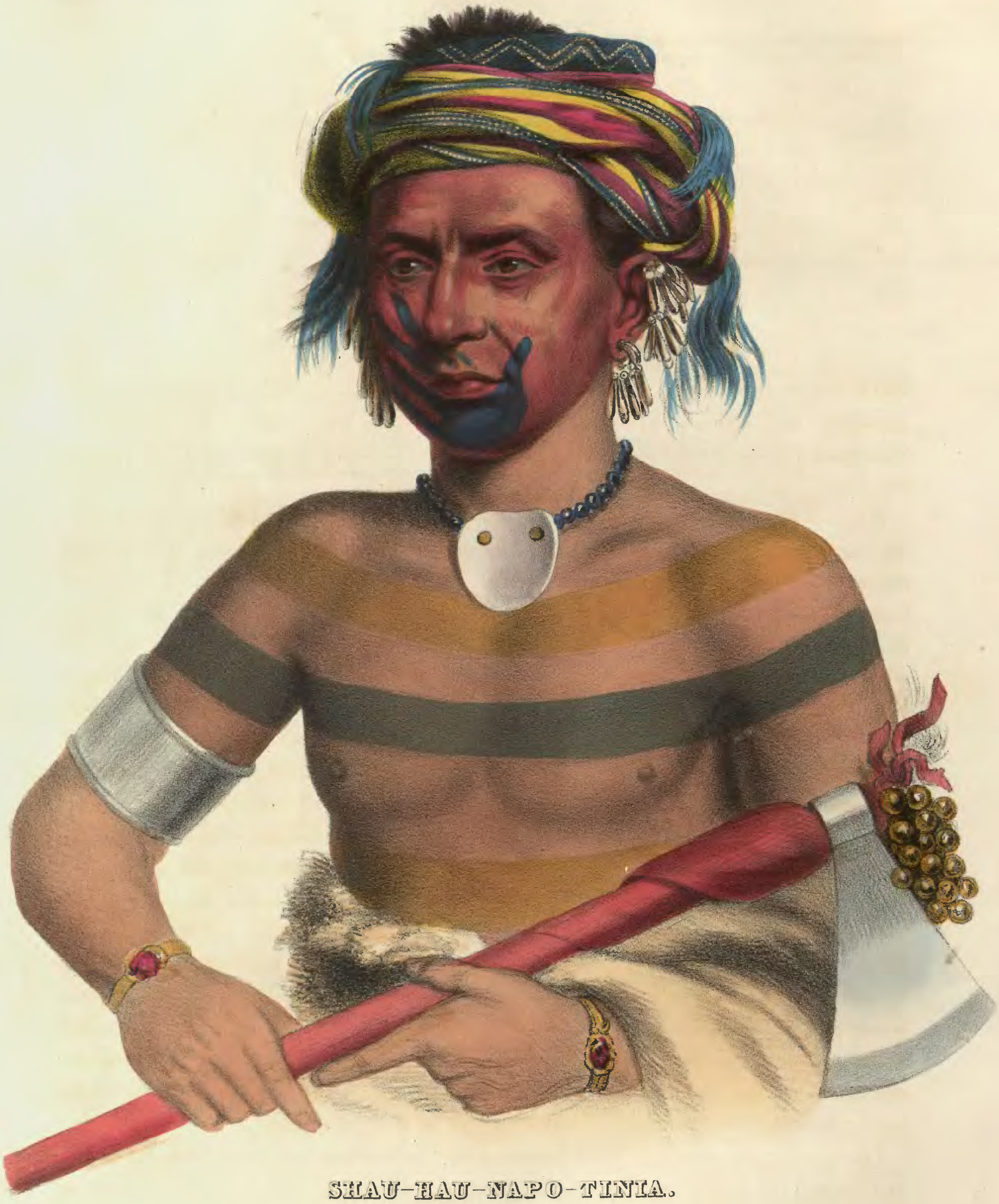
The tidings of this affair soon reached the settlements; every where it was proclaimed, "The Indians are killing the whites." Most of the border settlers abandoned their homes. An order was issued from Jefferson Barracks, to the officer in command at Fort Leavenworth, to march forthwith against the Indians. A large detachment of United States infantry was sent from Missouri in a steamboat, whilst the governor ordered out the militia. The agent of the Ioways, General Hughes, was required to co-operate. The militia were marched direct to the battle ground, and thence back again, having accomplished nothing. The first step taken by the agent was to deliver eleven of the principal men of the Ioway nation as hostages for the good conduct of that people. With these, General Leavenworth returned with his command to St. Louis. The agent then proceeded with four men to the battle ground; taking the trail from thence, he pursued Big Neck and his party to the upper Mississippi, and to the waters of the lower Ioway river, a distance but little, if any, short of four hundred miles. Here he fell in with Taimah, or the Bear whose screams make the rocks tremble, and his son, Apamuse, who were on the Polecat river, near Fort Madison. From Taimah and his son, he learned where Big Neck was encamped, and was accompanied to the spot by a party of Sauks and Foxes. Caution became necessary; and, as they approached Big Neck's party, they lay concealed in the day, and advanced upon it only in the night. Just before day, having had the camp in view the previous evening, when all was still, the agent approached, and stepped quickly into Big Neck's lodge. Here he was safe; for, in accordance with the Indian practice, no outrage is ever permitted upon any person, though an enemy, who takes refuge within a lodge; no blood is allowed to stain the ground within its precincts. Big Neck was just in the act of raising himself from his buffalo skin, as the agent entered his lodge. The object of the visit was explained. But few words were spoken, when Big Neck said, "I'll go with you; a brave man dies but once—cowards are always dying." Whereupon he surrendered himself and his party. They were marched to the Rapide Des Moines. On arriving there, Big Neck ordered his squaws to return. The agent at once interpreted the object, and turning to his four men, said, "Get your guns ready, for Big Neck means to kill us." The squaws ascended the hill that rises from the margin of the river at that place, and were clustering about its summit; and just as they were turning to witness the murder of the agent and his four men, a point which makes out into the river was suddenly turned by the advance of a little fleet of five boats, filled with United States troops, under the command of Lieutenant Morris. The squaws, seeing this, rushed suddenly down the hill, with howls and cries, and throwing themselves at the agent's feet, begged for their lives. The inference was, that they supposed the plot for the destruction of the agent and his companions had been discovered, and that the Indians would be made to atone for it with their lives. A moment longer, and the agent and his men would have been slain. This was one of those rare and timely interpositions that can be resolved into nothing short of the agency of Providence.

Eleven of the principal Indians, including Big Neck, were transferred to these boats, and conveyed to St. Louis, whilst the residue, in charge of one of General Hughes's men, were sent across the country in the direction of their homes. Arriving at St. Louis, arrangements were made for the trial of the prisoners, on a charge of murder, which, it was alleged, had been committed in Randolph county. The trial was then ordered to take place in that county, whither the prisoners were conveyed. The jury, without leaving their box, brought in a verdict of ***not guilty***.

Big Neck, being now on friendly terms with the agent, agreed to accompany him to his village. He was in deep distress, and went into mourning, by blacking his face, nor did he ever remove this symbol of grief to the day of his death. He was asked his reason for this? He answered, "I am ashamed to look upon the sun. I have insulted the Great Spirit by selling the bones of my fathers—it is right that I should mourn."

About five years after his trial, Big Neck led a war party of about fifty men in pursuit of a party of Sioux, who had penetrated the country to his village, and stole nine of his horses. He took with him in this expedition a famous brave, called Pekeinga, or the Little Star. The party soon came within sight of the Sioux, who fled, throwing behind them their leggins and moccasins, and dried buffalo meat, which indicated their defeat. Big Neck, however, was resolved on punishing them, and ordered his men to charge. The Sioux had taken refuge in a large hazle thicket, above which towered trees, thick set with foliage, into two of which, two Sioux, one a chief, had climbed. Each of these Sioux selected his man, one of them Big Neck, the other, the Little Star, and as the party rushed into the thicket they both fired—Big Neck was shot through the breast; the Little Star fell dead from his horse. Seeing them fall, the two Sioux sprang from the trees to take their scalps. The Sioux chief, who had shot Big Neck, hastened to his body, and while in the act of taking his scalp, the dying savage drew his knife with one hand, and with the other grasped the Sioux, brought him in contact with him, threw him, and then, with his remaining strength, fell upon the body of the Sioux, and stabbed, and scalped him. When they were found, that was their position—the Sioux on the ground, and Big Neck lying across his dead body, with his scalp dripping with blood in one hand, and his knife firmly grasped in the other.

On witnessing this spectacle, both parties retired from the fight, each deeply deploring the death of their favourite chief, and interpreting so great a calamity unto the anger of the Great Spirit, they made peace, and remain friends to this day.



SHAU-HAU-NAPO-TINIA.

AN IOWAY CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY E. C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA.
Drawn Printed & Colored at I. T. Bowens Lithographic Establishment No. 91 Walnut St.

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SHAUHAUNAPOTINIA.

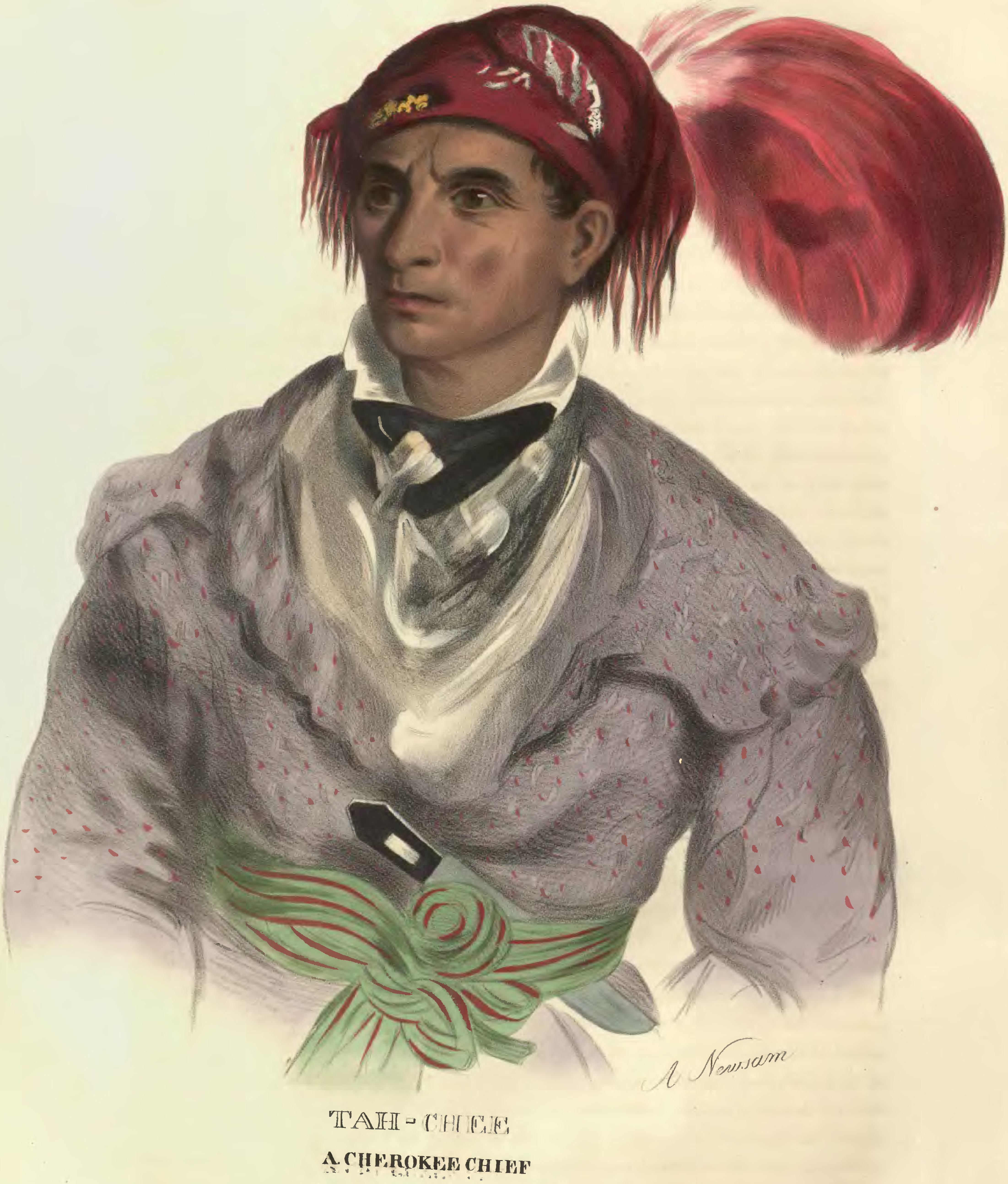
THE import of this name is, the Man who killed three Sioux. Why he is so called will appear in the sequel. He is also called Moanahonga, which means Great Walker. Shauhaunapotinia is an Ioway, and was, when his likeness was taken, in 1837, twenty-one years old.

It is customary among the Ioways for boys, when they arrive at the age of eight or ten years, to select companions of about the same age. A companionship thus formed ripens into a union which nothing but death is ever permitted to dissolve. The parties become inseparable; are seen together in their sports, and in riper years in the chase; and, when in battle, they are side by side. Their most confidential secrets are told without reserve to each other, and are afterwards treated as if confined but to one breast. Shauhaunapotinia had formed a fellowship of this abiding sort with an Ioway boy, which lasted till his companion had reached his nineteenth, and himself his eighteenth year, when the Sioux destroyed this endearing relationship by killing Shauhaunapotinia's companion. This occurrence took place about one hundred miles from the nearest Sioux village. The moment the tidings of his friend's death reached Shauhaunapotinia, he resolved on revenge. He went into mourning by blacking his face, and secretly left his village, and sought the enemy. Coming upon the Sioux in their encampment, of about four hundred lodges, he rushed in among them like a maniac, and with his knife stabbed a brave, whom he instantly scalped; then rushing from the encampment in the direction of his village, he fell in with, and killed and scalped two squaws, bringing to his home three scalps; and all this was the work of twenty-four hours, the distance travelled in that time being one hundred miles! Hence his name—the Sioux Killer, because of his success, in killing and scalping three Sioux—and the Great Walker, because of his having travelled over such an extent of country in so short a time.

On reaching his village he made known where he had been, and what was his object, and showed the scalps in testimony of his triumph. On hearing the statement, and seeing his trophies, the chiefs and braves of his nation immediately bound round his legs, just below his knees, skins of the polecat, these being the insignia of bravery. Young Mahaskah immediately adopted him as his friend, companion, and counsellor; hence his presence with him recently at Washington city. To his bravery, Shauhaunapotinia added the qualities of a wit, and is represented as having no equal in the nation. His waggeries are so numerous, and so diversified, as to leave him master of all the circles of fun and frolic in which he mingles.

Shauhaumapotinia, when he joined Mahaskah, was destined, for the first time in his life, to see and be among white people. On arriving at Liberty, Clay county, Missouri, he gave signs of great uneasiness. On one occasion he came running to the agent in great trepidation, without his blanket, saying, "Father, these white people are fools." "Why do you call them fools?" asked the agent. "Why," replied the Sioux Killer, "they make their fires in the wrong part of their wigwams; why don't they make them as we do, in the middle? I am almost frozen. And that," he continued, "is not all; the white people look at me; may be they want to kill me. I want to go home." The agent explained to him that the fire was built where all white people build it, at one end of their wigwam; and assuring him that the whites were only curious, and had no unkind intentions towards him, he became reconciled, and agreed to proceed. He gave signs, however, of affliction, by blacking his face, and sitting quietly by himself in some lone place for two days.

We have in this anecdote an illustration of the truth, that before the mind can bring itself to stand unappalled before danger, it must become accustomed to it; and, not only to danger in the abstract, but to its variety, and under all its forms. Now, here was an Indian, who, to revenge the death of his friend, could travel alone and undismayed, a hundred miles into the enemy's country, rush into an encampment of four hundred lodges, strike down a brave and scalp him, and return, killing two other Indians by the way; and yet, when placed in a new country, amidst other than his forest scenes, and among a people of another colour, of whom he knew nothing, he was made to tremble and be afraid at a look! The same knowledge of the white man, the same acquaintance with his habits, and mode of warfare, and especially the opportunity of measuring arms with him in a fight or two, would have elevated this Indian's courage to an equal height to which it proved itself capable of rising when he made that desperate attack upon the Sioux in their own encampment. Some writer, we remember, in speaking of the fearless character of the British seamen, says, "Brave, because bred amidst dangers—great, because accustomed to the dimensions of the world." It is highly probable, that were a seaman taken from the bravest of the brave, and conveyed away from the ship, with whose strength and power he had become familiar, and placed in a wilderness among savages, he would shrink from their scrutiny, and realise a depression in the scale of his courage as did the Sioux Killer when removed from the theatre of his victories, and conveyed among a people who were new to him, and of whom he knew nothing.



TAH-CHEE

A CHEROKEE CHIEF

Philadelphia Published by E.C. Biddle

Entered according to act of Congreſs in the year 1837 by E.C. Biddle in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pa

TAHCHEE.

TAHCHEE is the Cherokee word for Dutch. How the individual before us acquired this name we are not informed, except that he obtained it in his infancy from his own people. In process of time, as its import became known, it was translated into the word Dutch, by which he is most usually called. He was born about the year 1790, at Turkey Town, on the Coosa river, in a district of country then composed of the wild lands of the United States, but now included in the state of Alabama, and was forty-seven years of age when his portrait was taken. The picture is an admirable likeness. Tahchee is five feet eleven inches high, of admirable proportions, flexible and graceful in his movements, and possesses great muscular power and activity; while his countenance expresses a coolness, courage, and decision, which accord well with his distinguished reputation as a warrior.

He is the third of the four sons of Skyugo, a famous Cherokee chief, and had thus, by inheritance, a claim to rank, which is always respected among the Indians, when supported by merit. At an early age, in company with his mother, and an uncle who was called Thomas Taylor, he emigrated to the St. Francis river in Arkansas; but as his family was among the first of those who were induced, by the encroachment of the whites, to remove to the west of the Mississippi, and his own age not more than five years, he retains but a faint recollection of the exodus. The country in which they sought a refuge, was a wilderness into which the white man had not intruded—a broad and fertile land, where extensive prairies alternating with luxuriant forests, afforded shelter and pasturage to vast numbers of the animals most eagerly sought by the hunter. The young Tahchee was early initiated in the arts and perils of the chase. He remembers when he first went forth, a slender but ardent boy, in search of game, that his uncle prepared a gun, by cutting off part of the barrel, so as to render it portable and easily managed in the hands of the young hunter. Thus early is the native of the forest trained to these arts of woodcraft, and taught to face the dangers of the wild, and the extremities of the weather; and it is through the means of such culture, that he becomes so expert in all that relates to hunting and border warfare, and so indifferent to every other occupation or amusement.

For the first three years his exertions were confined to the immediate neighbourhood of his residence; but at the end of that period he was permitted to accompany a regular hunting party upon one of those long expeditions so common among the American tribes, and which indeed occupy the greater portion of the lives of those among them who are active and ambitious. He was absent a year, following the game from place to place, roaming over an immense region of wilderness, and enduring all the vicissitudes attendant upon long journeys, the succession of the seasons, and the ever varying incidents of the chase. Those who have hunted only for sport, can form but a faint conception of the almost incredible dangers and fatigues endured by the Indians in these protracted wanderings, during which they travel to distant regions, often meet, and more often cunningly elude, their enemies, and suffer the most wonderful privations. Their lives are a continuous succession of feasting and starvation, of exertion and sleep, of excitement, intense anxiety, and despondency, through all which they pass without becoming weary of the savage life, or learning in the hard school of experience the wisdom which would teach them to imitate the examples of the ant and the bee, by making provision for the winter during the season of harvest.

On the return of Tahchee, after this long absence, he reached home late at night, and knocked at the door of his mother's cabin, who, supposing it to be some drunken Indian, called out to him angrily to go away, as she had no whiskey to give him. Dutch, who, like a true Indian, would rather effect his object by indirection, than by any open procedure, went round the maternal mansion, which was but a flimsy fabric of logs, whose weak points were well known to him, and attempted to enter at a window, but was met by his amiable parent, who stood prepared to defend her castle against the unknown intruder, armed with a tough and well-seasoned stick, with which she was wont to stir her hominy. He was, of course, compelled to retreat, but soon after succeeded in effecting, at some other point, a practicable breach, by which he entered, and was immediately recognised and cordially welcomed by his mother.

After remaining at home but three months, he accompanied another party composed of about fifteen hunters, to the Red river, who, being unsuccessful, soon returned. During their absence, another party of Cherokees were attacked upon White river by the Osages, who killed several, and took one prisoner—a cousin of Tahchee being among the slain. The tidings of this insult incited the Cherokees to immediate measures of retaliation, and a war party was raised, consisting of thirty-two individuals, headed by Cahtateeskee, or the Dirt Seller. Though but a mere boy, Dutch was permitted to join the expedition, probably in virtue of his consanguinity to one of the slain; but, as is customary on such occasions, the burthen of carrying the kettles, and other baggage, fell to his lot, for the Indian warrior never condescends to perform any labour that can be shifted off upon the less dignified shoulders of a youthful or feminine companion. At their first encampment, the Dirt Seller, who was his uncle, raised him to the station of a warrior, by a ceremony, which, however simple, was doubtless as highly prized by the young Cherokee, as was the honour of knighthood by our scarcely less barbarous ancestors. The leader of the hostile band, having cut a stick, and fashioned it with his knife into the form of a war club, presented it to his promising relative with these words: "I present this to you; if you are *a Brave*, and can use it in battle, keep it; if you fail in making it, as a warrior should, effective upon the living, then, as a boy, strike with it the bodies of the dead!" Tahchee received this interesting token of his uncle's regard with becoming reverence, and used it on subsequent occasions in a manner which reflected no disgrace upon his worthy family. They shortly after came upon an encampment of the enemy, in the night, which they surprised, and attacked just before daybreak. Tahchee, fired with zeal, and incited by the recent admonition of his uncle to prove his manhood, slew two of the enemy with his war club, and secured the customary evidence of savage prowess by taking their scalps. The Osages were defeated, with the loss of sixteen of their warriors, who were killed and scalped, while not a man was killed on the side of the Cherokees. The only blood drawn from our young hero, was by a wound from his own knife, while in the act of performing, for the first time, the operation of scalping a fallen enemy. His daring and successful conduct gained him great renown, and when, on the return of the party, the scalp dance was celebrated, with the usual ceremonies, the honour of being recognised as a warrior was unanimously conceded to the youthful Tahchee. His subsequent career has amply fulfilled the promise thus early indicated, and a long series of warlike exploits has conclusively proved that both his skill and courage are of the highest order.

An active war, between the Osages and Cherokees, succeeded the events which we have noticed: excursions and inroads were made on both sides during two or three years, and many hard battles were fought, in which both were alternately victorious; but although Tahchee served actively throughout the whole war, no party to which he was attached was ever defeated or lost a man, nor was he wounded.

After a vindictive and harassing war, a peace was at length concluded, which was happily so well cemented, that Tahchee and a friend, being on a hunting expedition, wandered into the Osage country, and were so well received, that they remained among their former enemies for fourteen months, during which time Tahchee learned to speak the Osage language, and, by conforming with the habits of that tribe, gained their esteem, and became identified with them in manners and feeling. He joined one of their war parties in an expedition against the Pawnees, but returned without having met with an enemy.

During his residence among the Osages, he, of course, engaged with them in hunting as well as in war. On one occasion, being on a hunt with a large party, their provisions became scarce, and a few of the most active young men were selected to go out and kill buffaloes. He was asked if he could shoot the buffalo with an arrow; for, as the Cherokees inhabit a wooded country, where these animals are not so abundant as upon the prairies over which the Osages roam, and where the practice of chasing them on horseback is not common, he was not supposed to be expert in this species of hunting. He, however, replied confidently that he thought he could do any thing that could be done by their own young men, and was accordingly joined to the number. Each of the hunters was furnished, at his departure, with a certain number of arrows, and was expected, on his return, to account for the whole, and especially to assign a sufficient excuse for the loss of any that might be missing. They set out on horseback, completely equipped for the hardy and exciting sport, and succeeded in finding a herd grazing upon the plain. Having cautiously approached, without alarming the game, until they were sufficiently near for the onset, the finest animals were selected, and the hunters dashed in among them. The affrighted herd fled, and the hunters, each marking out his victim and pursuing at full speed, pressed forward until the superior fleetness of the horse brought him abreast of the buffalo, when the hunter, who had previously dropped the reins, and guided his steed by a well-understood pressure of the heel in either flank, discharged his arrow with an aim which seldom erred, and with a force so great as to bury the missile in the body of the huge creature. Several of the herd were killed, but our friend Dutch was unsuccessful, in consequence of the provoking interference of a large bull, which several times, as he was on the point of discharging an arrow, prevented him from doing so, by crossing his path, or interposing his unwieldy body between the hunter and his prey. Incensed at having his object thus frustrated, he discharged an arrow at the bull, which penetrated the shoulder of the animal, but without inflicting a wound severe enough to prevent the latter from escaping with the shaft. On the return of the party, Tahchee was reprimanded for having lost an arrow, and threatened with corporal punishment, it being customary in that nation to whip the young men when they lose or throw away their arrows. He excused himself by saying that he was ignorant of their customs, and unaware of the impropriety of throwing an arrow at random. Upon this, Claymore, a distinguished chief, interfered, and, by his his own authority, forbade the punishment.

He returned again to his people, and, in the succeeding autumn, set out upon a long hunt, with no other companion than three dogs. He ascended the Arkansas river in a canoe to the mouth of the Neosho, and then pushed his little bark up the latter as far as there was sufficient water for this kind of navigation, and, being unable to proceed further by water, he abandoned his canoe, and travelled on foot across a region of prairies, several hundred miles, to the Missouri river. Here he employed himself in hunting and trapping until he secured ninety beaver skins, with which he returned to the spot at which he had left his canoe. On his return home he stopped at an Osage village on the margin of the Neosho, where he learned that a celebrated Cherokee chief and warrior named Chata, who had made the former peace with the Osages, had been killed by them, while hunting in company with Bowles, who afterwards led a party of Cherokees into Texas and formed a settlement. Three other Cherokees of another party had been killed, and as retaliation was expected to ensue, as a matter of course, a war between the tribes was inevitable. Dutch was, therefore, admonished that his life was in danger, and, having been kindly supplied with moccasins and parched corn, was requested to depart. In this little history we see a curious, though a common picture, of savage life. An individual betakes himself alone to the forest to spend months in wandering and hunting. Day after day he pushes his little canoe against the current of a long river, until he has traced its meanders nearly to the fountain head, leaving the ordinary hunting grounds of his people hundreds of miles in the rear, touching warily at the villages of tribes known to be friendly, and passing by stealth those at which he might encounter an enemy. When the stream affords him no longer a practicable highway, he hides his canoe in the grass or bushes, and bends his solitary way, across immense plains, in search of some secluded spot, where, undisturbed by any intruder, he may pursue the occupation of the hunter. Returning, loaded with the spoils of the chase, he must again trace his long, and weary, and solitary route, through the haunts of open foes and faithless friends, uncertain who to trust, or what changes the revolution of several months may have effected in the relations of his tribe. And he reaches his home at last, after a series of almost incredible dangers and hardships, with the acquisition of a few skins, which are exchanged for a bottle of whiskey, and a supply of gunpowder, and, having enjoyed a brief revel, and a long rest, is driven forth again by necessity, or the love of a vagrant life, to encounter a repetition of the same savage vicissitudes.

Soon after the return of Tahchee, a Cherokee woman was killed by the Osages, and being the daughter of an aged female, who had no male relatives to revenge the murder, the bereaved mother came to him in deep distress, and, with tears in her eyes, besought him to become the avenger of the injury. He complied with the request, and, having raised a war party, led them against the enemy, nor did he return without bringing with him a sufficient number of bloody trophies to satisfy the mourning relatives of the deceased.

After a brief but active war, peace was again established between the billigerent parties—if that can be called a peace, which may be interrupted by the bad passions of any individual who may choose to gratify his propensity for stealing horses, or shedding human blood, regardless of the vengeance which is sure to follow, and of the war into which his misconduct is certain to plunge his tribe.

The treaty made by the United States with the Cherokees, in the year 1828, gave great dissatisfaction to many of that tribe, and was so offensive to Tahchee, that he determined to abandon the country.

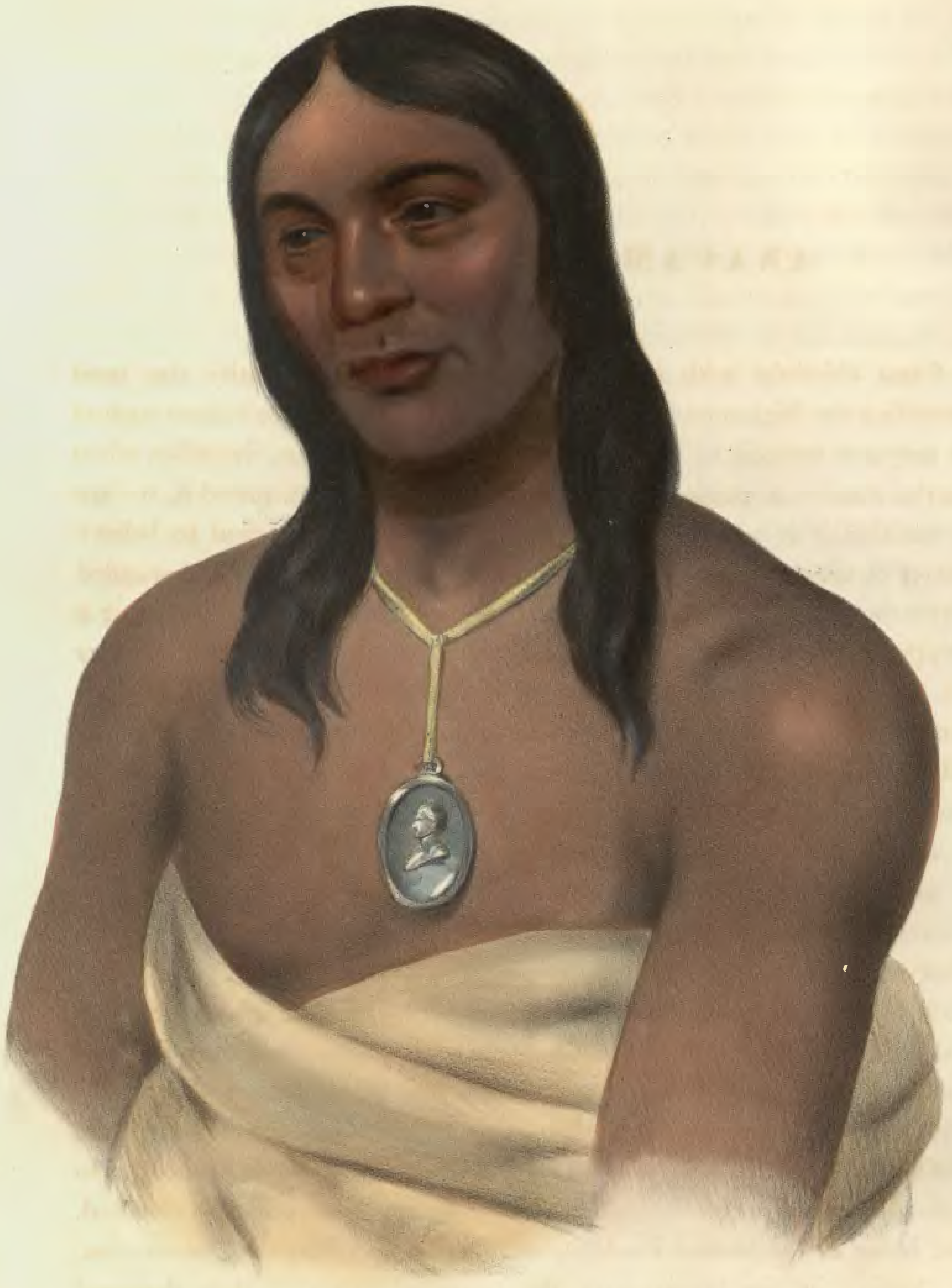
On this occasion, our friend Dutch removed to Red river, where he resided three years, when he emigrated to Bowles's settlement in Texas. A year afterwards he went with a war party against the Tawakanaks, of whom fifty-five were killed and their village destroyed, while but five of Tahchee's party were slain. He next returned to Red river, on whose banks, near the junction of the Kiamiska, he lived three years, continuing to make war upon the Osages. The government of the United States having, in various treaties with the Indian tribes, stipulated that they should live in peace, and having undertaken to interpose their authority, if necessary, for the preservation of harmony, had forbidden this war between the Cherokees and Osages, and as Tahchee was now an active partizan leader, he was admonished to discontinue his predatory career. Persevering in a course of inveterate hostility, when most of the leaders of his tribe had consented to a peace, the commanding officer of the American army, for that district, offered a reward of five hundred dollars for his capture.

Intelligence of this offer was conveyed to Tahchee by some of his friends, who sought to prevail on him to fly; but it served only to make him more desperate. To show his utter contempt of this mode of securing his capture, he started in the direction of the fort, and, approaching a trading house near the mouth of the Neosho at which were some Osages, he sprang in among them, and, within hearing of the drums of the fort, killed and scalped one. With his rifle in one hand, and the bleeding trophy in the other, he made for a precipice near by, and, as he sprang from it, a rifle ball grazed his cheek—but he made his escape in safety to Red river, where he received a message from the Indian agent of the United States, and Colonel Arbuckle, the commanding officer, inviting him to return; he at first declined, but on being informed that it was the wish of his Great Father, and assured that the offer of a reward was recalled, he buried the tomahawk, and came back. In one of the late expeditions of a portion of our army, Dutch was chosen, by the commanding officer, to accompany it. To his accurate knowledge of the country to be traversed, he added the skill of the hunter. He went, therefore, in the twofold capacity of guide and hunter. His services on this occasion were of incalculable value. He literally fed the troops. No man knew better than he where to find the buffalo, how to capture him, and from what part of his body to cut the choicest pieces. To the question we put to him—How many buffaloes have you killed?—He answered, "So many I cannot number them." And to another—What parts of the animal are considered the best?—He replied, "The shoulder, including the hump, and the tongue."

The cheerfulness with which he bore his toils and his exposures, in the twofold capacity referred to, in connection with the great fidelity with which he executed the trust, gained him great applause, and made him a general favourite. He demonstrated his character to be sound, and that he was a man to be relied on.

He had now abandoned his warlike life, and, having built a house on the Canadian river, turned his attention to peaceable pursuits. He has persisted ever since in this mode of life, cultivated the soil, and lives in comfort. His stock of cattle and poneys is the largest in that region, and he has evidently discovered that it is to his interest to live at peace with his neighbours. His deportment is mild and inoffensive, and he enjoys the respect of those around him. The family of Tahchee consists of his second wife, a son, and a niece whom he adopted in her infancy, and has reared with the tenderness of a parent.

This distinguished warrior has been engaged in more than thirty battles with the Osages and other tribes, and has killed, with his own hand, twenty-six of the enemy; but, with the exception of a slight scratch on the cheek, has never been wounded.



A-NA-CAM-E-GISH-CA.
A CHIPPEWAY CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY E. C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA.
& Colored at I. T. Bowens Lithographic Establishment Nº 94 Walnut St.
o act of Congress in the Year 1837 by E. C. Biddle, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

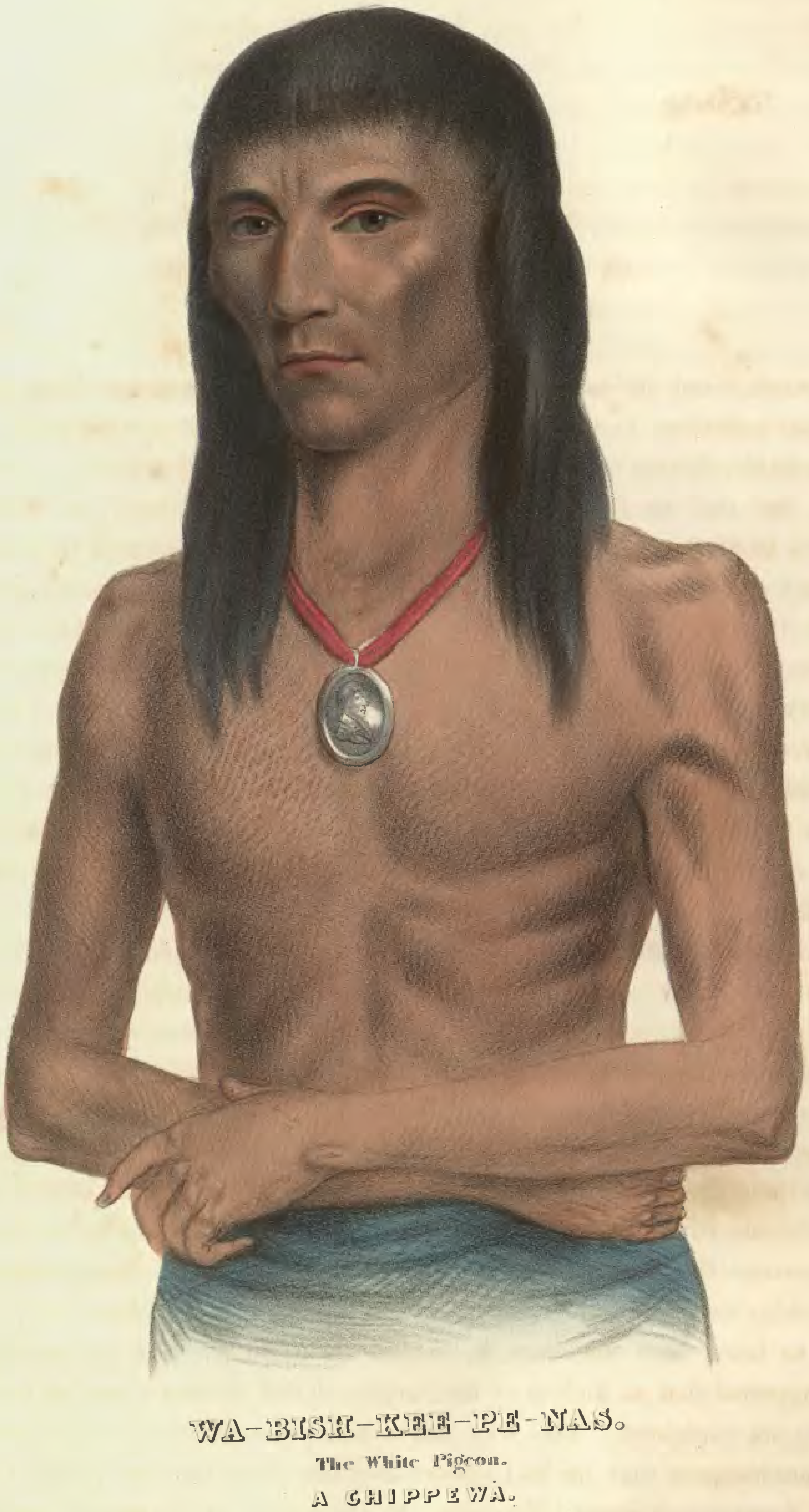
ANACAMEGISHCA.

HERE is a forest chieftain with a name sufficiently long to gratify the most aristocratic veneration for high-sounding titles, but which, we regret to inform such of our readers as may not happen to be versed in the Ojibway tongue, dwindles, when interpreted, into the humble appellation of ***Foot Prints.*** How he acquired it, we are unable to say, but that it is an honourable designation, we are prepared to believe from the character of the wearer, who is a person of no small note. He is descended from a line of hyperborean chiefs, who, like himself, have held undisputed sway over a clan of the Chippeways inhabiting the borders of Rainy lake. His great grandfather Nittum, was an Ottawa, who emigrated from Lake Michigan to the Grand Portage and Rainy lake, at the time when the great Northwest Company, whose doings have been so admirably described by our countryman Irving, began to prosecute their traffic in parts northwestward from the Grand Portage.

Nittum was an uncommon man. So great was his sagacity and conduct, that, although not a native of the region or tribe into which he had boldly cast his lot, he soon came to be regarded as the head chief of the Kenisteno nation. He attained a reputation for bravery, activity, and prudence in council, as well as for the decision of character evinced in all the vicissitudes of a busy and perilous career, which extended beyond the region of Rainy lake, and elevated him above the surrounding warriors and politicians. So great was the veneration in which he was held by the Indians, that the agents of the Northwest Company took especial pains to conciliate his favour while living, and to honour his remains after death. The scaffold upon which, according to the custom of the Chippeways, his body was deposited, was conspicuously elevated, near the trading house at the Grand Portage, and the savages saw, with admiration, a British flag floating in the breeze over the respected relics of their deceased chief. When these politic traffickers in peltry removed their establishment from Kamenistaquoia to Fort William, they carried with them the bones of Nittum, which were again honoured with distinguished marks of respect; and the living continued to be cajoled by a pretended reverence for the memory of the dead. This is the same "*Nitum*" mentioned in the History of the Fur Trade prefixed to McKenzie's Voyages.

Nittum was succeeded in the chieftainship by his son Kagakummig, the *Everlasting*, who was also much respected in the high latitude of Rainy lake and the Lake of the

Woods. After his death, his son Kabeendushquameh, a person of feeble mind, and little repute, swayed the destinies of this remote tribe, until, in the fulness of time, he also was gathered to his fathers. He left several sons, of whom the subject of this notice is within one of the youngest, but is nevertheless the successor to the hereditary authority of chief. He is a good hunter, and well qualified to sustain the reputation of his family. Of a disposition naturally inclining to be stern and ferocious, but with sufficient capacity to appreciate his own situation and that of his people, as well as the conduct of those who visit his country for the purpose of traffic, he conducts himself with propriety, and is considered a man of good sense and prudence. He is the first of his family who has acknowledged fealty to the American government. This chief takes a lively interest in the condition and prospects of his band, and, in the year 1826, evinced a desire to cultivate amicable relations with the American people, by performing a long and painful journey to attend the council held at Fond du Lac by Governor Cass and Colonel McKenney. He is six feet three inches in stature, and well made. Of his feats in war or hunting no particular accounts have reached us. There are no newspapers at Rainy lake, and it is altogether possible for a person to attain an eminent station without having his frailties or his good deeds heralded by the trump of fame.



WA-BISH-KEE-PE-NAS.

The White Pigeon.

A CHIPPEWA.

PUBLISHED BY E. C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA.
Printed & Colored at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.

Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1837 by E. C. Biddle, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

WABISHKEEPENAS.

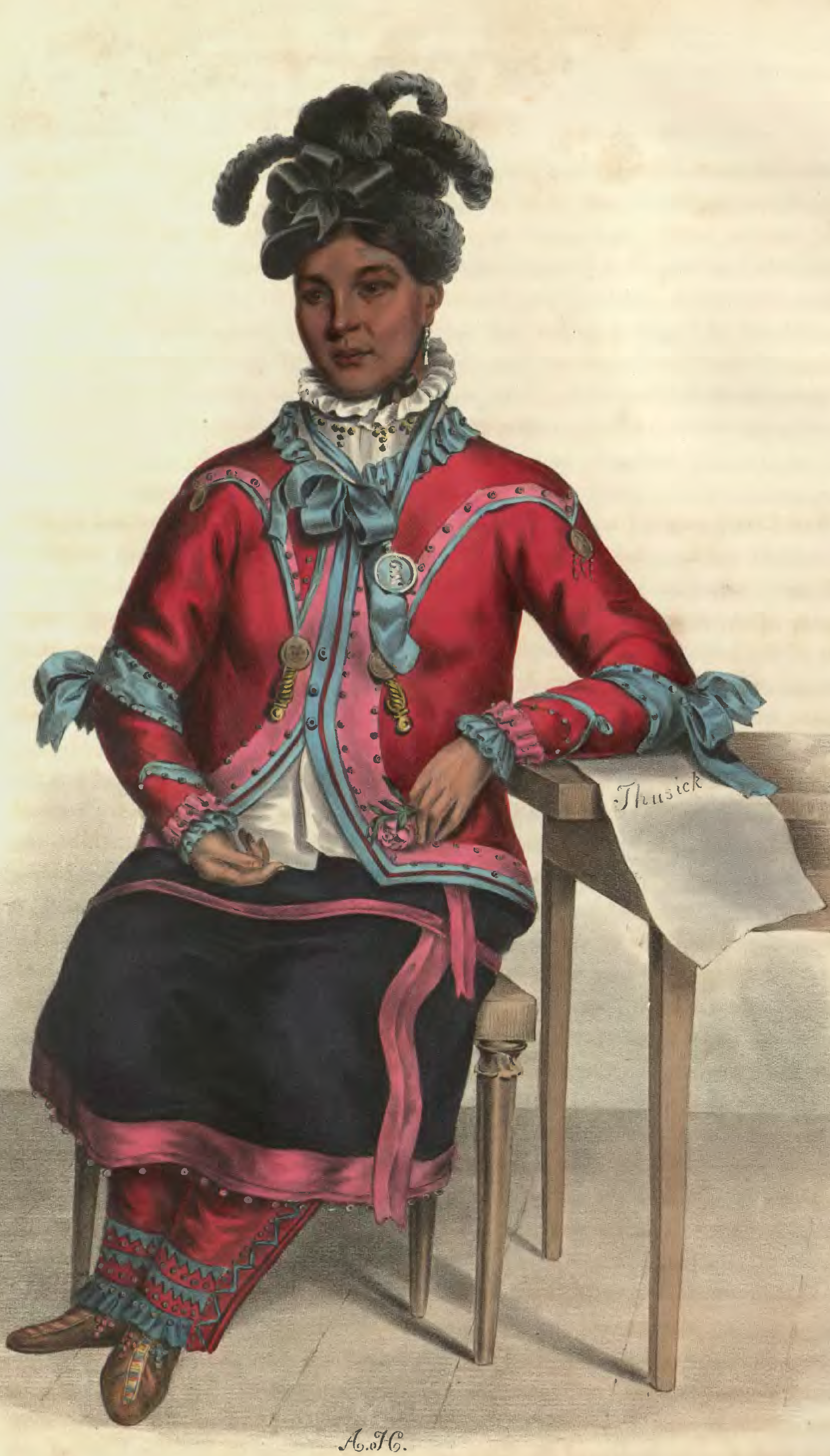
THIS portrait is not embraced in the gallery at Washington, but, being authentic, is added to our collection, in consideration of the interesting illustration which it affords, of a remarkable, though not unusual feature, in the Indian character.

During the visit of Governor Cass and Colonel McKenney, at Fond du Lac Superior, in 1826, they met with this individual, who was pining in wretchedness and despondency under the influence of a superstition, which had rendered him an object of contempt in the eyes of his tribe. "An Indian opened the door of my room to-day," says Colonel McKenney, in his journal, "and came in, under circumstances so peculiar, with a countenance so pensive, and a manner so flurried, as to lead me to call the interpreter. Before the interpreter came in, he went out with a quick but feeble step, looking as if he had been deserted by every friend he ever had. I directed the interpreter to follow him, and ascertain what he wanted, and the cause of his distressed appearance. I could not get the countenance of this Indian out of my mind, nor his impoverished and forlorn looks."

It seems that in 1820, when Governor Cass and Mr. Schoolcraft made a tour of the upper lakes, they were desirous of visiting the celebrated copper rock, a mass of pure copper of several tons weight, which was said to exist in that region, but found some difficulty in procuring a guide, in consequence of the unwillingness of the Indians to conduct strangers to a spot which they considered sacred. The copper rock was one of their *manitos*—it was a spirit, a holy thing, or a something which, in some way, controlled their destiny—for their superstitions are so indistinct, that it is, in most cases, impossible to understand or describe them. The White Pigeon was prevailed upon to become their guide, but lost his way, to the great disappointment of the travellers, who were anxious to inspect a natural curiosity, the character of which was supposed to have been mistaken, if, indeed, its existence was not wholly fabulous. How it happened that an Indian of that region failed to find a spot so well known to his tribe, is not explained. The way might have been difficult, or the guide confused by the consciousness that he had undertaken an office that his people disapproved. The band, however, attributed his failure to the agency of the manito, who, according to their belief, guards the rock, and who, to protect it from the profanation of the white man's presence, had interposed and shut the path. Under the impression that he had offended the Great Spirit, he was cast off by the tribe, but would probably have soon been restored to favour, had not further indications of the displeasure of the Deity rendered it too certain that the crime of this unhappy man was one of the deepest dye. A series of bad luck attended his labours in the chase. The game of the forest avoided him; his weapons failed to perform their fatal office; and the conviction became settled that he was a doomed man. Deserted by his tribe, and satisfied in his own mind that his good spirit had forsaken him, he wandered about the forest a disconsolate wretch, deriving a miserable subsistence from the roots and wild fruit of that sterile region. Bereft of his usual activity and courage, destitute of confidence and self respect, he seemed to have scarcely retained the desire or ability to provide himself with food from day to day.

The American Commissioners, on hearing the story of the White Pigeon's fault and misfortunes, became interested in his fate. They determined to restore him to the standing from which he had fallen, and having loaded him with presents, convinced both himself and his tribe that his offence was forgiven, and his luck changed. Governor Cass, afterwards, procured a better guide, and succeeded in finding the copper rock, which is really a curiosity, as will be seen on reference to our life of Shingaba W'Ossin.

Another incident, which occurred at Fond du Lac, may be mentioned, as exemplifying the superstitions of this race. An Indian having killed a moose deer, brought it to the trading post for sale. It was remarkably large, and Mr. Morrison, one of the agents, was desirous to preserve the skin as a specimen. For this purpose a frame was prepared, and the skin, properly stuffed, was stretched and supported so as to represent the living deer, in a standing posture. About this time the Indians were unsuccessful in taking moose, but were wholly ignorant of the cause of their ill fortune, until one of them, happening to visit the post, espied the stuffed deer, and reported what he had seen to his companions. The band agreed at once that their want of success was attributable to the indignity which had been offered to the deceased deer, whose spirit had evinced its displeasure by prevailing on its living kindred not to be taken by men who would impiously stuff their hides. Their first business was to appease the anger of this sensitive spirit. They assembled at the post, and with respectful gravity marched into the presence of the stuffed moose. They seated themselves around it, lighted their pipes, and began to smoke. The spirit of the deer was addressed by an orator, who assured it that the tribe was innocent of the liberty which had been taken with its carcass, and begged forgiveness. In token of their sincerity, the pipes were placed in the deer's mouth, that it might smoke too; and they separated at last, satisfied that they had done all that a reasonable spirit of a moose deer could ask, and fully assured that its anger was appeased. But they were not willing that the exhibition should be continued. Mr. Morrison, to pacify them, took down the effigy, and when they saw the horns unshipped, the straw withdrawn, the frame broken, and the hide hung on a peg, as hides are wont to be hung, they were satisfied that all was right.



A.H.

TSHUSICK.

AN OJIBWAY WOMAN.

PUBLISHED BY E.C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA.
Drawn Printed & Colored at J.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1837 by E.C. Biddle, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

TSHUSICK.

A PORTION only of the history of this extraordinary woman has reached us. Of her early life we know nothing; but the fragment which we are enabled to present, is sufficiently indicative of her strongly marked character, while it illustrates with singular felicity the energy of the race to which she belongs. In tracing the peculiar traits of the Indian character, as developed in many of the wild adventures related of them, we are most forcibly struck with the boldness, the subtlety, the singleness of purpose, with which individuals of that race plan and execute any design in which they may be deeply interested.

The youth of ancient Persia were taught to speak the truth. The lesson of infancy, inculcated with equal care upon the American savage, is, to keep his own counsel, and he learns with the earliest dawnings of reason the caution which teaches him alike to deceive his foe, and to guard against the imprudence of his friend. The story of Tshusick shows that she possessed those savage qualities, quickened and adorned by a refinement seldom found in any of her race; and we give it as it was communicated to the writer by the gentleman who was best acquainted with all the facts.

In the winter of 1826-7, on a cold night, when the snow was lying on the ground, a wretched, ill clad, wayworn female knocked at the door of our colleague, Colonel McKenney, then Commissioner of Indian affairs, at the city of Washington. She was attended by a boy, who explained the manner in which she had been directed to the residence of Colonel McKenney. It seems that, while wandering through the streets of Georgetown, in search of a shelter from the inclemency of the weather, she was allured by the blaze of a furnace in the shop of Mr. Haller, a tin worker. She entered, and eagerly approached the fire. On being asked who she was, she replied, that she was an Indian, that she was cold and starving, and knew not where to go. Mr. Haller, supposing that Colonel McKenney, as Commissioner for Indian affairs, was bound to provide for all of that race who came to the seat of government, directed her to him, and sent his boy to conduct her. On this representation the Colonel invited her into his house, led her to a fire, and saw before him a young woman, with a ragged blanket around her shoulders, a pair of man's boots on her feet, a pack on her back, and the whole of her meagre and filthy attire, announcing the extreme of want. She described herself to be, what her complexion and features sufficiently indicated, an Indian, and stated that she had travelled alone, and on foot, from Detroit. In reply to questions which were put to her, for the purpose of testing the truth of her story, she named several gentlemen who resided at that place, described their houses, and mentioned circumstances in reference to their families which were known to be correct. She then proceeded, with a self possession of manner, and an ease and fluency of language that surprised those who heard her, to narrate the cause of her solitary journey. She said she had recently lost her husband, to whom she was much attached, and that she attributed his death to the anger of the Great Spirit, whom she had always venerated, but who was no doubt offended with her, for having neglected to worship Him in the manner which she knew to be right. She knew that the red people did not worship the Great Spirit in an acceptable mode, and that the only true religion was that of the white men. Upon the decease of her husband, therefore, she had knelt down, and vowed that she would immediately proceed to Washington, to the sister of Mrs. Boyd, who, being the wife of the great father of the white people, would, she hoped, protect her until she should be properly instructed and baptised.

In conformity with this pious resolution, she had immediately set out, and had travelled after the Indian fashion, not by any road, but directly across the country, pursuing the course which she supposed would lead her to the capital. She had begged her food at the farm houses she chanced to pass, and had slept in the woods. On being asked if she had not been afraid when passing the night alone in the forest, she replied, that she had never been alarmed, for that she knew the Great Spirit would protect her.

This simple, though remarkable recital, confirmed as it was by its apparent consistency, and the correctness of the references to well known individuals, both at Detroit and Mackinaw, carried conviction to the minds of all who heard it. The Mrs. Boyd alluded to, was the wife of a highly respectable gentleman, the agent of the United States for Indian affairs, residing at Mackinaw, and she was the sister of the lady of Mr. Adams, then President of the United States. It seemed natural that a native female, capable of acting as this courageous individual had acted, should seek the protection of a lady who held the highest rank in her nation, and whose near relative she knew and respected. There was something of dignity, and much of romance, in the idea of a savage convert seeking at the mansion of the chief magistrate, the pure fountain of the religion which she proposed to espouse, as if unwilling to receive it from any source meaner than the most elevated.

Colonel McKenney recognised in the stranger a person entitled alike to the sympathies of the liberal, and the protection of the government, and, in the exercise of his official duty towards one of a race over whom he had been constituted a sort of guardian, immediately received his visitor under his protection, conducted her to a neighbouring hotel, secured her a comfortable apartment, and placed her under the especial care of the hostess, a kind and excellent woman, who promised to pay her every requisite attention.

On the following morning, the first care of the commissioner was to provide suitable attire for the stranger, and, having purchased a quantity of blue and scarlet clothes, feathers, beads and other finery, he presented them to her; and Tshusick, declining all assistance, set to work with alacrity, and continued to labour without ceasing, until she had completed the entire costume in which she appears arrayed in the portrait accompanying this notice—except the moccasins and hat, which were purchased. There she sits, an Indian belle, decorated by her own hands, according to her own taste, and smiling in the consciousness that a person to which nature had not been niggard, had received the most splendid embellishments of which art was capable.

Tshusick was now introduced in due form at the presidential mansion, where she was received with great kindness; the families of the secretary of war, and of other gentlemen, invited and caressed her as an interesting and deserving stranger. No other Indian female, except the Eagle of Delight, was ever so great a favourite at Washington, nor has any lady of that race ever presented higher claims to admiration. She was, as the faithful pencil of King has portrayed her, a beautiful woman. Her manners had the unstudied grace, and her conversation the easy fluency, of high refinement. There was nothing about her that was coarse or common place. Sprightly, intelligent, and quick, there was also a womanly decorum in all her actions, a purity and delicacy in her whole air and conduct, that pleased and attracted all who saw her. So agreeable a savage has seldom, if ever, adorned the fashionable circles of civilised life.

The success of this lady at her first appearance on a scene entirely new to her, is not surprising. Youth and beauty are in themselves always attractive, and she was just then in the full bloom of womanhood. Her age might have been twenty-eight, but she seemed much younger. Her dress, though somewhat gaudy, was picturesque, and well calculated to excite attention by its singularity, while its adaptation to her own style of beauty, and to the aboriginal character, rendered it appropriate. Neat in her person, she arranged her costume with taste, and, accustomed from infancy to active exercise, her limbs had a freedom and grace of action, too seldom seen among ladies who are differently educated. Like all handsome women, be their colour or nation what it may, she knew her power, and used it to the greatest advantage.

But that part of Tshusick's story which is yet to be related is, to our mind, the most remarkable. Having attended to her personal comforts, and introduced her to those, whose patronage might be most serviceable, Colonel McKenney's next care was to secure for her the means of gratifying her wish to embrace the Christian religion. She professed her readiness to act immediately on the subject, and proposed that the Colonel should administer the rite of baptism—he being a great chief, the father of the Indians, and the most proper person to perform this parental and sacerdotal office. He of course declined, and addressed a note to the Reverend Mr. Gray, Rector of Christ Church, in Georgetown, who immediately called to see Tshusick. On being introduced to him, she inquired whether he spoke French, and desired that their conversation might be held in that language, in order that the other persons who were present might not understand it, alleging as her reason for the request, the sacredness of the subject, and the delicacy she felt in speaking of her religious sentiments. A long and interesting conversation ensued, at the conclusion of which Mr. Gray expressed his astonishment at the extent of her knowledge, and the clearness of her views, in relation to the whole Christian scheme. He was surprised to hear a savage, reared among her own wild race, in the distant regions of the northern lakes, who could neither read nor write, speak with fluency and precision in a foreign tongue, on the great doctrines of sin, repentance, and the atonement. He pronounced her a fit subject for baptism; and accordingly that rite was administered, a few days afterwards, agreeably to the form of the Episcopalian church, in the presence of a large company. When the name to be given to the new convert was asked by Mr. Gray, it appeared that none had been agreed on; those of the wife and daughter of the then secretary of war were suggested on the emergency, and were used. Throughout this trying ceremony, she conducted herself with great propriety. Her deportment was calm and self possessed, yet characterised by a sensibility which seemed to be the result of genuine feeling.

Another anecdote shows the remarkable tact and talent of this singular woman. On an occasion when Colonel McKenney introduced her to a large party of his friends, there was present a son of the celebrated Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young Frenchman of uncommon genius and attainment. This gentleman no sooner heard Tshusick converse in his native tongue, than he laughed heartily, insisted that the whole affair was a deception, that Colonel McKenney had dressed up a smart youth of the Engineer Corps, and had gotten up an ingenious scenic representation for the amusement of his guests—because he considered it utterly impossible that an Indian could speak the French language with such purity and elegance. He declared that her dialect was that of a well educated Parisian. We do not think it surprising that a purer French should be spoken on our frontier, than in the province of France. The language was introduced among the Indians by the priests and military officers, who were educated at Paris, and were persons of refinement, and it has remained there without change. The same state of facts may exist there which we know to be true with regard to the United States. The first emigrants to our country were educated persons, who introduced a pure tongue; and the English language is spoken by Americans with greater correctness, than in any of the provincial parts of Great Britain.

We shall only add to this part of our strange eventful history, that all who saw Tshusick at Washington, were alike impressed with the invariable propriety of her deportment; her hostess especially, who had the opportunity of noticing her behaviour more closely than others, expressed the most unqualified approbation of her conduct. She was neat, methodical, and pure in all her habits and conversation. She spoke with fluency on a variety of subjects, and was, in short, a most graceful and interesting woman. Yet she was a savage, who had strolled on foot from the borders of Lake Superior to the American capital.

When the time arrived for Tshusick to take her departure, she was not allowed to go empty handed. Her kind friends at Washington loaded her with presents. Mrs. Adams, the lady of the President, besides the valuable gifts which she gave her, entrusted to her care a variety of articles for her young relatives, the children of Mr. Boyd, of Mackinaw. It being arranged that she should travel by the stage coaches as far as practicable, her baggage was carefully packed in a large trunk; but as part of her journey would be through the wilderness, where she must ride on horseback, she was supplied with the means of buying a horse; and a large sack, contrived by herself, and to be hung like panniers across the horse, was made, into which all her property was to be stowed. Her money was placed in a belt to be worn round her waist; and a distinguished officer of the army, of high rank, with the gallantry which forms so conspicuous a part of his character, fastened with his own hand this rich cestus upon the person of the lovely tourist.

Thus pleasantly did the days of Tshusick pass at the capital of the United States, and she departed burthened with the favours and good wishes of those who were highest in station and most worthy in character. On her arrival at Barnum's hotel in Baltimore, a favourable reception was secured for her by a letter of introduction. Mrs. Barnum took her into her private apartments, detained her several days as her guest, and showed her the curiosities of that beautiful city. She then departed in the western stage for Frederick; the proprietors of the stages declined receiving any pay from her, either for her journey to Baltimore, or thence west, so far as she was heard of.

Having thus with the fidelity of an impartial historian described the halcyon days of Tshusick, as the story was told us by those who saw her dandled on the knee of hospitality, or fluttering with childlike joy upon the wing of pleasure, it is with pain that we are obliged to reverse the picture. But beauties, like other conquerors, have their hours of glory and of gloom. The brilliant career of Tshusick was destined to close as suddenly as that of the conqueror of Europe at the field of Waterloo.

On the arrival of the fair Ojibway at Washington, Colonel McKenney had written to Governor Cass, at Detroit, describing in glowing language, the bright stranger who was the delight of the higher circles at the metropolis, and desiring to know of the governor of Michigan her character and history. The reply to this prudent inquiry was received a few days after the departure of the subject of it. The governor, highly amused at the success of the lady's adventure, congratulated his numerous friends at Washington, on the acquisition which had been gained to their social circle, and in compliance with the request of his friend, stated what he knew of her. She was the wife of a short squat Frenchman, who officiated as a scullion in the household of Mr. Boyd, the Indian agent at Mackinaw, and who, so far from having been spirited away from his afflicted wife, was supporting her absence without leave with the utmost resignation. It was not the first liberty of this kind which she had taken. Her love of adventure had more than once induced her to separate for a season the conjugal tie, and to throw herself upon the cold charity of a world that has been called heartless, but which had not proved so to her. She was a sort of female swindler, who practised upon the unsophisticated natures of her fellow men, by an aboriginal method of her own invention. Whenever stern necessity, or her own pleasure, rendered it expedient to replenish her exhausted coffers, her custom had been to wander off into the settlements of the whites, and, under a disguise of extreme wretchedness, to recite some tale of distress; that she had been crossed in love; or was the sole survivor of a dreadful massacre; or was disposed to embrace the Christian religion; and such was the effect of her beauty and address, that she seldom failed to return with a rich booty. She had wandered through the whole length of the Canadas to Montreal and Quebec, had traced the dreary solitudes of the northern lakes, to the most remote trading stations; had ascended the Mississippi to the falls of St. Anthony, and had followed the meanders of that river down to St. Louis, comprising within the range of her travels, the whole vast extent of the northern and northwestern frontier, and many places in the interior. Her last and boldest attempt was a masterpiece of daring and successful enterprise, and will compare well with the most finished efforts of the ablest impostors of modern times.

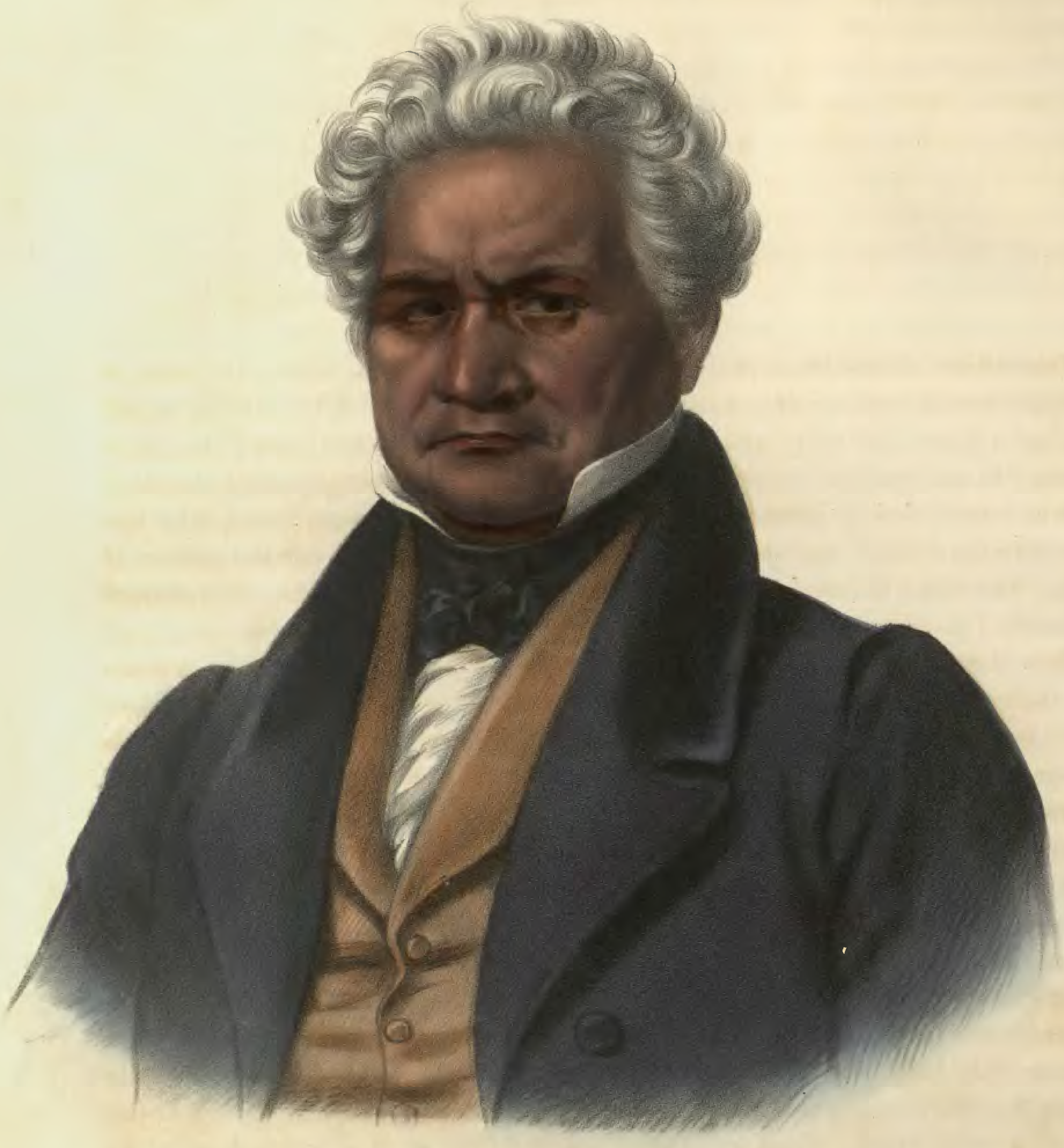
It will be seen that Tshusick had ample opportunities for obtaining the information which she used so dexterously, and for beholding the manners of refined life, which she imitated with such success. She had been a servant in the families of gentlemen holding official rank on the frontier, and in her wanderings been entertained at the dwellings of English, French and Americans, of every grade. Her religious knowledge was picked up at the missionary stations at Mackinaw, and from the priests at Montreal, and her excellent French resulted partly from hearing that language well spoken by genteel persons, and partly from an admirable perception and fluency of speech, that is natural to a gifted few, and more frequently found in women than in men. Although an impostor and vagrant she was a remarkable person, possessing beauty, tact, spirit, and address, which the highest born and loveliest might envy, and the perversion of which to purposes of deception and vice affords the most melancholy evidences of the depravity of our nature.

Tshusick left Washington in February, 1837, and in the month of June following, Colonel McKenney's official duties required him to visit the northwestern frontier. On his arrival at Detroit, he naturally felt some curiosity to see the singular being who had practised so adroitly on the credulity of himself and his friends, and the more especially, as he learned that the presents with which she had been charged by the latter, had not been delivered. On inquiry, he was told she had just gone to Mackinaw. Proceeding on his tour, he learned at Mackinaw that she had left for Green Bay; from the latter place she preceded him to Prairie du Chien; and when he arrived at Prairie du Chien, she had just departed for St. Peters. It was evident that she had heard of his coming, and was unwilling to meet him; she had fled before him, from place to place, probably alone, and certainly with but slender means of subsistence, for more than a thousand miles, giving thus a new proof of the vigilance and fearlessness that marked her character.

In reciting this singular adventure, we have not been able to avoid entirely the mention of names connected with it, but we have confined ourselves to those of persons in public life, whose stations subject them, without impropriety, to this kind of notice. The whole affair affords a remarkable instance of the benignant character of our government, and of the facility with which the highest functionaries may be approached by any who have even a shadow of claim on their protection. Power does not assume, with us, the repulsive shape which keeps the humble at a distance, nor are the doors of our rulers guarded by tedious official forms, that delay the petitions of those who claim either mercy or justice.

The beautiful story of Elizabeth, by Madame Cottin, and of Jeannie Deans, by Scott, are both founded on real events, which are considered as affording delightful illustrations of the heroic self-devotion of the female heart; of the courage and enthusiasm with which a woman will encounter danger for a beloved object. Had the journey of Tshusick been undertaken, like those alluded to, to save a parent or a sister, or even been induced by the circumstances which she alleged, it would have formed a touching incident in the history of woman, little inferior to any which have ever been related. She came far, and endured much; emerging from the lowest rank in society, she found favour in the highest, and achieved, for the base purpose of plunder, the success which would have immortalised her name, had it been obtained in a virtuous cause.

This remarkable woman is still living, and, though broken by years, exhibits the same active and intriguing spirit which distinguished her youth. She is well known on the frontier; but, when we last heard of her, passed under a different name from that which we have recorded.



MAJOR RIDGE.

A CHEROKEE CHIEF.

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MAJOR RIDGE.

THE subject of this biography received from his parents, in infancy, the name of Nung-noh-hut-tar-hee, or *He who slays the enemy in the path.* After arriving at the age of a hunter, on being asked "which way did you come into camp?" he would reply, "I came along the top of the mountain." This answer being frequently repeated, it was seized upon as indicating a characteristic habit in the young hunter, who was thenceforward called Kah-nung-da-tla-geh, or The man who walks on the mountain's top. The name by which he has been subsequently known, may have been derived from the Cherokee words which signify the summit or ridge of a mountain.

The date of the birth of this individual is not known, as the Cherokees, previous to the recent invention of an alphabet of their tongue, possessed no means by which they could record the ages of their children. It is believed that he is about sixty-six years old, which would fix the date of his nativity at about the year 1771. He was born at a Cherokee town called Highwassie, situated upon the river of the same name, and on the edge of a beautiful prairie, encircled by forest. It is just at this point that the Highwassie breaks through a range of lofty mountains, with great velocity and power. The scenery affords a fine combination of the grand and beautiful; and those who imagine that the germs of poetry and eloquence may be planted in the young mind, by the habitual contemplation of bold and attractive landscape, would readily select this as a spot calculated to be richly fraught with such benign influences. The father of Ridge was a full blooded Cherokee, who, though not distinguished in the council of the nation, was a famous hunter, and had once taken the scalp of an Indian warrior on the Kaskaskia river. The subject of this notice was the fourth son of his parents, but the first who reached the years of maturity; and of two brothers and a sister younger than himself, but one survives, who is the father of Elias Boudinot. His mother was a respectable Cherokee woman of the half blood, her father being a white man, of whose origin or history we have not been able to collect any information.

The most prominent feature in the early reminiscences of Ridge, refers to the distressed situation to which the Cherokees were reduced by the invasions of the white people, who burned their villages, and killed their people. When his father, wearied of these hostile incursions, resolved on flight, he took his family in canoes down the Highwassie to the Tennessee river, and ascended the smaller branches of that stream to the Sequochee mountains, in whose deep glens, and rock-bound fastnesses, they were secure from pursuit. Here the game abounded, and the young hunter received his first lessons. His father taught him to steal with noiseless tread upon the grazing animal—to deceive the timid doe by mimicking the cry of the fawn—or to entice the wary buck within the reach of his missile, by decorating his own head with antlers. He was inured to patience, fatigue, self denial, and exposure, and acquired the sagacity which enabled him to chase with success the wild cat, the bear, and the panther. He watched the haunts, and studied the habits of wild animals, and became expert in the arts which enable the Indian hunter at all seasons to procure food, from the stream or the forest.

Having continued in this primary and parental school until he reached the age of twelve, the young Indian was considered as having made a proficiency which entitled him to be advanced to a higher grade of studies; and a superstitious rite was required to be performed to give due solemnity to the occasion. The usages of the nation made it requisite that his martial training should be preceded by a formal dedication to the life and business of a warrior, and an invocation to the Great Spirit to endue him with courage and good fortune. For this purpose his parents solicited the assistance of an aged warrior, whose numerous achievements in battle had established for him a high reputation; and whose sagacity and valour gave him, in the estimation of his tribe, the envied rank of an Ulysses. The assent of the war chief was conveyed in the brief avowal that *he would make him dreadful.* The ceremony took place immediately. The hoary brave, standing upon the brink of a mountain stream, called upon the Great Spirit to fill the mind of the young warrior with warlike inclinations, and his heart with courage. He then, with the bone of a wolf, the end of which terminated in several sharp points, scratched the naked boy, from the palm of one hand along the front of the arm, across the breast, and along the other arm to the hand—and in like manner lines were drawn from the heels upward to the shoulders, and from the shoulders over the breast downward to the feet—and from the back of one hand along the arm, across the back, and to the back of the other hand. The lines thus made each covered a space of two inches in width, and consisted of parallel incisions which penetrated through the skin, and caused an effusion of blood along their entire extent. He was then required to plunge into the stream and bathe, after which the war chief washed his whole body with a decoction of medicinal herbs; and, in conclusion, he was commanded not to associate with the female children, nor to sit near a woman, nor, in short, to suffer the touch of one of that sex during the space of seven days. At the end of this term the war chief came to him, and after delivering an address to the Great Spirit, placed before the young candidate food, consisting of partridges and *mush.* The partridge was used on this occasion because, in its flight, this bird makes a noise with its wings resembling thunder, while in sitting or walking it is remarkably silent, and difficult to discover—and thus were indicated the clamour of the onset, and the cautious stealth which should govern the movements of the warrior at all other times. It is thus that the Indian is made in early life the subject of superstition, is taught to believe himself supernaturally endued with courage, and is artificially supplied with qualities which might otherwise never have been developed in his mind.

When Ridge was fourteen years old, a war party was made up at Cheestooyee, where his parents then resided; the warriors danced the war-dance, and sung war songs to induce the young men to join in the expedition. These martial exercises had such an effect upon young Ridge, that he volunteered against his father's wishes, and in despite of the tears of his mother; and went, with two hundred of the tribe, against a fort of the Americans in Tennessee, which was assaulted without success. In this expedition he endured, without a murmur, great hardship and dangers.

In the same year the whites made an irruption at a place called the Cherokee Orchard, and retired after killing one Indian. The Cherokees, expecting that their enemies would return, arranged a force of about two hundred men in an ambuscade, near the Orchard, and had spies posted to watch the fords of the river Tennessee, where it was expected the white people would cross. It was soon reported that thirty horsemen, and six men on foot, were approaching. The Cherokees were divided into two parties, one of which was to attack the whites in front, while the other was to throw itself across their rear, to intercept their retreat. The whites being taken by surprise, were beaten, and sought safety in flight. Those on foot were taken and killed, while the horsemen plunged into the river, where they continued to maintain the unequal conflict with great obstinacy. A few who rode strong and fleet horses, escaped by clambering up a steep bank, and the rest were slain. One of the Cherokees having overtaken a white man who was ascending the bank, after recrossing the river, grappled with him in deadly fight. The white man being the strongest, threw the Indian, when a second came to the assistance of the latter, and while the gallant Tennessean was combatting with two foes, Ridge, who was armed with only a spear, came up and despatched the unfortunate white man, by plunging his weapon into him. This affair was considered highly creditable to Ridge, the Indians regarding not courage only, but success, as indicative of merit, and appreciating highly the good fortune which enables one of their number to shed the blood of an enemy, in however accidental or stealthy a manner.

Soon after this affair, he conducted his father, who was sick, to a place more distant from the probable scene of war, and then joined a large army composed of the combined forces of the Creeks and Cherokees; the latter, led by the chiefs Little Turkey and White Dog, and the former by Chinnubbee. The object of this enterprise was to take Knoxville, then the chief place in Tennessee; but it was not successful. In consequence of a disagreement among the chiefs, they returned without attacking the head quarters of the white settlements, after capturing a small garrison near Marysville.

In another affair Ridge was scarcely more fortunate. He joined a company of hunters, and passed the Cumberland mountain into Kentucky, to chase the buffaloe and the bear. While thus engaged their leader, who was called Tah-cung-stee-skee, or the Remover, proposed to kill some white men, for the purpose of supplying the party with tobacco, their whole store of which had been consumed. Ridge was left, with an old man, to guard the camp; the remainder of the party set out upon this righteous war, and after a brief absence, returned with several scalps, and some tobacco which had been taken out of the pockets of the slain. This incident affords an example of the slight cause which is considered among savages a sufficient inducement for the shedding of blood. We know not who were the unhappy victims; they might have been hunters, but were as probably the members of some emigrant family which had settled in the wilderness, whose slumbers were broken at midnight by the war whoop, and who saw each other butchered in cold blood by a party of marauders, who sought to renew their exhausted store of tobacco! We are told that Ridge was so greatly mortified at having been obliged to remain inactive, far from the scene of danger, that he actually wept over the loss of honour he had sustained, and that his grief was with difficulty appeased.

He returned home after an absence of seven months, and found that both his parents had died during that period, leaving him, still a youth, with two younger brothers and a sister, to provide for themselves, or to depend upon the cold charity of relatives, whose scanty subsistence was derived from the chase. Under these depressing circumstances, he spent several years in obscurity, but always actively engaged either upon the war path, in predatory excursions against the whites, or in hunting expeditions to remote places where the game abounded. On one occasion, when he was about seventeen years of age, he, with four others, killed some white men upon the waters of Holston, during one of those brief seasons of peace which sometimes beamed on the frontier, like sunny days in the depth of winter—a peace having been declared during the absence of this party. That unfortunate act was the cause of a new war. The enraged whites collected a force, invaded the Cherokees who were holding a council at Tellico, and killed a large number of their warriors. This event affords another illustration of the brittle nature of compacts between the inhabitants of the frontier, accustomed to mutual aggression, and ever on the watch to revenge an insult, or to injure a hated foe; while it shows also that the beginnings of these wars are often the result of the most fortuitous causes—growing more frequently out of the mistakes, or lawless acts of individuals, than from any deliberate national decision.

Ridge and his companions, having been detained by the sickness of one of their number, did not arrive at the encampment of the tribe, at the Pine Log, until after the consequences of their rash act had been realised in the slaughter of some of the principal men of the nation, by the white people. They were coldly received: the relatives of the slain were incensed, and disposed to take revenge for their loss, upon the young men who had occasioned the misfortune, nor were there wanting accusers to upbraid them openly as the authors of a great public calamity. Having no excuse to offer, Ridge, with a becoming spirit, proposed to repair his error as far as possible, by warding off its effects from his countrymen. He raised the war whoop, entered the village as is customary with those who return victorious, and called for volunteers to march against the enemy—but there was no response; the village was still, no veteran warrior greeted the party as victors, and those who mourned over deceased relatives, scowled at them as they passed. The usual triumph was not allowed, and the young aggressors, so far from being joined by others in a new expedition, fell back abashed by the chilling and contemptuous reception which they met. One old man alone, a conjurer, who had prophesied that when these young men should return, the war pole would be ornamented with the scalps of their enemies, felt disposed to verify his own prediction by having those bloody trophies paraded upon the war post, and he exerted himself to effect a change in the public mind. At length the voice of one chief declared, that fallen relatives would be poorly revenged by shedding the blood of friends, and that if satisfaction was required it should be taken from the pale faces. He then commenced the war song, at the sound of which the habitual thirst of the Indian for vengeance began to be excited; the young men responded, and volunteers offered themselves to go against the common enemy, among whom Ridge was the first. The party proceeded immediately against a small fort on the frontier, which they took, and murdered all the inmates—men, women, and children. Ridge has since frequently related the fact, that the women and children were at first made prisoners, but were hewn down by the ferocious leader Doublehead, who afterwards became a conspicuous man, and a tyrant in the nation; he spoke of this foul deed with abhorrence, and declared that he turned aside, and looked another way, unwilling to witness that which he could not prevent.

We pass over the events of the border wars which succeeded, and continued for two years to harass this unhappy region, embracing a vast number of skirmishes and petty massacres, which gave scope to individual address and boldness, but produced no military movements upon any extended scale, nor any general battle. The last invasion by the whites was conducted by General Sevier, who penetrated to the head of Coosa, and then returned to Tennessee. Two years afterwards a general peace was concluded with President Washington by a Cherokee delegation, sent to the American capital, at the head of which was the celebrated Doublehead. They returned, bringing a treaty of peace, and accompanied by an agent of the American government, Colonel Silas Dinsmore, who took up his residence in the Cherokee country, and commenced instructing the Indians in the use of the plough, the spinning wheel, and the loom.

The government of the Cherokee nation was, at that time, vested in a council, composed of the principal chief, the second principal chief, and the leading men of the several villages, who made treaties and laws, filled the vacancies in their own body, increased its number at will, and in short, exercised all the functions of sovereignty. The executive and more active duties were performed chiefly by the junior members, a requisite number of whom were admitted for that purpose. At the age of twenty-one Ridge was selected, we are not told at whose instance, as a member of this body, from the town of which Pine Log was the head man. He had no property but the clothes he wore, a few silver ornaments, and a white poney, stinted, old, and ugly, which he rode to the council. The Indians are fond of show, and pay great respect to personal appearance, and exterior decoration. On public occasions they appear well mounted, and are ostentatious in the display of their wealth, which consists in horses, weapons, trinkets, and the trophies of war and hunting; and this pride is the more natural as the property thus exhibited consists of the spoils won by the wearer. A mean appearance is, therefore, in some degree, an evidence of demerit; and when Ridge presented himself before the assembled nation, wretchedly mounted and in meagre attire, he was held in such contempt, that it was proposed to exclude him from the council. But the old men invited him to a seat near them, and shook him by the hand, and the younger members one by one reluctantly extended to him the same sign of fellowship. During the first council, he did no more than listen to the speeches of the orators, seldom indicating any opinion of his own. The powers of the mind are but little exercised in an Indian council, especially in a season of peace, when there is nothing to provoke discussion, and these assemblages are convened rather in obedience to custom than for the actual discharge of business. But the time was approaching when the public concerns of the Cherokees were to become more complicated and important, and its councils to assume a higher dignity and interest.

It would be difficult to point out with accuracy the primary causes, or to detect the first germs, of the partial civilisation which has been introduced among the Cherokees. In the memoir of Sequoyah we briefly suggested several incidents which, as we suppose, exerted a combined influence in the production of this benign effect. Referring the reader to that paragraph, we shall only remark here, that Ridge entered upon public life just at the period when a portion of his nation began to turn their attention to agriculture, and of course to acquire property, and to need the protection of law. New regulations and restraints were requisite to suit the novel exigencies of a forming state of society; while the less intelligent part of the people withheld from war, and not yet initiated in the arts of peace, remained in a state of restless and discontented idleness, but little in unison with the enterprising spirit of their leaders, and as little congenial with the growth of civilisation. It was necessary, therefore, that those who executed the laws should be firm and vigorous men; and among this class Ridge was soon distinguished as one possessing the energy of character so important in a ruler. At the second council in which he sat, one of the ancient laws of the Cherokees was abrogated at his suggestion. According to immemorial usage, the life of a murderer was at the disposal of the relatives of the deceased, who might put him to death, or accept a price for the injury. Blood for blood was the rule, and if the guilty party fled, his nearest relative might be sacrificed in his place. The nation was divided into seven tribes, each preserving a distinct genealogy, traced through the female line of descent: and these tribes were held sacredly bound to administer this law, each within its own jurisdiction, and to afford facilities for its execution when the aggressor fled from one tribe to another. And we may remark here, as a curious illustration of the principle of Indian justice, that the object of this law was not to punish guilt, to preserve life, or to prevent crime; neither the protection of the weaker, nor the conservation of the peace of society was its object; it was the *lex talionis* administered simply to appease individual passion—its sole purpose was revenge. For if any one killed another by accident, his life was as much forfeited as if he committed a wilful homicide, and if he could not be readily found, the blood of his innocent relative might be shed: the most inoffensive and respectable person might be sacrificed to atone for the crime or the carelessness of a vagabond kinsman. Ridge, in an able speech, exposed the injustice of that part of this law which substituted a relative for a fugitive murderer, and successfully advocated its repeal. The more difficult task remained of enforcing obedience to the repealing statute—a task which involved the breaking up of an ancient usage, and the curbing into subjection one of the wildest impulses of the human bosom, the master passion of the savage—revenge; and this was to be effected in a community newly reorganised, still barbarous and unused to the metes and bounds of a settled government. But Ridge, having proposed the measure, was required to carry it into effect, and readily assumed upon himself that responsibility; taking the precaution, however, to exact from every chief a promise, that he would advocate the principle of the new law, and stand prepared to punish its infringement. It was not long before an opportunity occurred to test the sincerity of these pledges. A man who had killed another, fled. The relations of the deceased were numerous, fearless, and vindictive, prompt to take offence, and eager to imbue their hands in blood upon the slightest provocation. They determined to resent the injury by killing the brother of the offender. The friends of the latter despatched a messenger to Ridge, to advise him of the intended violation of the new law, and implore his protection; and he, with a creditable promptitude, sent word to the persons who proposed to revenge themselves, that he would take upon himself the office of killing the individual who should put such a purpose into execution. This threat had the desired effect, not only in that instance, but in causing the practice of substituting a relative in the place of an escaped homicide, to be abandoned.

About this time the subject of this memoir was married to a Cherokee girl, who is represented as having been handsome and sensible—who possessed a fine person, and an engaging countenance, and sustained through life an excellent character.

The Cherokees lived at that time in villages, having corn fields, cultivated by the squaws, and enclosed in a common fence, which, by excluding the idea of separate property, cut off the strongest inducement to industry. Their dwellings were rude cabins, with earthen floors, and without chimneys. Ridge determined, after his marriage, to build a house, and cultivate a farm; and accordingly he removed into the wilderness, and reared a mansion of logs, which had the luxury of a door, and the extravagant addition of a chimney. Nor was this all: a roof was added, of long boards, split from logs, and confined in their places by *weight poles*—and thus was completed the usual log cabin of the frontier settler, an edifice which ranks in architecture next above the lodge or wigwam. And here did the Indian warrior and his bride, forsaking the habits of their race, betake themselves to ploughing and chopping, knitting and weaving, and other Christian employments, while insensibly they dropped also the unpronounceable heathen names in which they had hitherto rejoiced, and became known as Major Ridge and Susannah. It is hardly necessary to remark, that one of the first things which the Indian learns from his civilised neighbour, is his love of titles, and finding that every gentleman of standing on the frontier had one, and that neither a commission nor a military employment are necessarily inferred from the assumption of a martial designation, he usually, on taking an English name, prefixes to it the title of Captain or Major.

The residence of Major Ridge was in the Ookellogee valley, where he lived more than eighteen years, employed in rural pursuits, and gathering about him herds and other property. He seems to have entirely abandoned the savage life, and settled quietly down in the enjoyment of the comforts of civilisation. His family consisted of five children, one of whom died in infancy, another was deficient in mind, and the other three were well educated. His son John, after attending the mission school at Brainerd, was sent to Cornwall in Connecticut, where he spent four years under the instruction of the Reverend Herman Daggett. He here fell in love with a beautiful and excellent young lady, Miss Northrop, who reciprocated his affection, and after an engagement of two years they were married—she leaving for him, her parents, brothers, sisters, and friends, and identifying herself with the Cherokees, among whom she has ever since resided. This couple have six children. The influence of this lady has already been most benignantly exerted over the rude people with whom her lot has been cast; but the extent of her usefulness will not be fully known nor appreciated until it shall be seen in the exertions of her children, whom she is carefully training up in the precepts of the Bible. The daughters of Major Ridge were also educated. One of them married and died early; the other is an accomplished young lady, of superior mind, who has travelled through most of the states of the Union, and who devotes herself with a Christian and patriotic ardour, to the improvement of her countrywomen. The whole family are professors of religion, and are exemplary in their lives.

The interesting domestic avocations, in which Major Ridge was now busily engaged, did not withdraw him from his public duties. He continued to be an active member of the council, in which he gradually rose to be an influential leader, and he was the orator usually chosen to announce and explain to the people the decrees of that body. He was also engaged in riding what was termed the judicial circuit. To enforce the laws among a barbarous people required a vigorous administration, and this office was assigned to twelve horsemen, persons of courage and intelligence, who were the judges, jurors, and executors of justice. Major Ridge was placed at the head of this corps, whose duty it was to ride through the nation, to take cognizance of all crimes and breaches of law, and to decide all controversies between individuals. In the unsettled state of the community, the want of forms, and the absence of precedent, much was left to their discretion; and after all, these decisions were enforced rather by the number, energy, and physical power of the judges, than through any respect paid to the law itself.

In addition to these arduous duties as a magistrate, Ridge was active and useful in his example as a private man. He encouraged the opening of roads, and caused some to be made at his own expense. He advocated all public improvements, and endeavoured to inculcate a taste for the refinements of civilisation. He built a house, planted an orchard, and went forward in the march of improvement, until his farm was in a higher state of cultivation, and his buildings better, than those of any other person in that region, the whites not excepted.

About the close of the administration of President Jefferson, the question as to emigrating to the west of the Mississippi, began to be agitated among the Cherokees. Enolee, or Black Fox, the successor of Little Turkey, was head chief of the nation. He, with Tah-lon-tus-kee, Too-chay-lor, the Glass, the Turtle at home, and others, began to advocate the removal; the public mind became greatly excited, and those who possessed oratorical talents, employed them in popular harangues. While the people were discussing the subject, the chiefs had matured their plan, and were proceeding to carry it into effect without the public consent, which the usages of the nation required, but for which they intended to substitute a hasty vote of the council. Accordingly, at a council held at a post within the limits of Tennessee, Black Fox, and a few other leaders, acting in concert with Colonel R. J. Meigs, the agent of the United States, brought forward a project for sending a delegation to Washington, to exchange their country for lands further west. The deputies were already nominated by the head chief; his *talk* to the President of the United States was delivered to Tah-lon-tus-kee, the leader of the deputation; and a vote of the council was only wanting to sanction what had been done, and to authorise the making of a treaty under which the nation should be removed to a far distant wilderness. That *talk* was in substance as follows: "Tell our Great Father, the President, that our game has disappeared, and we wish to follow it to the west. We are his friends, and we hope he will grant our petition, which is to remove our people towards the setting sun. But we shall give up a fine country, fertile in soil, abounding in water courses, and well adapted for the residence of white people. For all this we must have a good price." This bold and artful movement had the desired effect: the people, who had discussed the subject, without reference to a decision so sudden and conclusive, were not ready for the question: they were taken by surprise, and as it was not expected that any one would have the moral courage to rise in opposition under such circumstances, it only remained to take a vote, which would so far commit the nation as to preclude any future debate. A dead silence ensued—the assembly was apparently awed, or cajoled into compliance, when Ridge, who had a spirit equal to the occasion, and who saw with indignation that the old men kept their seats, rose from the midst of the younger chiefs, and with a manner and tone evincing great excitement, addressed the people. "My friends," said he, "you have heard the talk of the principal chief. He points to the region of the setting sun as the future habitation of this people. As a man he has a right to give his opinion; but the opinion he has given as the chief of this nation is not binding; it was not formed in council, in the light of day, but was made up in a corner—to drag this people, without their consent, from their own country, to the dark land of the setting sun. I resist it here, in my place, as a man, as a chief, as a Cherokee, having the right to be consulted in a matter of such importance. What are your heads placed on your bodies for, but to think, and if to think, why should you not be consulted? I scorn this movement of a few men to unsettle the nation, and trifle with our attachment to the land of our forefathers! Look abroad over the face of this country—along the rivers, the creeks, and their branches, and you behold the dwellings of the people who repose in content and security. Why is this grand scheme projected, to lead away to another country, the people who are happy here? I, for one, abandon my respect for the will of a chief, and regard only the will of thousands of our people. Do I speak without the response of any heart in this assembly, or do I speak as a free man, to men who are free and know their rights? I pause to hear." He sat down in the midst of acclamations. The people declared that his talk was good, that the talk of the head chief was bad; the latter was deposed upon the spot, and another appointed in his place. The delegation was changed, so that a majority of it were opposed to emigration, and Ridge was added to the number.

The advantage of travelling through the United States was not thrown away upon this intelligent and liberal minded Indian. He visited the capital of a great nation, passing through many populous towns, and a great extent of cultivated country—was introduced to President Jefferson, and became acquainted with many refined persons. He returned with a mind enlarged by travel, and with a renewed ardour in the cause of civilisation.

The authority which we follow, having supplied us with few dates, we are not able to state at what time the ferocious Doublehead rose into power among the Cherokees, nor is it very important. He was bold, ambitious, and possessed of uncommon sagacity and talent. He had strong friends, and, by prudently amassing such property as the condition of the country rendered attainable, was considered wealthy. With these advantages he became a prominent man; and when the Cherokees began to establish something like a civil government, and to create offices, he succeeded in placing himself in the most lucrative posts. But as he sought office with selfish views, he very naturally abused it, and made himself odious by his arbitrary conduct. He not only executed the laws according to his own pleasure, but caused innocent men to be put to death, who thwarted his views. The chiefs and the people began alike to fear him, and a decree was privately made that he should be put to death. Ridge was chosen to perform the office of executioner, which he boldly discharged, by going with a few followers to Doublehead's house, and killing him in the midst of his family; after which he addressed the crowd who were drawn together by this act of violence, and explained his authority and his reasons. It is impossible for us to decide how far such an act may have been justified by the demerits of the victim, and the patriotic motives of him who assumed the office of avenger. To settle the relative merits of the Brutus and the Cæsar, is seldom an easy task; and it is rendered the more difficult in this instance, in consequence of the absence of all evidence but that of the friends of the parties. There seems, however, to be sufficient reason to believe, that Ridge sincerely desired to promote the civilisation of his race, that Doublehead, his equal in talent and influence, but a savage at heart, entertained less liberal views, and that the removal of the latter was necessary to the fair operation of the great experiment to which Ridge was now devoting all his energies.

Shortly after the return of Ridge from Washington, a great excitement occurred among the Cherokees, on the subject of civilisation. Heretofore the improvement of this nation had been gradual and almost imperceptible. A variety of causes acting together, led to a chain of natural consequences, which, by easy degrees, had produced important changes in the habits of the people. The insulated position of the nation, the intermixture of a half breed race, the vicinity of the white settlements, the visits of the missionaries, and the almost miraculous invention of Sequoyah, had all contributed to infuse the spirit of civilisation. But, though many were converted, the great majority remained wrapped in the impenetrable mantle of barbarism, unaffected by these beneficent efforts, or regarding them with sullen apathy, or stupid suspicion. A mass of ignorance, prejudice, and vice, excluded the rays of civilisation, as the clouds of unwholesome vapour exhaled from the earth, shade her bosom from the genial warmth of the sun. But what, previous to the period at which we have arrived, had been merely doubt or disinclination, now began to assume the form of opposition. Some of the Cherokees dreamed dreams, and others received, in various ways, communications from the Great Spirit, all tending to discredit the scheme of civilisation. A large collection of these deluded creatures met at Oostanalee town, where they held a grand savage feast, and celebrated a great medicine dance, which was performed exclusively by women, wearing terrapin shells, filled with pebbles, on their limbs, to rattle in concert with their wild uncouth songs. An old man chanted a song of ancient times. No conversation was allowed during the ceremony; the fierce visage of the Indian was bent in mute attention upon the exciting scene, and the congregated mass of mind was doubtless pervaded by the solemnising conviction that the Great Spirit was among them. At this opportune crisis, a deputation from Coosa Wathla, introduced a half breed Cherokee, from the mountains, who professed to be the bearer of a message from heaven. His name was Charles. He was received with marked respect, and seated close to Ridge, the principal person present, and who, though he deplored the superstition that induced the meeting, had thought proper to attend, and ostensibly to join in the ceremonies. The savage missionary did not keep them long in suspense; he rose and announced that the Great Spirit had sent him to deliver a message to his people; he said he had already delivered it to some of the Cherokees in the mountains, but they disbelieved, and had beaten him. But he would not desist; he would declare the will of the Great Spirit at all hazards. The Great Spirit said, that the Cherokees were adopting the customs of the white people. They had mills, clothes, feather beds, and tables—worse still, they had books, and domestic cats! This was not good—therefore the buffaloe and other game were disappearing. The Great Spirit was angry, and had withdrawn his protection. The nation must return to the customs of their fathers. They must kill their cats, cut short their frocks, and dress as became Indians and warriors. They must discard all the fashions of the whites, abandon the use of any communication with each other except by word of mouth, and give up their mills, their houses, and all the arts learned from the white people. He promised, that if they believed and obeyed, then would game again abound, the white man would disappear, and God would love his people. He urged them to paint themselves, to hold feasts, and to dance—to listen to his words, and to the words the Great Spirit would whisper in their dreams. He concluded by saying, if any one says that he does not believe, the Great Spirit will cut him off from the living.

This speech, artfully framed to suit the prejudices of the Indians, and to inflame the latent discontent of such as were not fully enlisted in the work of reform, caused a great excitement among them. They cried out that the talk was good. Major Ridge perceived at once the evil effect that would be produced by such harangues, and, with his usual decision, determined not to tamper with the popular feeling, but to oppose and correct it. He rose in his place, and addressing the tumultuous assemblage with his wonted energy, said, "My friends, the talk you have heard is not good. It would lead us to war with the United States, and we should suffer. It is false; it is not a talk from the Great Spirit. I stand here and defy the threat that he who disbelieves shall die. Let the death come upon me. I offer to test this scheme of impostors!" The people, mad with superstition, rushed upon the orator who dared thus to brave their fury, and rebuke their folly, and would probably have put him to death, had he not defended himself. Being an athletic man, he struck down several of the assailants, but was at last thrown to the ground, and his friend, John Harris, stabbed at his side. Jesse Vaun and others rallied around him, and beating back the crowd, enabled him to rise; and at length an old chief had sufficient influence over the infuriated savages to quell the tumult. As the tempest of passion subsided, the fanaticism which had caused it, died away. The threat of the pretended messenger of heaven had proved false. His challenge had been accepted, and the daring individual who had defied him, lived, an evidence of his imposition.

The storm of fanaticism passed on to the Creek nation, among whom dreams were dreamed, and prophets arose who professed to have talked with the Great Spirit. The daring and restless Tecumthe, who had traversed the wilderness, for several hundred miles, for the purpose of stirring the savages to war against the Americans, appeared among the Creeks at this juncture, and artfully availed himself of a state of things so well suited to his purpose. Besides bringing tidings from the Great Spirit, he brought assurances from the British king, and greetings from the Shawanoe nation. The Creeks rose against their chiefs, broke out into war against the United States, and having surprised the frontier post of Fort Mimms, massacred the whole garrison, without distinction of age or sex.

These events occurred at a period the most gloomy in the history of our frontier settlements, the most hapless in the melancholy record of the destiny of the red man. The jealousies between Great Britain and America were rapidly approaching to a crisis, and the prospect of a war between these nations, opened a wide field for the turbulence of savage passion, and the craft of savage intrigue. The extensive frontier of the United States, from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, became agitated. Emissaries, prophets, and mercenary traders were at work in every direction, having various interests and purposes, but alike bent upon setting all the elements of discord in motion.

General William McIntosh, a half breed Creek, and one of their head men, from Coweta, was on a visit to the Cherokee nation, when the faithless and tragic outrage was perpetrated at Fort Mimms; and, by order of the chiefs, he was escorted back to his own country, by a chosen band of Cherokees, at the head of whom was Ridge. On their arrival at Coweta, they found the council of the Creek nation assembled. The head chief, Big Warrior, of Tuckabachee, was there, endeavouring to devise measures to secure his people from the impending danger of a civil war, and a war with the United States. The chiefs were in favour of a pacific policy, but they were overruled by a large majority, who, under the malign influence of the prophets, breathed only vengeance against the whites, and uncompromising hostility against every measure and every advocate of Christianity or civilisation. The Big Warrior, having drawn a band of faithful friends about him, for his present protection, applied to the United States authorities for assistance to put down this rebellion; and sent to the Cherokee nation a talk, together with a piece of tobacco, tied with a string of various coloured beads, to be smoked in their council. Ridge was the bearer of the tobacco and the talk of the Creek chief, and in his name demanded aid to put down the *Red Sticks,* as the insurgent party were called; and, in an animated speech, he urged the object of his mission before the council at Oostanalee. He maintained that the hostile portion of the Creeks, in making war against the whites, had placed the Cherokees in a condition which obliged them to take one side or the other. That in the unsettled state of the country, no distinction would be known but that of Indians and white men, and a hostile movement by any tribe, would involve the whole in war. He insisted further, that if the Creeks were permitted to put down their chiefs, and be ruled by the prophets, the work of civilisation would be subverted, and the Red Sticks, in their efforts to re-establish a state of barbarism, would destroy all the southern tribes. The council listened with attention, and having considered the arguments of Ridge, declared that they would not interfere in the affairs of their neighbours, but would look on, and be at peace. "Then," said Ridge, "I will act with volunteers. I call upon my friends to join me." A number of brave men, the most conspicuous persons in the nation, came forward; the people imbibed the spirit, until at last the chiefs were constrained to reverse their recent decision in council, and declare war.

The government of the United States had, by this time, taken steps to punish the massacre at Fort Mimms, and to protect the border settlements. General White, of

Tennessee, with a body of the militia of that state, accompanied by Major Ridge, and a number of Cherokee warriors, marched into the Creek nation, and returned with many prisoners.

On his arrival at home, Major Ridge sent runners through the nation to collect volunteers for another expedition, and, with the assistance of the other chiefs, raised eight hundred warriors, whom he led to the head quarters of General Jackson, at the Ten Islands, in Alabama. Under this commander, destined to become eminently successful in his military exploits, the army moved towards the position of the Creeks, who occupied a fortified camp, in a bend of the Talapoosa river, which, from its shape, was called the Horseshoe. This little peninsula was connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus, across which the Creeks had thrown a strong breastwork of logs, pierced with loopholes, while the remainder of the circumference was surrounded and protected by the deep river. Within the area was a town and camp, in the midst of which was a high post painted red, and at the top of this were suspended the scalps of the white people who had been slain in the war. The Creek warriors, naked, and painted red, danced round this pole, and assembled about it, to narrate their exploits in battle, for the purpose of exciting in each other the principle of emulation, and the desire of vengeance. General Jackson, with his usual energy of purpose, resolved to attack the enemy without delay. The main body of his army advanced upon the breastwork, while General Coffee, with a detachment of the militia, and the Cherokee allies, forded the Talapoosa below, and surrounded the bend of the river. It was not intended that this division should cross into the camp, nor were they provided with boats; but the Cherokees becoming anxious to join in the assault, two of them swam over the river, and returned with two canoes. A third canoe was secured by the activity of a Cherokee, who brought it from the middle of the river, after the Creeks who occupied it had been shot by the Tennessee riflemen. Major Ridge was the first to embark; and in these three boats the Cherokees crossed, a few at a time, until the whole body had penetrated to the enemy's camp. A spirited attack was made upon the rear of the enemy, by which their attention was diverted from the breastwork, and material aid given to a daring charge then making upon it, by the regulars and militia. The breastwork was carried; the troops poured into the camp, the Indians pressed upon its rear, and the Creeks sought shelter behind numerous logs and limbs of forest trees, which had been strewed about to impede the advance of the assailants, and afford protection to themselves in the last resort. Here they fought with desperation. Thinned by the sharp shooters, and hemmed in on all sides, they scorned to ask for quarter—or, perhaps, unaccustomed to that courtesy of civilised warfare which allows the vanquished to claim his life, they knew not how to make the demand. They continued to fight, and to shout the war whoop, selling their blood dearly to the last drop. Driven at last from their lurking places, they plunged into the thicket of reeds that margined the river, but the sword and the tomahawk found them here, and their last dismal refuge was in the deep current of the Talapoosa. Here too the rifle ball overtook them, and the vindictive Cherokees rushed into the water in the fury of the pursuit. Few escaped to report the tragic story of that eventful day.

Ridge was a distinguished actor in this bloody drama; and we are told that he was the first to leap into the river in pursuit of the fugitives. Six Creek warriors, some of whom had been previously wounded, fell by his hand. As he attempted to plunge his sword in one of these, the Creek closed with him, and a severe contest ensued. Two of the most athletic of their race were struggling in the water for life or death, each endeavouring to drown the other. Ridge, forgetting his own knife, seized one which his antagonist wore, and stabbed him; but the wound was not fatal, and the Creek still fought with an equal chance of success, when he was stabbed with a spear by one of Ridge's friends, and thus fell a hero who deserved a nobler fate.

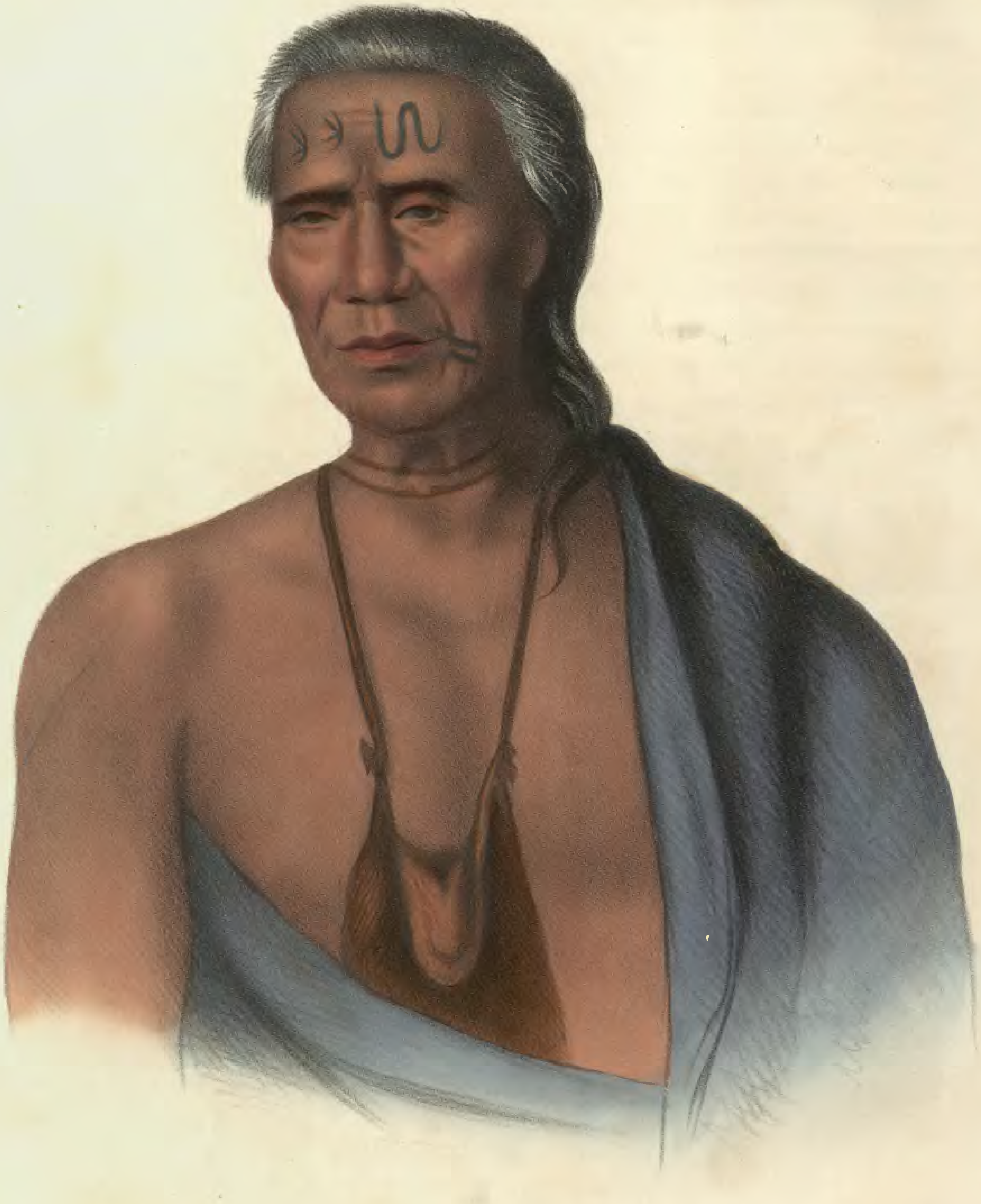
Thus ended the massacre of the Horseshoe, the recital of which we have made as brief as was consistent with fidelity to our task. We take no pleasure in recording these deeds of extermination; but they form a portion of history, and, unhappily, the story of border warfare is always the same; for it is always war embittered by party feud, personal injury, and individual hatred—a national quarrel aggravated by private griefs, and inflamed by bad passions.

After the Creek war, Major Ridge visited Washington as a delegate from his nation, to President Madison, to adjust the northern boundary of their country; and he again represented his people on a similar mission during the administration of Mr. Monroe. He had now become a prominent man, and when Alexander Saunders, an influential Cherokee, and the personal friend of Ridge, proposed to divide the nation, and organise a new council, it was chiefly through his exertions that the scheme was defeated.

After the death of Charles R. Hicks, the Cherokees were governed by John Ross, who, being a person of some education, led them to adopt a constitution and laws, in imitation of those of the United States. We pass over the controversy that ensued between the Cherokees and the State of Georgia, and between the latter and the United States, with the single remark, that Georgia objected to the organisation of a government, by Indians, within her limits; and insisted that the American government should extinguish the title of the Cherokees, and remove them to other lands. Major Ridge had been among those who were opposed to the emigration of his people; he had favoured the plan of establishing a regular government, and the introduction of education and Christianity, and had believed that these improvements could be more successfully cultivated by remaining in their own country, than in a region of wilderness where all the temptations to a relapse into savage habits would be presented. But when, after a bitter and fruitless contest, it was found that Georgia adhered inflexibly to her determination, and the government of the United States would not interfere, he saw that sooner or later the weaker party must submit or be crushed, and he now used his influence to induce the Indians to remove to the new home pointed out to them. His views were supported by the members of a delegation that visited Washington in 1832, and who, after appealing to the government, and conversing with many eminent public men, and intelligent citizens, whose sympathies were strongly enlisted in their cause, came to the conclusion that it would be best to do at once that to which they would be finally compelled. John Ross, with a majority of the Cherokees, maintained a different policy, and an unhappy spirit of party was engendered by this diversity of opinion. Major Ridge was accused of entertaining opinions hostile to the interest and happiness of the people—was regularly impeached, and cited to appear before a council to be held in the autumn of 1833, to answer a charge of treason. But when the time arrived his accusers endeavoured to put off the trial; betraying evidently their own convictions of his innocence, and their willingness to hold over him an accusation, which, while neither established nor refuted, might neutralise his influence. This attempt, however, failed, and the charge was dismissed.

Major Ridge is one of the very few individuals who, after being reared in the habits of the savage, have embraced the employments and comforts of civilised life. In youth we have seen him pursuing the chase for a livelihood, and seeking the war path with all the Indian avidity for bloodshed and plunder. Gradually withdrawing from these occupations, he became a cultivator of the soil, a legislator, and a civil magistrate; exhibiting in each capacity a discretion and dignity of character, worthy of a better education. His house resembled in no respect the wigwam of the Indian—it was the home of the patriarch, the scene of plenty and hospitality.

He showed the sincerity of his own conversion from barbarism, by giving to his children the advantages of education, and rearing them in habits of morality and temperance. All of them have professed the Christian religion, and sustained fair reputations; while Major Ridge, surrounded by his descendants, enjoys in his old age, the respect and confidence earned by a long life of active industry, and energetic public service.



LAP-PA-WIN-SOE.

A DELAWARE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY E. C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA.
Printed & Colored at J. T. Bowens Lithographic Establishment Nº 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1837 by E. C. Biddle, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

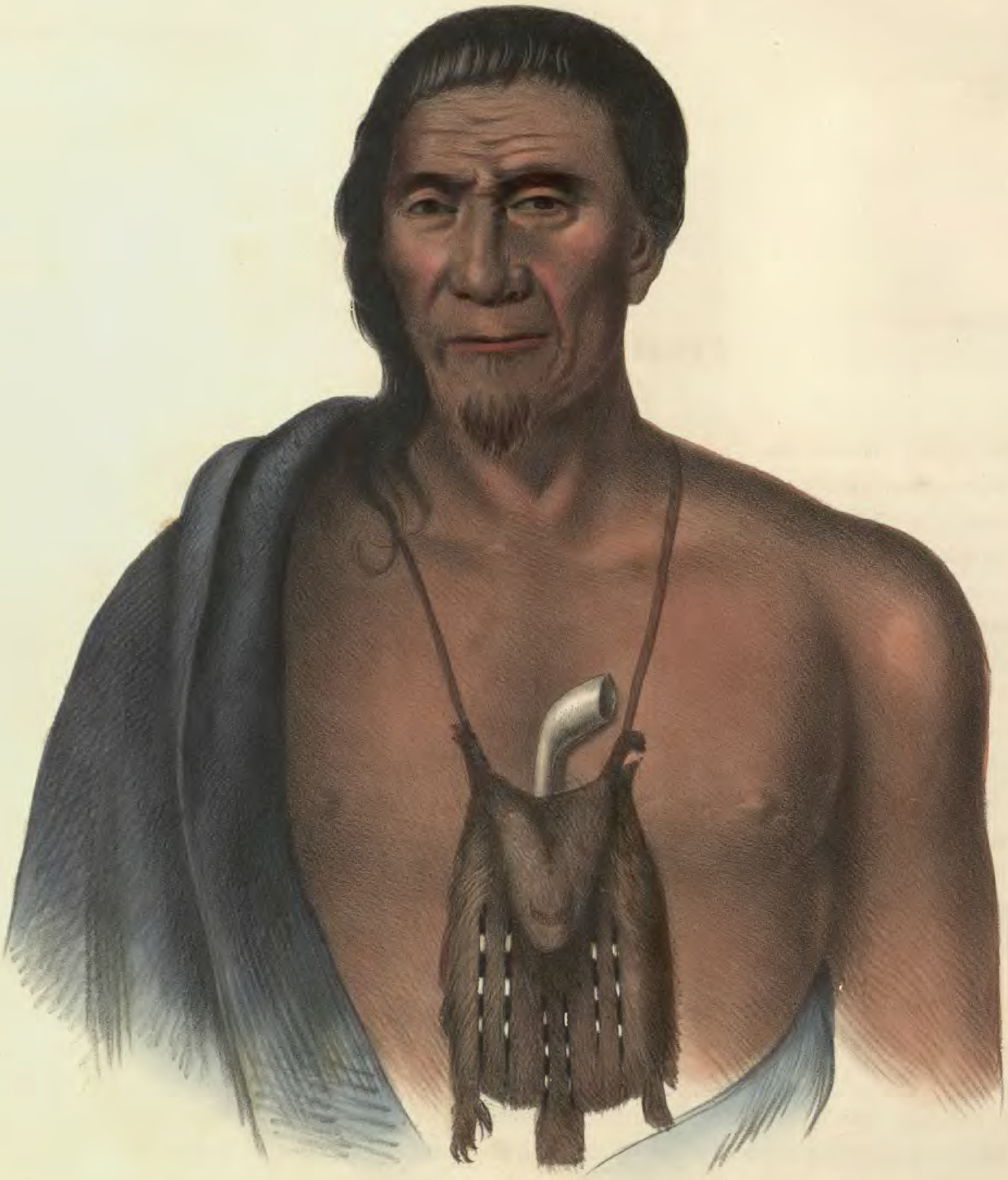
LAPPAWINSOE.

THE preceding engraving, and the one which follows it, are taken from the original portraits, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They were presented to that body by Granville Penn, Esq., of Stoke Park, England, a worthy descendant of the illustrious founder of the state which bears his name. These portraits are highly interesting to the antiquarian, because they preserve to him the only likenesses which exist of the famed Lenni Lennapi tribe of Indians.

All that is known respecting their originals, is contained in a Report made by Mr. J. Francis Fisher and Mr. Job R. Tyson, in the course of the last year, to the Historical Society, and published in the last volume of the Society's Transactions.

The portraits were painted just a century ago, (1737,) and even the name of the limner would now be a subject of curious but uncertain speculation. If a native, his work would show the skill employed and attention bestowed at that time, in British America, upon this department of the arts. Mr. Tyson and Mr. Fisher suggest that the portraits were probably painted either by one Swede, named Cecilius, who executed a likeness of James Logan, or a later artist, named R. Feke, whose name appears on a picture of the year 1746.

The fame of Lappawinsoe, whatever it was, has not been transmitted to us. James Logan speaks of him as an honest old Indian; and his name, "he is gone away gathering corn, nuts, or any thing eatable," according to Heckewelder's translation, implies the character of an honest old hunter. He was a chief, and is ranked by the last named writer, among those of the Forks of the Delaware. The act by which Lappawinsoe is chiefly known, is signing, at Philadelphia, the celebrated Treaty of 1737, commonly called *The Walking Purchase.* The character and effect of this negotiation are adverted to in the succeeding article.



TISH-CO-HAN.

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TISHCOHAN.

OF Tishcohan, Tasucamin, Teshakomen, *alias* Tishekunk, little is known, except what is contained in Mr. Fisher and Mr. Tyson's Report. His name occurs in Heckewelder's Catalogue, and means, in the Delaware language, "*He who never blackens himself.*" We may note, on referring to the likeness, the correctness of the description, in the absence of those daubs of paint with which the Indian is so fond of deforming himself.

Tasucamin and Lappawinsoe were both signers of the celebrated ***Walking Purchase*** of 1737. By this treaty was ceded to the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, an extensive tract of country, stretching along the Delaware, from the Neshamany, to far above the ***Forks*** at Easton, and westward "as far as *a man could walk in a day and a half.*" This transaction has been stigmatised by Charles Thomson, as one of the most nefarious schemes recorded in the Colonial annals of Pennsylvania. It appears that the white men employed to walk with the Indians, performed the task with a celerity of which the Indians loudly complained. They protested against its manner of performance as opposed to the spirit of their contract, and an encroachment on their ancient usages. They alleged that it had been usual, on other occasions, to walk with deliberation, and to rest and smoke by the way, but that the walkers, so called, actually *ran*, and performed, within the period, a journey of most unreasonable extent.

This purchase has been differently viewed by different writers. Logan claims the land for the proprietaries, on a two-fold title, independent of the treaty. He claims it under a Deed made, in 1686, with the predecessors of the Indians, who asserted a right to it in 1737. He claims it under a Release from the Five Nations, in the year 1736, who, at that time, exercised over the Delawares that insolence of superiority which the code of all nations has accorded to conquest. This duple right, the same excellent writer seeks further to confirm and establish, by denying to the Indians, with whom the Walking Treaty was concluded, any original title to the territory ceded, on the ground, that they were new settlers from Jersey.

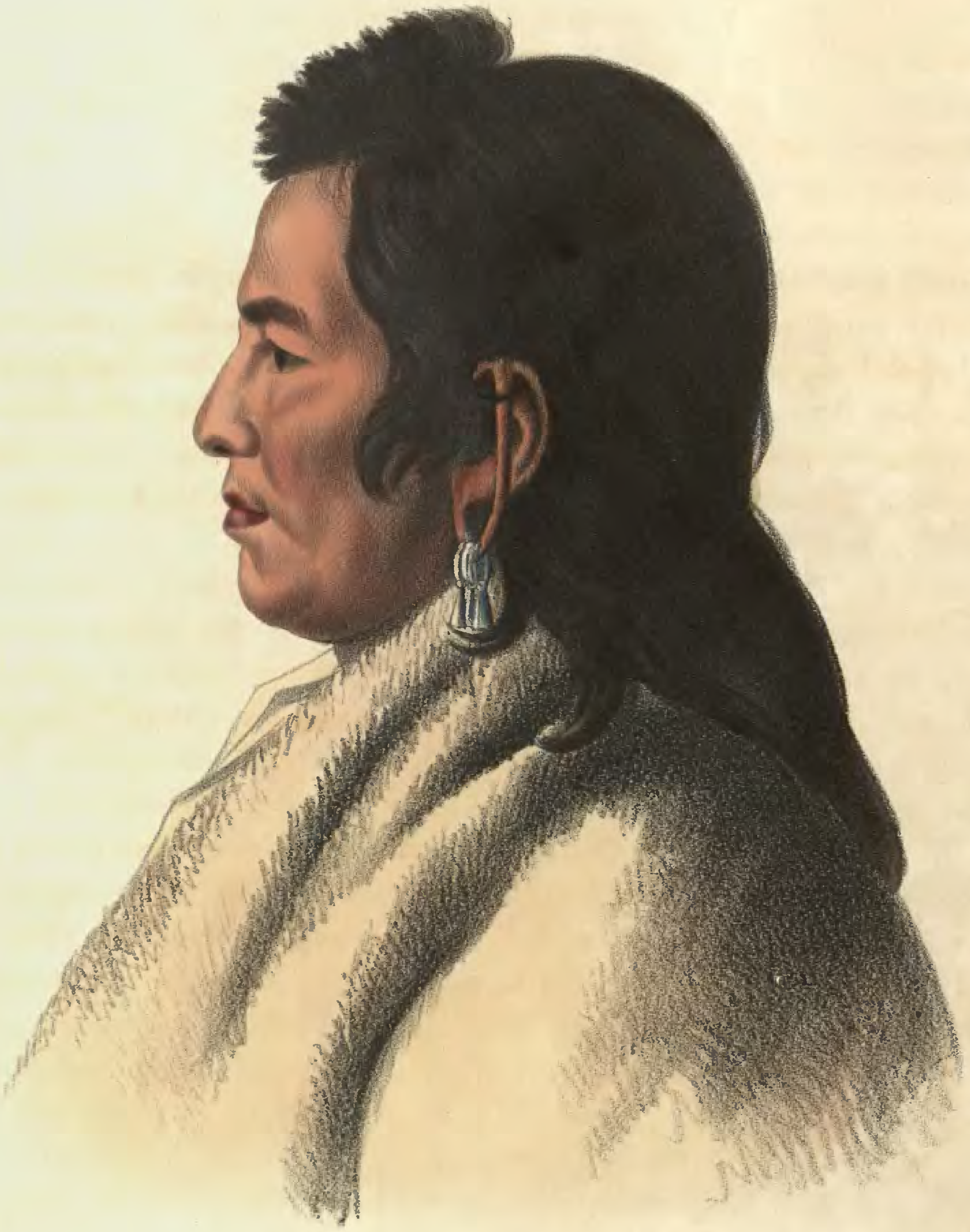
On the other hand, Charles Thomson disputes the antecedent right of the proprietaries, under the Deed of 1686, and the Release of 1736, and places the whole question upon the honesty with which the stipulations of the contracting parties were performed in the ***Walking Purchase.*** And does it not at last repose here? The terms of the original Deed are not known. Its authenticity rests only on tradition, and several authoritative legal writers speak dubiously of its ever having existed. One thing is certain, even if it did exist—*it had never been walked out.*

The Release from the Five Nations can scarcely be thought to impart validity to a title, which is defective without it. The peculiar subjugation to which the vanquished tribe submitted, could only give to their conquerors *the right of personal guardianship,* not the power of *expatriation.* Besides, it is justly contended, that any territorial rights acquired by the Five Nations, were confined to the land on the tributaries of the Susquehanna, and never extended to the waters of the Delaware.

We may, therefore, return to the Treaty of 1737, and examine into the manner in which it was executed. If the Indians contracted with had no rights, why was a treaty entertained with them at all? When the proprietaries entered into a compact with the Indians, they gave to them a right to inquire into the fidelity with which it was performed, and pledged their own honours for its faithful observance. Was the speed of *running* a literal or honourable execution of a treaty *to walk?*

It was this departure from the terms and spirit of the contract which filled the Indians with so much dissatisfaction and heart-burning. The execution of the treaty was viewed by them as a piece of knavery and cunning, and concurred with other potent causes of estrangement in bringing about the most unhappy results. The minds of the Indians became alienated, embittered, inflamed; and a perverse and heartless policy, on the part of their white neighbours, made the breach irreconcilable.

But this people, even when goaded to desperation by acts of high handed oppression and cruel selfishness, did not forget the days of William Penn, and were sometimes induced by the recollection, to abstain from visiting upon his successors that degree of retaliation which would have been just, according to their ideas of retributive justice. It was this same people, in the days of their valour and martial glory, that lived on terms of cordiality and friendship with that great man and his followers, in conferring and receiving benefits, for a period of forty years! It was this people so actively kind, so unaffectedly grateful towards the unarmed strangers who sought refuge from persecution in their silent forests, that suffered from the descendants of these strangers, those keen griefs arising from a deep sense of unmerited injury, joined to a perception of meditated and the certainty of ultimate annihilation. Contemporaneously with the date of the portraits from which the two foregoing engravings are reduced, the amity and good neighbourhood which had subsisted between the colonists of Pennsylvania and the Delaware Indians, gave way to a state of feeling, which ended in the departure of these sons of the soil from their long-enjoyed inheritance, to seek an abode in some distant wild, some unappropriated solitude of the western country. After the indignity they received from Canassatego, in 1742, they retired to Wyoming and Shamokin, and finally penetrated beyond the Ohio, where the survivors live but to brood over their wrongs, and transmit them to their descendants. Pursued from river to river, they at last grew tired of retreat; and, turning back upon their pursuers, inflicted upon them all those cruelties which are prompted by resentment and despair.



SHA-HA-KA

A MANDAN CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY E. C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA,
Drawn Printed & Coloured at J.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment Nº 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1837 by E.C. Biddle, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn.ª

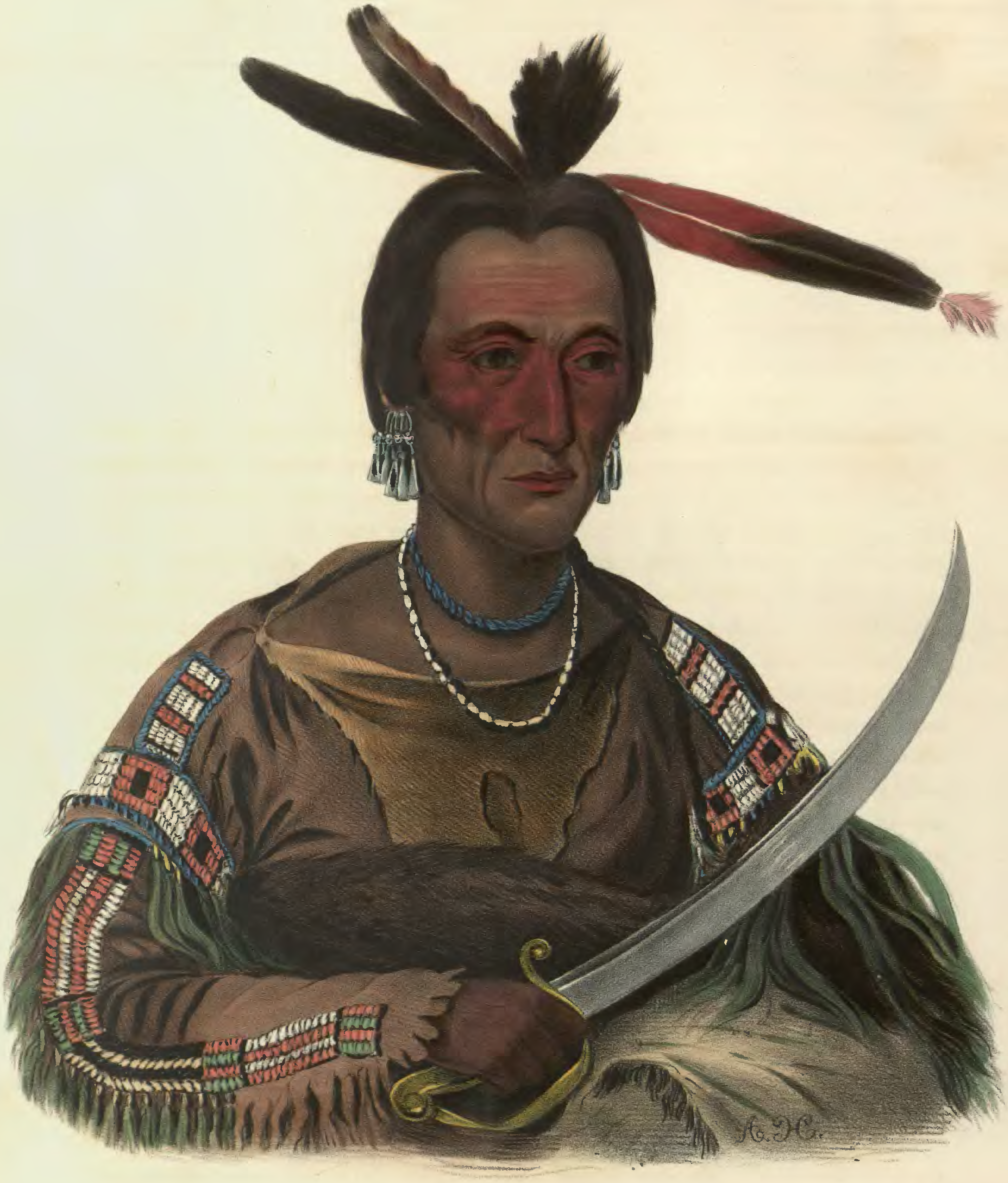
SHAHAKA.

THIS portrait is not included in the Indian gallery at Washington city, but is of an older date, and equally authentic with those contained in the national collection. It was kindly pointed out to us in the hall of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia, by the venerable and accomplished librarian of that institution, John Vaughan, Esq., who permitted us to take this copy. Our information concerning the original is chiefly gleaned from the travels of Lewis and Clark, a work compiled with singular fidelity, and replete with valuable information.

In the ascent of the Missouri, in the year 1804, the enterprising travellers above mentioned, halted at the Mandan villages, situated far beyond the frontier settlements, and at a point to which but few white men had penetrated. They were kindly received by the Mandans, who, having had no direct intercourse with the white people, had not experienced the oppression which has ever fallen upon the weaker party, in the contact of the two races. The leaders of the exploring expedition were so well pleased with their reception, that, finding they could not proceed much further before their progress would be arrested by the excessive cold of this high latitude, they determined to spend the winter among the hospitable Mandans. Huts were accordingly erected, and they remained here, during the inclement season, enjoying an uninterrupted interchange of friendly offices with the natives.

On their first arrival a council was held, at which, after smoking the pipe of peace, a speech was delivered, explaining the objects of the exploring party, and giving assurances of friendship and trade. "This being over," says the narrative, "we proceeded to distribute the presents with great ceremony: one chief of each town was acknowledged by a gift of a flag, a medal with a likeness of the President of the United States, a uniform coat, hat and feather: to the second chiefs we gave a medal representing some domestic animals, and a loom for weaving: to the third chiefs, medals with the impression of a farmer sowing grain." The account proceeds: "The chiefs who were made to day are, Shahaka, or Big White, a first chief, and Kagohami, or Little Raven, a second chief of the lower village of the Mandans, called Matootonha, &c." The making a chief, alluded to in this sentence, consisted simply in recognising that rank in those who previously held it, by treating with them in that capacity, and giving them presents appropriate to their station. On a subsequent occasion, we find this individual noticed in the following manner: "The Big White came down to us, having packed on the back of his squaw about one hundred pounds of very fine meat, for which we gave him, as well as the squaw, some presents, particularly an axe to the woman, with which she was very much pleased." If the measure of this lady's affection for her lord be estimated by the burthen which she carried on her back, we should say it was very strong.

On the return of Lewis and Clark to the Mandan villages, after an interval of nearly eighteen months, during which they had crossed the Rocky Mountains, and penetrated to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, these enterprising travellers were cordially received by the friendly Indians with whom they had formerly spent a winter so harmoniously. Anxious to cement the friendly disposition which existed into a lasting peace, they proposed to take some of the chiefs with them to Washington city, to visit the President. This invitation would have been readily accepted, had it not been for the danger to which the Indians imagined such a journey to be exposed. Between them and the United States frontier, were the Arickaras, their enemies, whose towns must of necessity be passed by the descending boats; the roving bands of the Sioux also frequently committed depredations along the left shore of the Missouri, while the right bank was accessible to the Osages; and although the American officers promised to protect those who should accompany them, and to bring them back to their homes, they could not overcome the jealous and timid reluctance of any of the chiefs, except *Le Grand Blanche*, or the Big White, who agreed to become their companion. Our gallant explorers have unfortunately given a very brief account of their journey after leaving the Mandan villages, on their return voyage, and we find no record of the conduct of the Big White, under such novel circumstances. It would have been very interesting to have heard from those gentlemen, who had just visited the Indians in their own abodes, an account of the remarks and behaviour of an Indian chief, under similar circumstances. We, however, only know that he visited our seat of government, and returned in safety to his friends.



TO-KA-CON

A SIOUX CHIEF.

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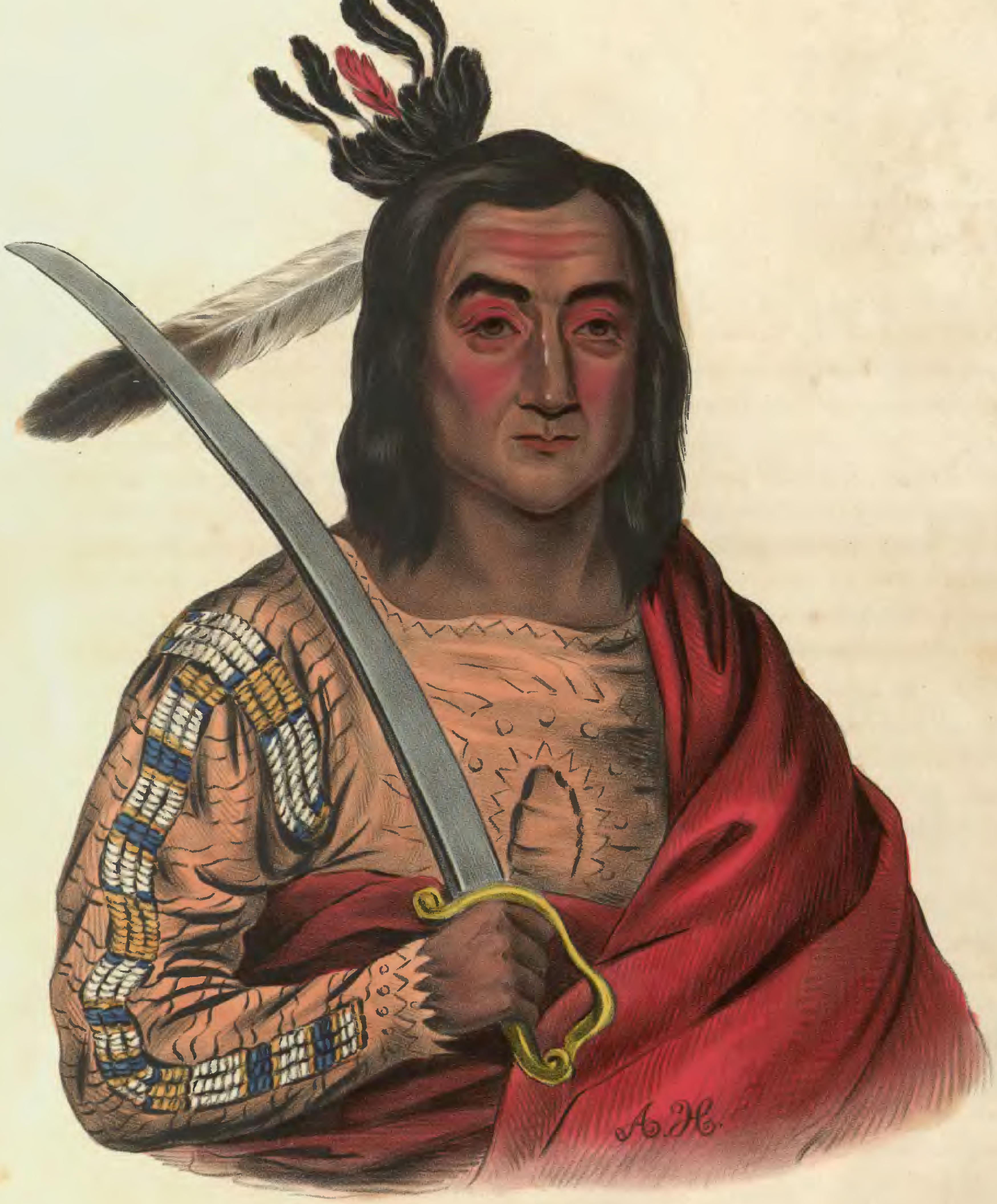
TOKACON.

THE character of this brave is indicated by his name, which means, ***He that inflicts the first wound,*** and expresses the idea that he is foremost in battle. He is of the Yankton tribe, of the Sioux nation, and is one of two persons who officiate as a kind of conservators of order within the village or encampment of the band. This office is never executed except by warriors of high repute, who can command respect and obedience in consequence of their personal influence. Among savages mere rank gives little authority unless it be sustained by weight of character. In each band of the Sioux several distinguished warriors are appointed, whose duty is to maintain order, and to notice every departure from the established discipline. These duties are not sufficiently well defined to enable us to describe them with any particularity; they are of a discretionary nature, and depend much upon the temper and character of the individuals who discharge them, and who, to some extent, make the rules which they enforce. As those over whom it is necessary to exert their authority are chiefly the unruly and the young, the ill trained, rapacious, and idle, who hang loosely upon the community, the women, the children and the stranger, they usually execute summary justice upon the spot, according to their own notions of propriety, and inflict blows without scruple when they deem it necessary. In case of resistance or refusal to obey, they do not hesitate to put the offender to death.

Tokacon and his colleague have long maintained the reputation of strict disciplinarians, and their authority is greatly respected by their people. This is especially observable on the arrival of a white man, or a party of whites, at their village. If these persons take the strangers under their protection no one presumes to molest them: if the sword or the war club of one of them is seen at the door of the white man's lodge, the sign is well understood, and no Indian ventures to intrude.



MON-KA-USH-KA

A SIOUX CHIEF.

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MONKAUSHKA.

THIS portrait represents a young man of the Yankton tribe, of the Sioux nation, who, but a few years ago, occupied an obscure and menial rank. The distinction of grade seems to be a law of human nature, and occurs to some extent even in the least artificial state of society. It is observable among all the Indian tribes. The sons of chiefs and distinguished warriors stand aloof from menial employments, and are early trained to the exercises of war and hunting, while the offspring of indolent or inefficient men receive less consideration, and are apt to be thrown into degrading offices. But in either case, the individual, on arriving at maturity, becomes the artificer of his own fortune, because, in a state of existence, surrounded by danger and vicissitude, where boldness, cunning, and physical qualities are continually called into action, he must rise or sink, in the proportion that he displays the possession or the want of those qualities.

Monkaushka, or *The Trembling Earth*, while a boy, was employed as a cook, horse guard, &c., and had not met with any opportunity to distinguish himself, until near about the time when he arrived at manhood, when he forced himself into notice by a single act. A small party of young men, of the Yankton tribe, fell in with an equal number of *voyageurs*, who were travelling through the prairies, from Saint Louis to some trading establishment in the interior of the Indian country. One of the Yanktons requested permission to ride on the same horse with one of the whites, which the latter declined as his horse was much fatigued, and the journey was still far from being finished. The Indian, being offended, resolved, with the capricious resentment of a savage, to take revenge upon the first opportunity, and shortly after shot an arrow through the unfortunate white man. The remainder of the party fled in alarm, and reached the Yankton camp on the next day.

When the news of this outrage reached the Yankton village, Monkaushka, though a mere youth, declared himself the avenger of the white man. The Indian rule is, that the nearest relative of the deceased may put the murderer to death, but he must do it at his peril. If there be no relative who will take up the quarrel, a friend may do it; and in this instance, whatever may have been the motive of the young Indian, the act was, according to their notions, highly generous, as he took up the cause of a deceased stranger, without the prospect of reward, and at the risk of his own life.

He was, however, laughed at by his companions, who did not give him credit for the courage necessary to carry out such a design, and supposed that he was only indulging in an idle boast. But he was in earnest; and, having loaded his gun, he deliberately walked up to the offender, when he entered the village, and shot him dead.

The impunity with which such an act might be done, would depend much on the manner of its execution. Had not the most determined intrepidity been displayed throughout the whole proceeding, it is probable that the deed would have been prevented, or avenged. Although done under colour of an acknowledged usage, it was not required by the Indian rule, and might have been considered an exception from it. The injured party was a stranger, and there was no tie of consanguinity or friendship which authorised Monkaushka to claim the office of his avenger. It might even have been an odious act to volunteer on such an occasion. It is most likely that a latent spirit that had been suppressed by the circumstances under which he had grown up, was glowing within him, and that he grasped at an opportunity, thus fortuitously presented, to emancipate himself from his humble condition. The occasion would recommend itself to a mind thus situated, by its novelty, and would make a greater impression than a common place achievement, which required only an ordinary effort of courage. If such was the reasoning of Monkaushka, it showed a sagacity equal to his spirit; and that it was, is rendered probable by the successful event of the affair. He rose immediately to distinction, and, having since shown himself a good warrior, is now, although a very young man, one of the chief persons in his tribe, and was sent to Washington, in 1837, as one of their delegates. During their stay in Washington, Monkaushka became sick. He was suffering under the influence of fever when he sat for his portrait—but recovering a little, he was supposed able to proceed with the delegation on their tour to the East. On arriving at Baltimore, however, it was found impracticable for him to proceed further. He was left in charge of a faithful interpreter, and, although surrounded by all that was required for his comfort, he gradually sunk under his disease, and, after a few days of suffering, died.

INDIAN
TRIBES

THOS. L. McKENNEY
AND
JAMES HALL

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA
1838

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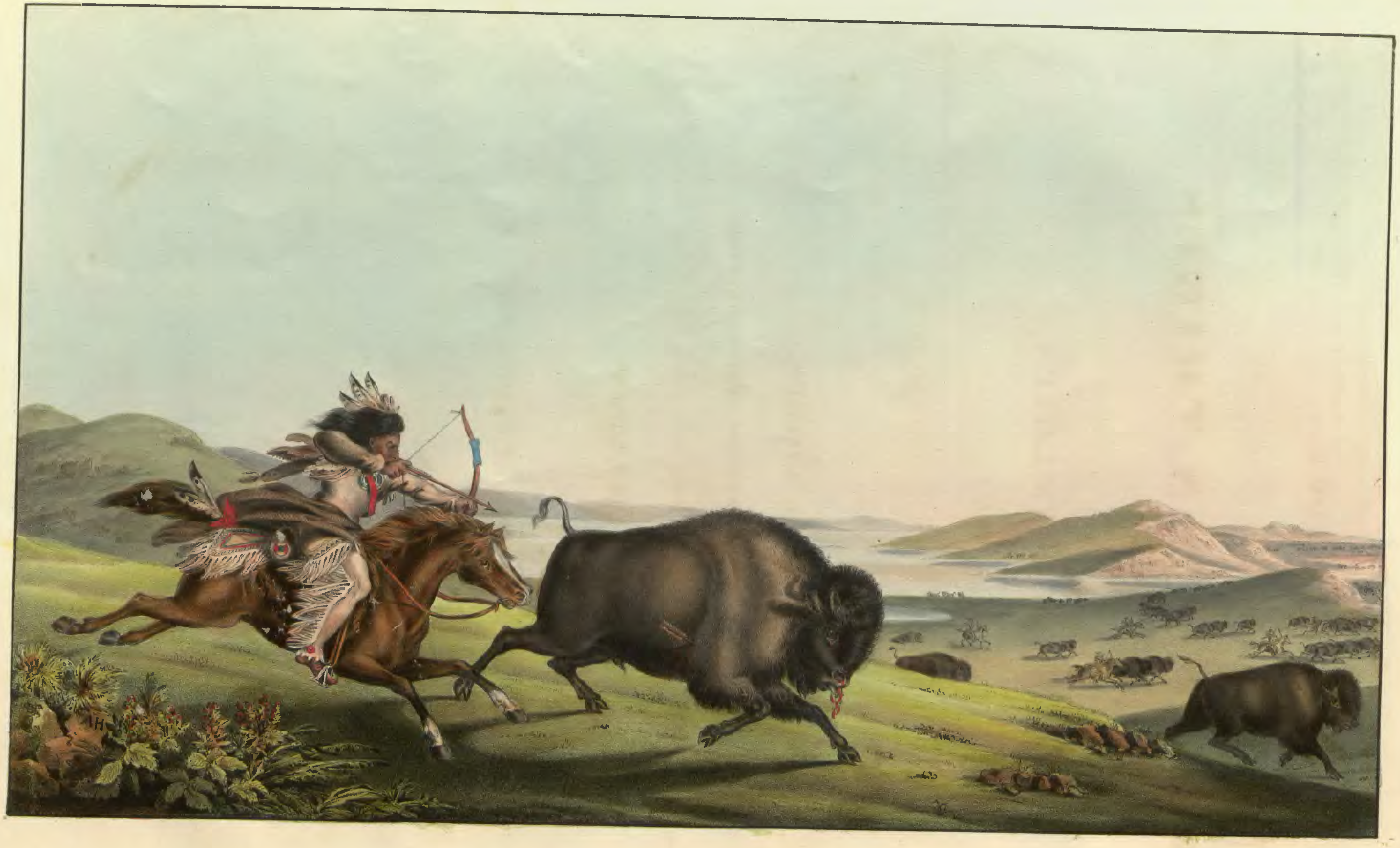

HUNTING THE BUFFALOE.

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HISTORY

OF

THE INDIAN TRIBES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES

OF THE

PRINCIPAL CHIEFS.

EMBELLISHED WITH ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY PORTRAITS,

FROM THE

INDIAN GALLERY

IN THE

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, AT WASHINGTON.

BY THOMAS L. M'KENNEY,
LATE OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
AND JAMES HALL, ESQ.
OF CINCINNATI.

VOLUME II.

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BUFFALO HUNT.

THE frontispiece prefixed to this number exhibits a lively representation of the noblest sport practised upon this continent—the hunting of the buffalo. These animals were formerly spread over the whole of the great western valley, and formed the most important article of food, not only for the natives, but the early white settlers of that fertile region. They retired as the country became settled by civilised men, and are now found only on the great prairies of the far West, whose immense extent, with the scarcity of timber and water, renders them uninhabitable by human beings. Here these animals are seen congregated in numbers which seem almost incredible. As the eye roves over a verdant surface, nearly as boundless as that of the ocean, the herds are beheld grazing over the whole of the wide space, in countless multitude.

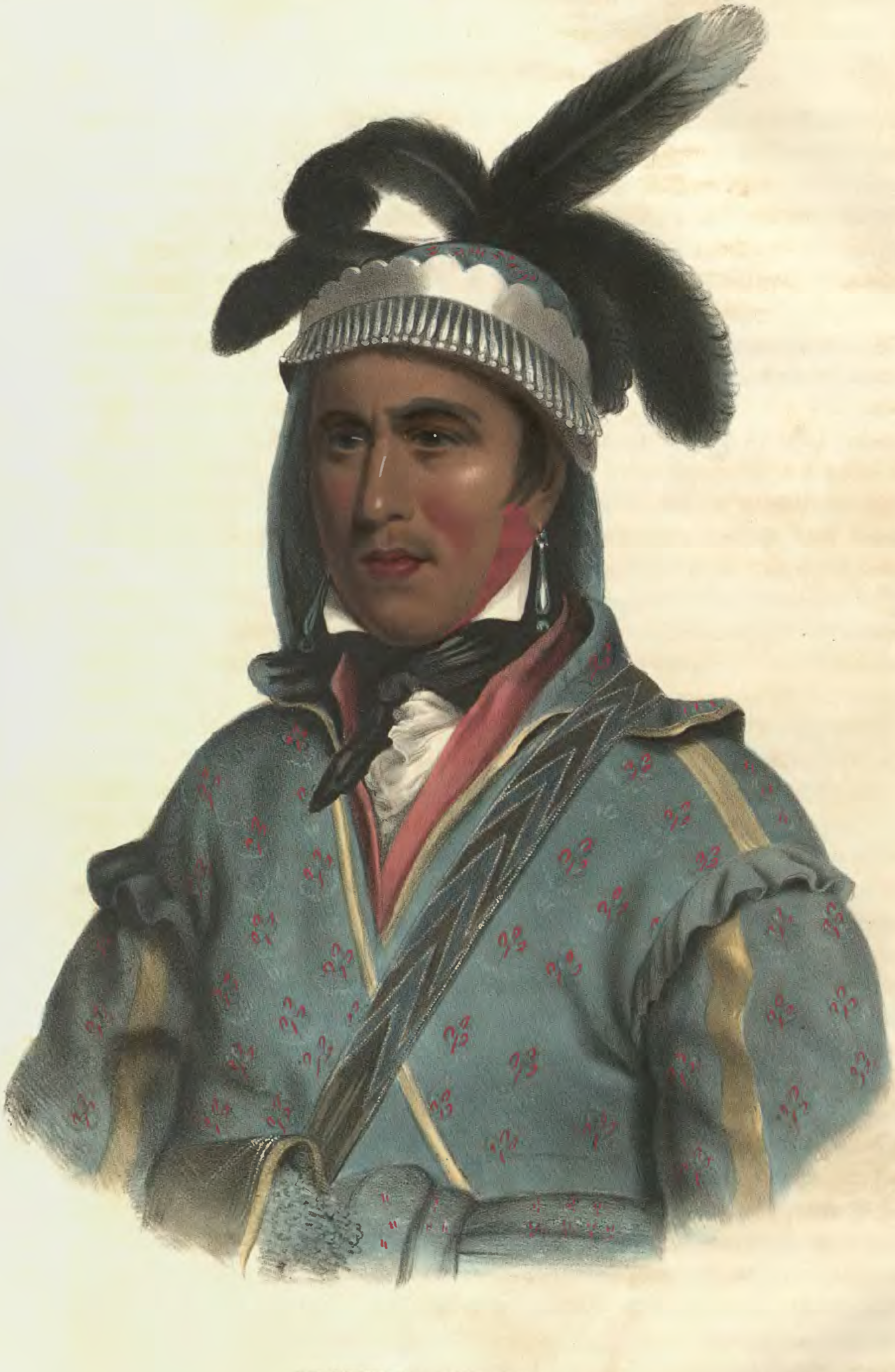
The buffalo, though large and unwieldy, is not easily approached by the hunter. Extremely vigilant, and gifted with an exquisite sense of smelling, they readily discover the scent of a human being, and fly before him with precipitation. The Indians overcome this wariness by a variety of devices. Sometimes, having killed the prairie wolf, of which the buffalo has no fear, an Indian wraps himself in the skin, keeping the head in its proper position, and drags himself slowly towards the grazing herd, taking care to advance from the leeward, so that the watchful animal shall not scent his approach upon the tainted breeze. When the object is first seen, the buffaloes raise their heads, and eye it suspiciously, but the appearance of the wolf's head, with which they are familiar, reassures them—nor are they undeceived until their wily foe darts his arrow into one of the fattest of the herd, with an aim so true, that it is sure to pierce a vital part. Pitfalls and inclosures are also sometimes contrived. But, although these devices are practised, the number thus taken is inconsiderable; and the only mode of taking this noble prey, which is commonly practised, is that of meeting him openly in the field. For this purpose most of the tribes, who reside in the vicinity of the great plains, resort to them, after having planted their corn in the spring, and spend the whole summer and autumn in the chase. As the buffaloes often change their pastures, and the laws which direct their migrations are but imperfectly known, the wanderings of the natives in search of them are often long and wearisome; hundreds of miles are sometimes traversed, by a wayworn and starving band, before they are gladdened by the sight of their favourite game. Sometimes they are mocked by discovering the foot-prints of a retreating herd, which they pursue for days with unavailing toil; not unfrequently a hostile clan crosses their track, and they are obliged to diverge from their intended course; and sometimes, having reached a suitable hunting ground, they find it preoccupied by those with whom they cannot safely mingle, nor prudently contend.

At last the young men, who scout in advance of the main body, espy the black, slow, moving mass, wading in the rich pasture, and preparations are made for a grand hunt. An encampment is made at a spot affording fuel and water; the women erect lodges, and all is joy and bustle. But the hunting is not commenced without due solemnity. It is not a mere sport in which they are about to engage, but a national business, that is to supply the summer's sustenance and the winter's store, as well as to afford a harvest of valuable articles for traffic. Horses and harness are inspected; weapons are put in order; the medicine men practise incantations; offerings are made to the Great Spirit; the solemnities of the dance are gone through; and the more superstitious of the warriors often impose upon themselves the austerities of fasting, wounding the body, and incessant prayer, during the night, or even a longer period, preceding the hunt. Duly prepared at length, they mount for the chase, well furnished with arms, but divested of all superfluous clothing and furniture—and approach the herd cautiously from the leeward, keeping some copse, or swell of the land, between themselves and the game, until they get near enough to charge, when the whole band rush at full speed upon the herd. The affrighted buffaloes fly at the first appearance of their enemies. The hunters pursue; each selects his prey, choosing with ready skill the finest and fattest of those near him. The horse being the fleeter animal, soon overtakes the buffalo. The hunter drops the bridle rein, fixes his arrow, and guiding his well trained horse with his heel, and by the motion of his own body, watches his opportunity to let fly the weapon with fatal aim. This he does not do until his steed is abreast of the buffalo, and the vital part, immediately behind the shoulder, fairly presented; for it is considered disgraceful to discharge an arrow without effect. Usually, therefore, the wound is fatal, and instances have been known when the missile has been sent with such force as to pass through the body of this sturdy quadruped. If, however, the first arrow is but partially successful, the hunter draws another, the horse continuing to run by the side of the buffalo. But the chase now becomes more dangerous, for the wounded buffalo not unfrequently turns upon his assailant, and dashing his horns furiously into the flank of the horse, prostrates him, mortally wounded, on the plain, and pursuing his advantage, tramples on horse and rider, unless the latter escapes by mere agility. When, however, the hunter discovers that the first or second arrow has taken effect, he reins up his steed, pauses a moment until he sees the huge beast reel and tumble, and then dashes away into the chase to select and slay another victim. Thus an expert and well mounted hunter will kill several buffaloes in one day—especially if the band be numerous, and so divided as to have reserved parties to meet and drive back the retreating herd.

When the slaughter ceases, the hunters retrace their steps to gather the spoil, and the squaws rush to the field to cut up and carry away the game. Each hunter now claims his own, and the mode of ascertaining their respective shares is simple. The arrows of each hunter bear a distinctive mark, and each carries an equal number. The carcass, therefore, belongs to him by whose arrow it is found to be transfixed; and these being carefully withdrawn, every hunter is obliged to produce his original number, or to account for the loss of such as are missing, in default of which he suffers the discredit of having missed the object, or permitted a wounded buffalo to escape with a weapon in his flesh.

The animating scene which we have endeavoured to describe, will be better understood by an inspection of the beautiful drawing of Rhinedesbacker, a young Swiss artist of uncommon talent, who, lured by his love of the picturesque, wandered far to the West, and spent several years upon our frontier, employing his pencil on subjects connected with the Indian modes of life. His was the fate of genius. His labours were unknown and unrequited. Few who saw the exquisite touches of his pencil knew their merit. They knew them to be graphic, but valued slightly the mimic presentations of familiar realities. They might wonder at the skill which placed on canvass the war dance, or the buffalo hunt, but they could not prize as they deserved, the copies of exciting scenes which they had familiarly witnessed. Since his death these beautiful pictures have attracted attention, and some of them have passed into the possession of those by whom they are properly appreciated. In that which graces this number there are slight defects, which we notice only because we are jealous of the fidelity of our work. The prominent figure in the foreground is a little too much encumbered with drapery. The costume is correct in itself, but misplaced; and there is a slight inaccuracy in the mode in which the arrow is grasped by the right hand. All else is true to nature. The landscape and the animals are faithfully depicted; and the wild scene which is daily acted upon our prairies, is placed vividly before the eye.

The chase over, a scene not less animated, but widely different, is presented. The slaughtered animals are cut up, and the most valuable parts carried to the camp. A busy scene ensues. The delicious humps are roasted and the warriors feast to satiety. The laborious squaws prepare the skins for use, and for market, and the meat for preservation. The latter is cut in thin slices and dried in the sun or over a slow fire, and is then packed in small compact bales, suitable to be carried. If, however, more is taken than can be conveniently transported, the surplus is buried in holes, which our hunters call *caches*—from the French word which signifies to hide. A *cache* is a hole dug in a dry spot, and carefully lined with bark, grass or skins, in which the Indians deposit jerked meat, or any other valuables which they cannot conveniently carry away. They are carefully covered over, and the leaves and rubbish that naturally cover the ground replaced, so that the deposit is completely concealed. Property thus left is reclaimed at leisure, and sometimes furnishes timely relief to a famished war party, or an unsuccessful band of hunters. The skins of the buffaloes are very ingeniously dressed by the Indian women, either with or without the hair. This is done by partially drying the hide, then rubbing it laboriously from day to day, with the brains of the animal, until the juices and fleshy parts are entirely absorbed, and the fibre only left, which remains soft, white, and flexible. The lodges of the Indians and their clothing are made of these dressed skins; and immense quantities are annually sold to the traders.



OPOTHLE YOHOLO.

A CREEK CHIEF.

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BIOGRAPHY.

OPOTHLE YOHOLO.

THE last home of the Creek Indians, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, was in Georgia and Alabama, from which, in conformity with the provisions of a treaty with the United States, made in 1832, they emigrated in 1836–7. They were divided into what were called the Upper and Lower towns, the former of which were situated upon the banks, and among the tributaries of the Tallapoosa and Coosa rivers. Over these towns the *Big Warrior* was chief, under whom Opothle Yoholo held the rank of principal councillor, or speaker of the councils, over which he presided with great dignity. His influence was so great that the questions submitted to the council were generally decided according to his will, for the Indians, considering him as the organ of their chief, supposed he only spoke as he was directed. The great council house of the Upper towns was at Tuckabatchee, where the Big Warrior resided, and near which was the residence of Opothle Yoholo.

We have, in the biography of McIntosh, pointed out the singularly embarrassing circumstances in which the Creeks were placed at this time. The United States, by a compact made with Georgia, when the limits of that state comprehended the territory which afterwards was formed into the state of Alabama, became bound to remove all the Indians within the boundaries of Georgia, whenever it could be done peacably. To comply with this engagement, and to fulfil a benevolent policy, having for its object the civilisation of the Indians, and the securing to them a permanent home, the United States set apart a fertile and extensive tract of wilderness, beyond the Mississippi, upon which they proposed to settle the several remnants of tribes that still lingered within the states, and were becoming demoralised and destroyed by contact with a race with whom they could not amalgamate. Unhappily some of the tribes were not willing to emigrate, and among them the Creeks. The pledge of the government to remove them, although qualified by the condition, "when it could be peacably effected," was yet to be at some time redeemed; and while the Creeks were on the one hand averse to the removal, the more intelligent among them saw, upon the other, that the existence of such a compact doomed them to an exile which, although it might be delayed, could not be avoided. Year after year the government, to redeem its promise to Georgia, sent commissioners to purchase from the Creeks their lands, who as often returned unsuccessful, or succeeded only in part, while the inhabitants of Georgia and Alabama discovered a disposition to resort to more urgent measures, and frequent collisions between the white people and the Indians were the unhappy consequence. The Creeks themselves became divided: McIntosh, the head chief of the Lower towns, advocating the removal, and the Big Warrior, who ruled the Upper towns, opposing that measure. The Little Prince, an aged chief, who ruled the whole nation, was willing to leave the question to those whom it immediately concerned.

In 1824, Messrs. Campbell and Merriwether were sent by the government to effect this long desired purchase, and held an ineffectual treaty at a place called the Broken Arrow, where they found a few of the chiefs willing to yield to their views, but others so decidedly opposed that, forgetting the grave and decorous courtesy which usually prevails in their solemn councils, they would give no other answer than a sullen but emphatic "No." The deputy of the Big Warrior said, that he would not take a houseful of money for his interest in the land, and that this was his final answer. Failing in their object, the commissioners called another council, to meet at the Indian Springs, in February, 1825.

Previous to this period little is known of the character of Opothle Yoholo, except that he was considered in early life a youth of promise. The first public service in which he distinguished himself, was at the council at the Indian Springs, to which he was sent to counteract the influence of McIntosh, and to remonstrate with him against selling any part of the Creek country. It is said that he executed this mission with great fidelity; he pursued his object with unyielding firmness, and his remonstrances were marked with energy and eloquence.

The substance of his address to the commissioners was as follows: "We met you at the Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell. I heard then of no claim against our nation, nor have I heard of any since. We have met you here upon a very short notice, and I do not think the chiefs present have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in public council is not binding. Can the council be public if all the chiefs have not had notice, and many of them are absent? I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating what I told you at the Broken Arrow, that we have no lands to sell. No part of our lands can be sold except in full council, and by consent of the whole nation. This is not a full council; there are but few here from the Upper towns, and of the chiefs of the Lower towns many are absent. From what you told us yesterday, I am inclined to think it would be best for us to remove; but we must have time to think of it, and to consult our people. Should the chiefs now here undertake to sell our country, it would cause dissension and ill blood among ourselves, for there are many who do not know that we have been invited here for that purpose, and many who would not consent to it, if they were here. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the commissioners have to say—to meet and part with them in peace—but not to sell any land. I am also instructed to invite you to meet us at the Broken Arrow three months hence, when a treaty may be finally made. I gave you but one speech at the Broken Arrow, and I give you but one here. To-morrow I return home. I have delivered the message of my head chief, and have no more to say. I shall listen to whatever you may think proper to communicate, but shall make no further answer."

This speech was delivered with the calmness and dignity becoming the occasion; respectful to the commissioners, yet decisive in tone and language, it was the refusal of a little band of untutored men, confident of right, to the demand of a powerful nation. All that was fiery and alarming was reserved for McIntosh, who was supposed to have already promised to accede to the proposed transfer. Turning to that ill fated chief, with an eye full of meaning, he extended his arm towards him, and in the low bitter tone of prophetic menace, he added, "*I have told you your fate if you sign that paper. I once more say, beware!*" On the following morning he left the Indian Springs, and returned to Tuckabatchee. McIntosh persisted in his determination to sell the country, signed the treaty, and, as we have narrated in another place, paid the penalty with his life.

Arrangements were soon after made to send a deputation of chiefs to Washington, to protest in the name of the Creek nation against the execution of the treaty of the Indian Springs, and to conclude one which should be more acceptable. Opothle Yoholo was placed at the head of this deputation, and proceeded with his colleagues to the seat of government. In all the negotiations connected with that exciting occasion, he conducted himself with great dignity and firmness, and displayed talents of a superior order. He was cool, cautious, and sagacious; and with a tact which would have done credit to a more refined diplomatist, refused to enter into any negotiation until the offensive treaty of the Indian Springs should be annulled. The executive being satisfied that the treaty had not been made with the consent of the nation, nor in accordance with its laws, but in opposition to the one, and in defiance of the other, disapproved of it, and another was made at Washington in January, 1826, the first article of which declares the treaty of the Indian Springs to be *null and void.* By the same compact the Creeks surrendered all their lands lying within the chartered limits of Georgia, except a small strip on the Chatahoochee, which formed afterwards a subject of much dispute. The intention of the parties, as declared and understood at the time, was to convey the whole of the Creek country, but in undertaking to lay down boundaries, from an office map, wrong lines were assumed, and the Creeks left in possession of a tract, which they were afterwards induced, by the advice of indiscreet friends, to insist upon retaining. It was in reference to this tract that a correspondence took place between the executives of the federal government and Georgia, characterised, on one side at least, by much warmth.

As the great object of the purchase of the Creek country was to remove that tribe from the vicinity of a people with whom they lived in constant contention, and from the limits of a state which insisted on their departure, as of right, the retention of a portion, however small, and whether effected by accident or artifice, defeated alike the wishes of Georgia and the intentions of the United States. Several ineffectual attempts were made to settle the question by a further purchase, that should include the whole of the disputed territory; the federal government adhering to its usual conciliating policy, and preferring to buy again what had been already purchased, rather than practice the slightest injustice, while Georgia, stimulated by the discontent of her citizens, and offended by what she conceived an artful evasion on the part of the Creeks, vehemently urged a speedy decision. All these efforts having failed, a special commission was issued in 1827, to Colonel M'Kenney, directing him, after discharging certain duties upon the Upper Lakes, to cross over to the Mississippi, descend that river, and hold councils with the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks—and if possible, to bring this unhappy controversy to a close, by purchasing the disputed tract.

Fully appreciating the character of Opothle Yoholo, the first object of Colonel M'Kenney, on his arrival in the Creek country, was to conciliate that chief, on whose decision he foresaw the result would depend. A messenger was accordingly despatched to Opothle Yoholo, to announce his arrival and solicit an interview at Fort Mitchell. That politic leader, understanding well the purpose of this visit of the commissioner for Indian affairs, declined the proposed meeting under the plea of indisposition. This was considered a subterfuge to gain time until the attendance of two educated Cherokees, who were the secret advisers of Opothle Yoholo, could be procured; and another messenger was despatched to inform him that if he was not well enough to ride on horseback, a suitable conveyance should be provided, and that the business to be discussed was of great interest to him and his people. In short, he was told emphatically that he must come. The next day he made his appearance, and entered, with apparent frankness, upon the subject of Colonel M'Kenney's mission. In the interview of that gentleman and Colonel Crowell, the agent, with this chief, he discovered a tact which the more enlightened might imitate with advantage. He spoke of his readiness to do whatever might be most acceptable to his Great Father; and admitted that the land in question was not worth much to his people while it was a bone of contention between them and Georgia. In evidence of the unhappy state of things which existed, and that he deplored, he stated, that when his people crossed the Chatahoochee, to look after their cattle or hogs that roamed in the woods, they were shot by white men, against whom he could have no redress. He had, therefore, every desire to comply with the wishes of the President, but insisted that he could not sell the land except in open council, and by consent of the nation. He would most cheerfully do any thing to promote peace, but he was only an individual, unauthorised to act for the nation, and unable to control its decision—and finally he expressed his belief that the Creeks would not be willing to sell the land.

He was told in reply that it was not intended to make the purchase except in conformity with their laws—that he was sent for because he was known to be the friend of his people, and of their welfare—and that, by advising them in open council, where it was proposed to meet them, he could do much towards satisfying their minds of the justice and propriety of settling this controversy, in the mode proposed by the government. It would be *just*, because the intention of the parties to the treaty at Washington, had been to embrace all the land of the Creeks within the limits of Georgia, and this strip was excluded because the maps were incorrect upon which the lines were traced. It would be *proper*, because the safety of the Indians, and the quiet of the borders could in no other way be insured. In a word, he was told that the Creeks were required to carry into effect the treaty according to its true intent, and that the government proposed again to purchase that which was already theirs by solemn compact. The Creeks were not asked to make a new sale, but to ratify and execute a contract which had been previously made. Still their Great Father was willing to remunerate them for their expected compliance with his wishes—he knew they were poor, and would again pay them for the land.

The reply of the wary chief showed, as his previous conversation had indicated, that his object was to gain time. It was smooth, plausible, and evasive. At last it was agreed to hold a council at Tuckabatchee, and runners were sent out to invite the chiefs of the towns to be present. At the appointed time from twelve to fifteen hundred Indians had assembled, and after some delay Opothle Yoholo, as the chief person present, was called upon to open the council. He still hesitated, and, upon various pretences, consumed three days, when it was understood that the two educated Cherokees had arrived. These persons having learned the white man's art of talking upon paper, were much esteemed by the chief, who probably expected through them to be able to protect himself from any artifice that might be practised in the phraseology of the treaty that should be proposed, while they used their advantage, on this and other occasions, to thwart the designs of the government, and keep alive the existing agitation.

No other apology for delay remaining, certain ceremonies, preparatory to the council, were performed with a solemnity and careful attention which showed that they were considered of great importance. These were not only singular, but, as we believe, peculiar to the Creek nation; and they form one of the many curious examples exhibited in savage life, in which the human intellect is seen to act, on an occasion demanding the exertion of its highest powers, with an absurdity which intentional levity could scarcely surpass. In the centre of the square of the village, four long logs were placed, in the form of a cross, with their ends directed towards the four cardinal points, and a fire kindled at the intersection. The Indians were seated around in groups. A decoction had been previously prepared, called the *black drink*, which is made by boiling the leaves of a small bush, greatly esteemed and carefully preserved by them, which they call arsee. The black and nauseous liquid, thus produced, was poured into large gourds, each holding three quarts, or a gallon, and being handed round by persons appointed for the purpose, was drank in such liberal quantities as to fill the stomach. The disgusting draught acted as an emetic, and was drank and thrown up until the evidences of the hideous ceremony covered the square. Having thus purified themselves for business, a messenger was sent to inform the commissioner that the council was ready.

But little hope was entertained that this council would lead to a successful result; for it was ascertained that during the previous night the proposition of the commissioner had been debated, and a negative reply decided upon. It was believed that the two half breed Cherokees had prevailed upon Opothle Yoholo to refuse to make the transfer of the disputed territory until a government could be organised, like that which had been established by the Cherokees, after which the sale was to be made, and the money put into the Creek treasury—one of the half breeds being the prospective minister of finance. Unpromising as the prospect appeared, the commissioner determined to leave no effort untried to effect an object essential to the peace of the frontier, and to the preservation of amicable relations between the federal government and Georgia. When, therefore, in reply to the proposition he was instructed to make, he received the decided negative of Opothle Yoholo, in which the council unanimously concurred, he availed himself of the information he had received of the secret intrigue of the Cherokees, and boldly disclosed the plan to the assembled Creeks. For the first time, perhaps, in his life, Opothle Yoholo became alarmed. He knew the jealous and vindictive temper of his people. The fate of McIntosh was too recent, his own part in that tragedy too prominent to leave any doubt as to the result of a tampering by the few with the rights of the many. He saw the danger in which he was placed by the disclosure of a plan prompted by a foreign influence, doubtful in itself, and not yet matured. He knew as well as the accomplished jurist of Great Britain that popularity may be gained without merit, and lost without a fault—that *the people*, civilised or savage, are easily ruled, and as easily offended, and that, in the excited state of his tribe, the memory of his own services might be instantly obliterated by the slightest shadow cast upon the patriotism of his motives. He grew restless, and said to the interpreter, "Tell him he talks too much." Colonel M'Kenney replied, that the welfare and happiness of the Creeks was all that their Great Father at Washington sought in this interview, and if what had been said was that which they ought to know, their chief should take no exception to it. He hoped there was no impropriety in telling the truth, and having commenced a talk he should finish it, no matter what might be the consequence. The effect was electrical. A hum of voices was heard through the council, and it was manifest that Opothle Yoholo, though he maintained the calmness of a warrior, saw that his life hung upon a thread. The commissioner, knowing that the Little Prince, head chief of the nation, whose power was absolute, was encamped in the neighbourhood, concluded his exposition by saying he should appeal to him, and if he spoke the language of that council, their talk would be reported to the President for his decision. The appeal to Cæsar gave a new direction to the thoughts of the savage assembly, and probably arrested the dissension that might have ensued. The commissioner, without waiting for a reply, left the council, followed by the whole body of the tawny warriors, who rushed towards him as he was about to mount his horse. Surprised by this sudden movement, he demanded to be informed of its object, and was answered, "We came to look at the man who is not afraid to speak."

The Little Prince was then stricken in years. The commissioner found him, in the primitive state of a forest chief, lying upon a blanket under a tree; near him was a fire, and the preparations for cooking, and suspended from a bough over his head were the provisions that were to form his banquet. He was approached with great veneration; for in the history of the southern Indians there is not found a name of more sterling worth. His mind was enlightened on all matters that concerned his people; his spirit unflinching; his sense of justice keen and abiding. To him the commissioner made known the whole matter, not omitting the offensive interference of the Cherokee young men. It was this disclosure that Opothle Yoholo feared. He could manage his own chief, the Big Warrior, near whom he was officially placed, and of whose ear he had possessed himself, but he could not encroach upon the authority of the Little Prince, who ruled the whole Creek nation, uniting under his authority the Upper and Lower towns. The Prince heard the statement in silence; although to his visiter he paid every becoming attention, not a syllable of comment escaped him; not a look of assent or disapprobation. With that caution which marks the whole tenor of the Indian's life, and especially governs his intercourse as a public man, he withheld the expression of any opinion until he could make up a decision which should be sanctioned by deliberate reflection. The commissioner, though well aware of this feature of the Indian character, supposed from the apparent apathy with which he was listened to, that he had only related what the chief knew and approved, and concluded the brief interview by saying, "I now leave you and your people. I shall return immediately to Washington, and report what I have seen and heard." They parted, the one to reflect on what had passed, the other to seek repose for the night at the agency at Fort Mitchell.

At midnight a runner, sent by the Little Prince, arrived at the Fort. "Tell the commissioner," was his message, "not to go—in the morning the Little Prince will come to him and make a treaty." At daylight another messenger came to say that the Little Prince's horse had strayed away in the night, but that he would visit the commissioner early in the day. About noon he arrived, attended by several of his chiefs, but Opothle Yoholo was not of the number. After the usual salutations, the chieftian said to Colonel M'Kenney, "Take a paper, and write to the Cherokee chief, that if his young men (naming them) come among my people again I will kill them." This characteristic despatch, which shows that in the crude diplomacy of the forest, the last resort of civilised nations, is the first appeal for justice, was written, the mark of the Little Prince affixed, and the missive sent. The transaction showed a suitable jealousy of a foreign influence over his people, and over the chief functionary of the Big Warrior, which probably led more than any other consideration to the decision to make the treaty, which his meddling neighbours endeavoured to prevent. The treaty was prepared and agreed upon, a council was called which ratified the proceeding, and the important document signed, which gave peace to that frontier, and forever closed this exciting question.

This direct and unusual exercise of authority, in opposition to the decision of

Opothle Yoholo, made but a few days before in open council, greatly weakened the influence of the latter. But the Little Prince dying about a year afterwards, Opothle Yoholo regained a power which had been inferior only to that of head chief, that of the Big Warrior being merely nominal. The successor of the Little Prince was Nea Micco, a dull heavy man; and the Big Warrior having also departed soon after, to the land of spirits, was succeeded by Tuskena, his son, a person of slender capacity. Opothle Yoholo became, therefore, the principal man of the Creeks, in fact, though not in name, and has continued ever since to exercise over them the power of an absolute potentate. It is said that he might have been elected to the chieftainship on the demise of the Little Prince, but that he preferred his position as speaker, which, by bringing him more directly in contact with the people, gave him all the advantage of his address and eloquence.

During the late unhappy contest between the United States and the Seminole Indians, it was to be expected that the sympathies of the Creeks would be strongly excited in favour of the latter, who are wandering tribes, descended from the Creek nation. Accordingly, in 1836, when the war grew hot, and the Seminoles were successful in several sanguinary engagements, the spirit of revolt spread through the Creek nation, and many of that people were urged, by the fatal destiny which seems to have doomed the whole race to extinction, into open war. Saugahatchee, one of the towns of Opothle Yoholo's district, was the first to revolt. The warriors, without a single exception, painted themselves for war; the young men rushed out upon the highways and murdered all the travellers who fell in their way. Opothle Yoholo, on hearing the intelligence, immediately placed himself at the head of the warriors of his own town, marched upon the insurgents, burned their village, and having captured some of their men, delivered them over to the military, by whom they were imprisoned. At the request of Governor Clay of Alabama, he called a council of his warriors, at Kialegee, and, having collected about fifteen hundred of them, proposed to lead them against the hostile Creeks. They consented, and within five days, were encamped at Tallahassee, the then head quarters of Major General Jessup, to whom a formal tender of their services was made. The offer was accepted, and Opothle Yoholo appointed the commander of the whole Indian force, with the rank of Colonel. General Jessup marched the united regular and Indian army without delay, to Hatcheehubbee, where the hostiles were assembled, and was about to attack them, when the latter, overawed by the superior force and prompt action of the American General, surrendered themselves, and thus ended the contest.

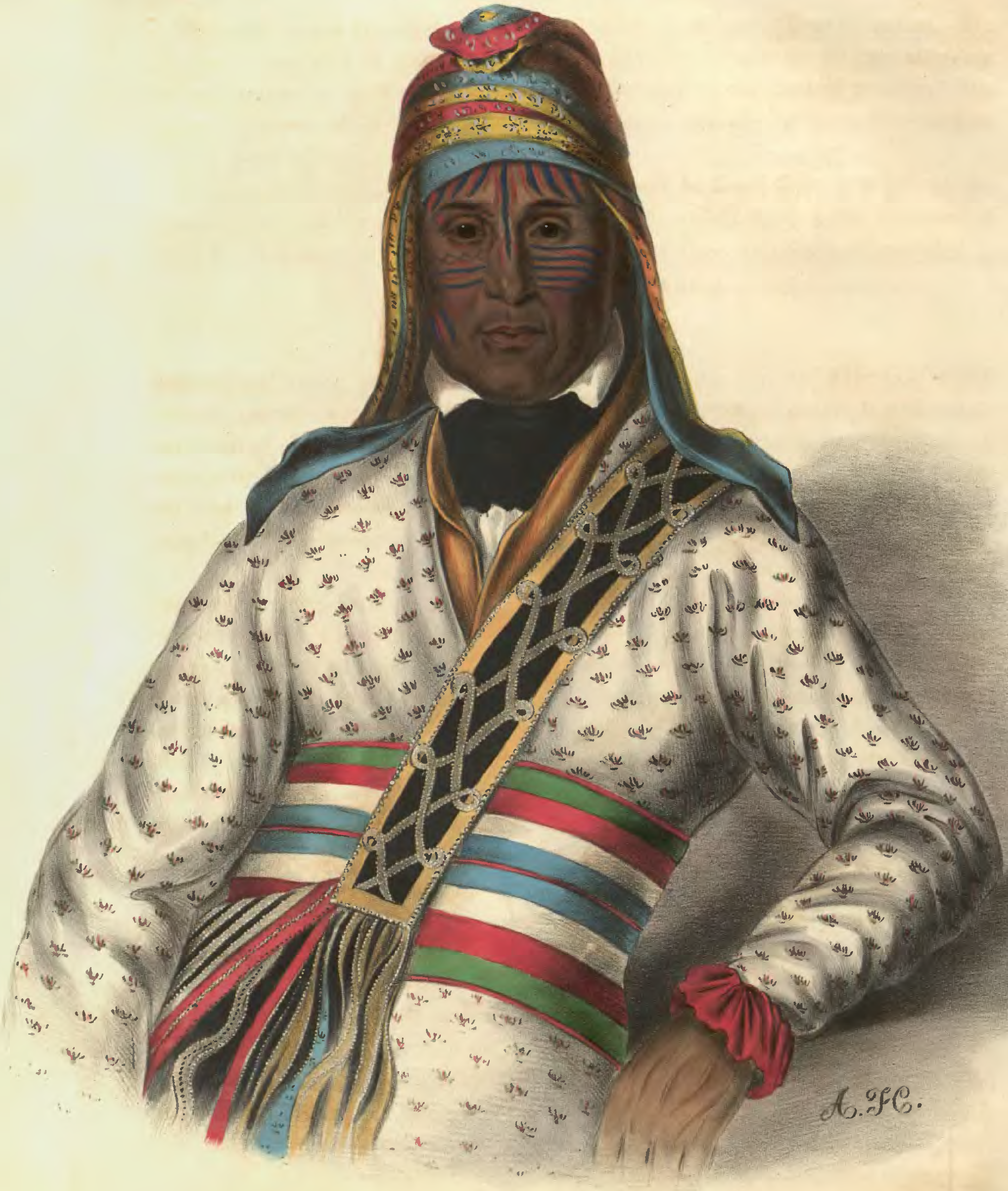
We have not hesitated to speak freely of the causes and conduct of the Indian wars that we have had occasion to glance at in various parts of this work. They have usually been provoked by the whites. Those alluded to in this article were the result of frauds committed by land speculators, who sought to enrich themselves at the expense of those illiterate savages, and who have either deceived the general and state governments, or committed them by acts which, though they could not approve, they have been obliged to sanction. This oppression, together with a reluctance to emigrate on the part of some of the Creeks, engendered that revengeful temper which has thrown so many obstacles in the way of the attempts of the executive of the United States to separate the red and white races.

The close of the disturbances rendering the further services of Opothle Yoholo and his warriors unnecessary, and the time for their emigration having arrived, they were ordered into encampments with a view to their immediate removal, and shortly after left the land of their fathers forever.

It is not to be inferred from the prompt support given by Opothle Yoholo to the American General, that his sentiments had become favourable to emigration; on the contrary, he remained inflexible in his aversion to that measure. He was not only unwilling to leave his native soil, but opposed especially to a removal to the lands offered by the government—perhaps because his people would there be thrown into contact with the followers of McIntosh, and he may have supposed it doubtful whether they could live together in peace. He therefore, in 1834 or 1835, went to Texas to seek a home, and, having explored the country, purchased a large tract, for which he was to give eighty thousand dollars; but the Mexican government, jealous on account of the revolutionary movements then in progress, and unwilling to receive a population which would not probably make such subjects as it would desire, interposed to prevent the transfer, and there being also a doubt suggested as to the title to the land, the intention was given up, with a loss of twenty thousand dollars, which had been paid in advance.

The several parties of the Creek nation, unhappily divided by the contest relative to the sale of their country, are reunited in Arkansas, and are said to be living in harmony. Opothle Yoholo is popular, and is spoken of as principal chief of the united tribes. His competitor is Rolly McIntosh, brother of the murdered chief, General McIntosh.

Opothle Yoholo is believed to have but one wife. Two of his daughters are said to be very beautiful. One son was educated at the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky, and bears the name of the venerable patron of that institution, Richard M. Johnston.



YOHOLO-MICCO.

A CREEK CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F. W. Greenough, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn.

YOHOLO MICCO.

YOHOLO MICCO was principal chief of the Eufalo town, which lies between Tallassee and Oakfuskee, in the Creek nation, the Tallapoosa river running through it. In the war of 1813–14, he served with McIntosh against the hostile Indians, and shared largely and honourably in all the battles that were fought. His bravery was equalled only by his eloquence, which gained him great distinction. He was the speaker of the Creek nation, as Opothle Yoholo was of the division called the Upper towns, and opened the councils on all occasions.

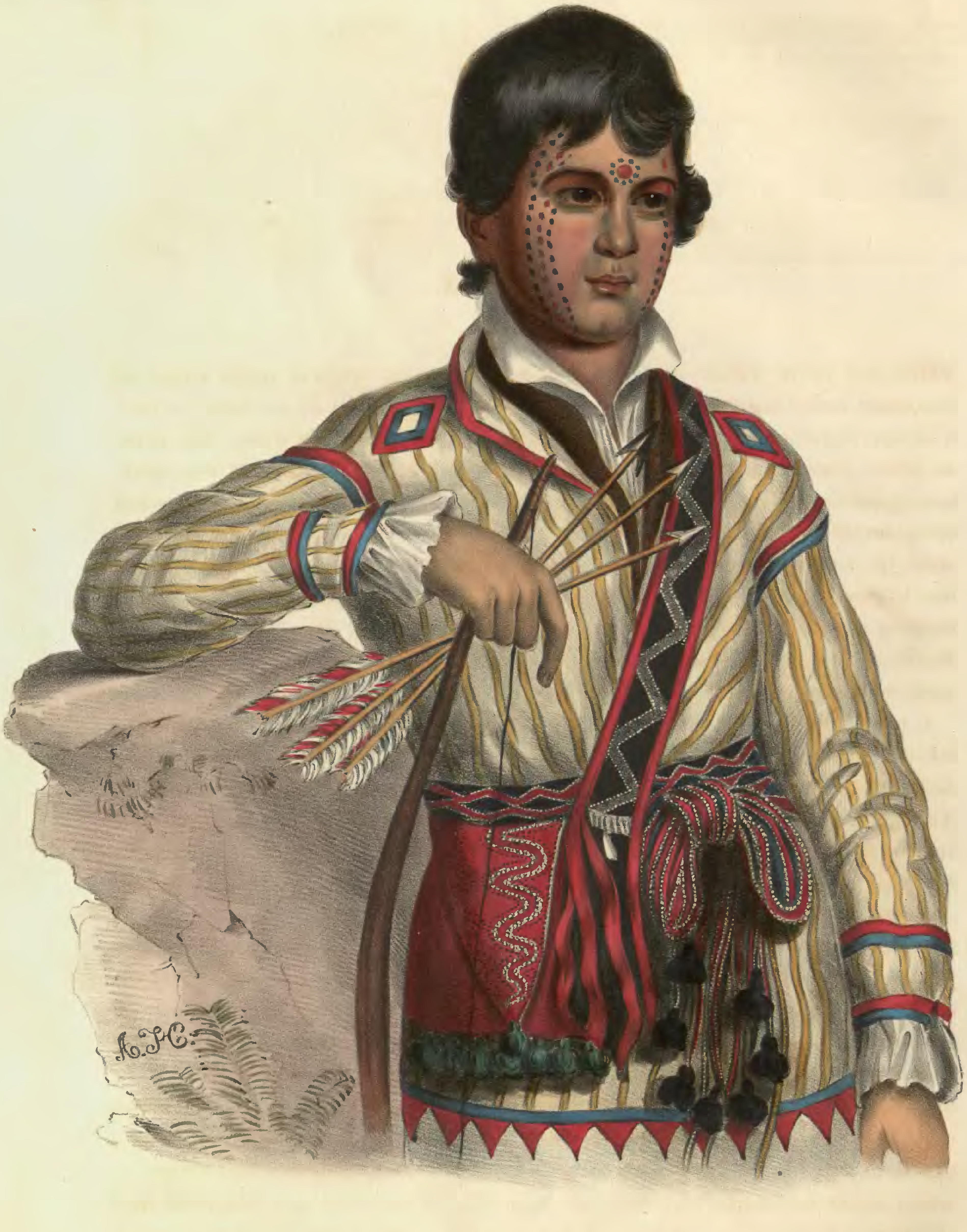
At the council called in 1827, by the Little Prince, to receive the propositions offered by the government through Colonel M'Kenney, which we have noticed in another place, Yoholo Micco explained the object of the mission, in a manner so clear and pointed as not to be easily forgotten by those who heard him. He rose with the unembarrassed dignity of one who, while he felt the responsibility of his high office, was familiarly versed in its duties, and satisfied of his own ability to discharge it with success. He was not unaware of the delicacy of the subject, nor of the excitable state of the minds to which his argument was to be addressed, and his harangue was artfully suited to the occasion. With the persuasive manner of an accomplished orator, and in the silver tones of a most flexible voice, he placed the subject before his savage audience in all its details and bearings—making his several points with clearness, and in order, and drawing out his deductions in the lucid and conclusive manner of a finished rhetorician.

The deportment of this chief was mild, his disposition sincere and generous. He advocated warmly the principles and practices of civilised life, and took so decided a part in favour of the plans to improve the condition of his people, proposed by the American government, and by individuals, that he became unpopular, and lost his place and influence in the general council, and the chieftaincy of his tribe. His successor as principal chief of the Eufalo town is Octearche Micco.

Yoholo Micco was amiable in his family relations, and brought up his children with care, giving them the best advantages in point of education, which the country afforded. His sons were bred to the pursuits of civilised men. One of his daughters, named Lotti Yoholo, married a chief of the Eufalo town, and, following the example of her father, gave her children liberal educations.

This chief visited Washington in 1826, as one of the delegates from his nation. He afterwards consented to remove to Arkansas, and fell a victim to the fatigues attending the emigration, in his fiftieth year, while on his way to the land of promise. His memory is honoured by the Indians, who, in common with all who knew this excellent person, speak of him as one of the best of men.

The word Micco signifies king or chief, and will be found forming a part of the names of many of the southern chiefs, while Yoholo, which signifies the possession of royal blood, is an aristocratic adjunct to the names of those who are well descended.



MISTIPPEE.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^A
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment N^o. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1838 by F. W. Greenough in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^a.

MISTIPPEE.

THIS is a son of Yoholo Micco, who bears a name, the origin of which would be discovered with difficulty by the most cunning etymologist; and we are happy to have it in our power to solve a problem, which might else, at some far distant day, cause an infinite waste of valuable time, and curious learning. The parents of this youth, having decided on rearing him after the fashions of their white neighbours, bestowed upon him the very ancient and respectable appellation of Benjamin, from which soon arose the usual abbreviation of Ben and Benny, which the young chief bore during the halcyon days of infancy. To this familiar name, respect for his family soon prefixed the title of Mr., and, in the mouths of the Indians, Mr. Ben soon became Mistiben, and finally Mistippee—the original Benjamin being lost in the superior euphony of that very harmonious word *mister*.

It is not improbable that the individual who bore this name when his portrait was taken, may now be known by another, for, as we have remarked elsewhere, these designations are frequently changed; and an Indian has usually as many names as there are remarkable events in his history. Those which they receive in infancy are entirely accidental, or are induced by the most trifling circumstances. *Litker*, the Swift, is the name of an active boy; but if a child is called *Isca*, the Ground Hog, or *Woodcoochee*, the Raccoon, it is not to be presumed that he resembles that animal, because he would be as likely to receive it from the mere circumstance of being seen to play with the animal, or to wear its skin, or to imitate some of its motions. On the other hand, *Minechee*, which signifies little, smart and active, is the appropriate name of a female child. These names are retained during childhood, and until the youthful character begins to show its bias, when others are given which are supposed to be more descriptive; and we believe it is always usual, when a young man is admitted into the war councils, to give him a name with reference to his qualifications as a warrior. For instance, a youth who is modest and retiring may be called *Chofixico*, which would be interpreted, "timid as the deer," yet the word is a compound used chiefly as a proper name. *Cho* is an abbreviation of *echo*, a deer—*fix* is abbreviated from *fegee*, which means life or spirit—and *ico* is a contraction of *sicco*, gone—from all which we get the very poetical compound above mentioned. A bold and fearless spirit is called *Yaha Hadjo*, the Crazy Wolf, from *yaha*, a wolf, and *hadjo*, crazy.

Another class of names are given still later in life, and are such as refer to some exploit or adventure by which the individual became distinguished for the time, as, "*He who stands and strikes*," "*He who fights as he flies*," or "*The wolf killer*."

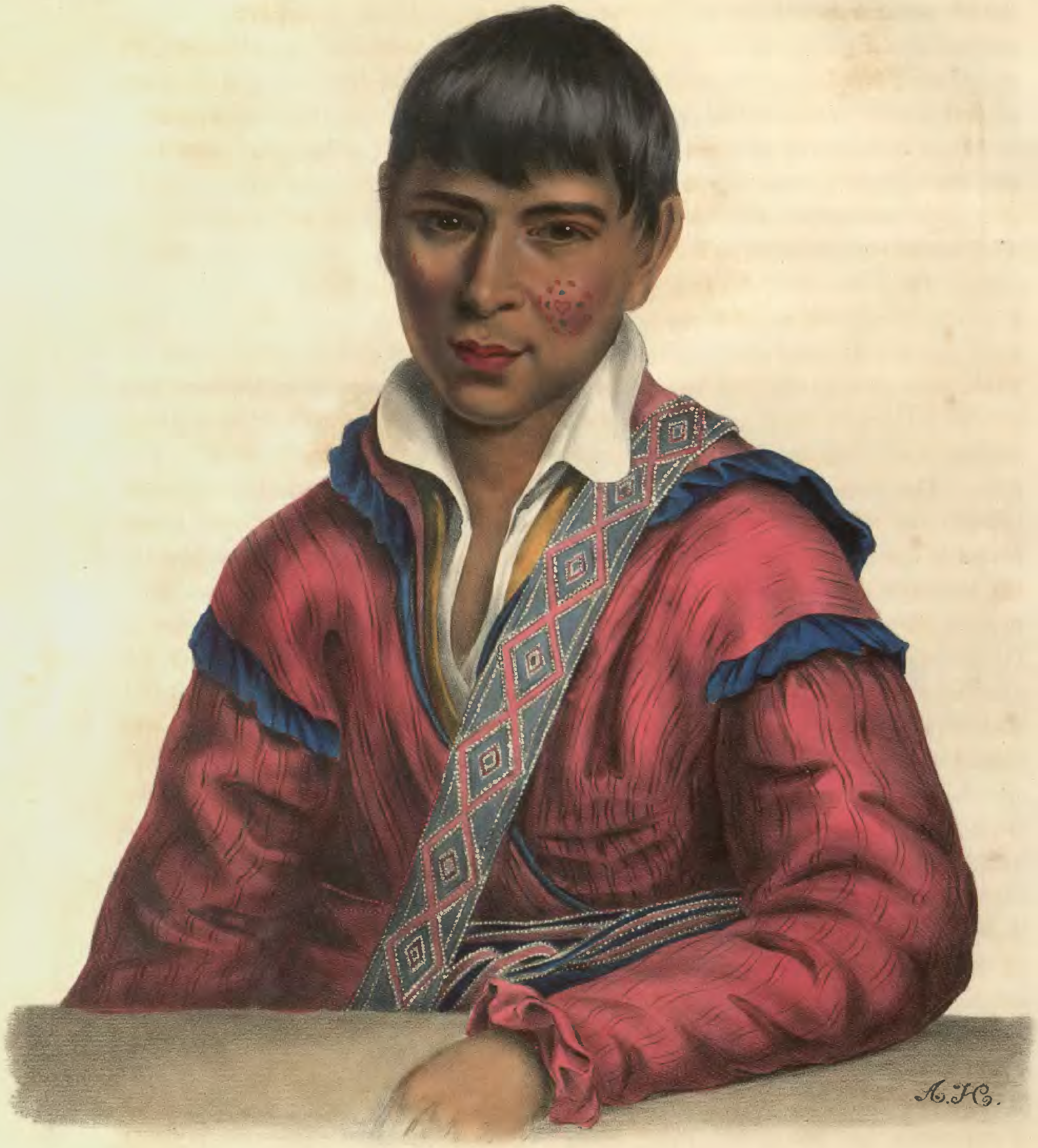
Mistippee escaped having the name of an animal conferred upon him, in the manner we have seen, but spent his boyhood, as is usual with the Indian children, in practising with the blow gun and bow, and in hunting the smaller kinds of game. The blow gun is a favourite weapon among the boys of the southern tribes. It is simply a hollow reed of eight or ten feet in length, made perfectly smooth within, from which a small arrow is blown with much force by the breath. The arrow is made of light wood, armed with a pin, or small nail, at one end, and with thistle down carefully wrapped round the other, in a sufficient quantity to fill the reed, so that, when placed in the end to which the mouth is applied, it is forced through the reed with great swiftness, and, if well directed, with the certainty of the rifle ball. At a distance of ten yards, the little Creeks will snuff a candle, with one of these arrows, four times out of five; and as no noise attends the discharge, they are quite successful in killing small birds by means of this simple contrivance, which is called, in the Creek tongue, *Cohamoteker.* By these exercises the young Indians not only develop their physical powers, but acquire the cunning, the patience, the dexterity, and the fund of sylvan knowledge, that render them the most accomplished hunters in the world. If one of these boys chances to kill a deer with the bow and arrow, or to perform any exploit above his years, he is marked as having a spirit which will greatly distinguish him in after life, or as being a lucky person, which, in the estimation of the Indian, amounts to about the same thing as the possession of superior abilities.

In presenting the spirited likeness of this youth, we may be permitted to take the occasion to repeat some of the lessons which are taught the young Indian, and contribute to form his character. Among these is the tradition of their origin, which is instilled into the infant mind of the savage, with a care similar to that bestowed by Christian parents in teaching the great truths of Creation and Providence. Perhaps the curiosity of a child in relation to its own being would have a natural and universal tendency to render this a first lesson; and the subject which, above almost all others, is veiled in obscurity, is that which is attempted to be explained to the young mind in the earliest stage of its development. The tradition of the Creeks is, that they came through the sea, from some distant land. To enable them to pass through the deep waters with greater safety and certainty, they were transformed into brutes; and the nation is now divided into separate bands, which retain the names of the different animals from which they are said to be descended. Our information with regard to the means used to perpetuate this arrangement, agrees with that of Mr. Gallatin, who remarks, "It has been fully ascertained that the inviolable regulations by which these clans are perpetuated amongst the southern nations were, first, that no man could marry in his own clan; secondly, that every child belongs to his or her mother's clan."

The peculiar economy of this clanship gives rise to the practice, in their courtships, of applying first to the maternal uncle of the girl who is to be asked in marriage, for his consent—the father being of a different tribe from his own daughter and her prospective offspring. The young men are said to be shy and bashful in these adventures, and, having resolved to marry, conceal their first overtures with great dexterity. The uncle is easily won by a present, and, when his assent has been gained, the suitor is left to his own ingenuity to thrive as he may with the object of his preference. His intention is conveyed secretly to the lady, through some confidential channel: she is then supposed to be ready for the question, which is decided without debate. A deer is killed and laid at the door of her wigwam; if the present is received the lover is a happy man, if it be suffered to remain untouched he may go and hang himself, or seek a more willing fair one. The latter is said to be the more usual practice, as hanging for love is a procedure only known in the more civilised conditions of society. If the deer be accepted, a rich soup is made of the head and marrow bones, and the lover is treated with this repast, in which there is supposed to be great virtue.

Not only are the youth instructed in their origin, and disciplined in their modes of courtship, but they are also taught the ceremonies of their religion—if the superstitions of a people, destitute of any adequate notion of the being and attributes of God, may be dignified with that name. The chief of these is the Green Corn dance, which is celebrated with great zeal and devotion, in the autumn. Wherever the Indian corn is raised it is a chief and favourite article of food—its productiveness, its nutritious qualities, and the variety of modes in which it may be used, giving it a preference over every other description of grain. Among the Indians who cultivate little else, the ripening of this crop constitutes an era in the year. The whole band is assembled to celebrate the annual festival. The fires of the past year are extinguished—not a spark is suffered to remain. New fire is produced artificially, usually by rubbing two sticks together. Sometimes the new fire thus obtained is sent from one band to another, and the present is received, like the New Year's gift among ourselves, as a token of friendship. Having kindled a cheerful blaze, they assemble around it, dancing, and singing songs. The latter are addressed to the fire—a custom which may have been borrowed from the worship of the sun, said to have been practised by the Nachez Indians. In these songs they express their gratitude to the Great Spirit that they have lived through the year, that they see the same faces and hear the same voices; they speak of the game they have taken, and of the abundance of their crops. But if the crop be short, or the hand of death has been busy among them, the notes of gratulation are mingled with strains of mourning, the national calamity is attributed to the crimes of the people, and pity and pardon are invoked. On this occasion they partake of the black drink which we have described in our sketch of the life of Opothle Yoholo. The dance being finished they feast upon boiled corn, the first fruits of the year; and the singing, dancing and eating are kept up for several days. Should a culprit, whose life has been forfeited, have escaped punishment until this festive season, and be so fortunate or so dexterous as to make his way into the square during the dance, he is considered as being under the protection of the Great Spirit, to whose agency they attribute the circumstances of his previous escape and present appearance among them, and his pardon is secured.

Of Mistippee there is little to tell. When at Washington, in 1826, he was a remarkably handsome boy, and in all respects prepossessing. His father gave him unusual advantages in regard to education, which he is supposed to have improved. When at maturity he wedded a comely woman of the Hillabee towns, and soon after emigrated to the new home provided for his people, west of the Mississippi.



PADDY-CARR,

CREEK INTERPRETER.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1838 by F. W. Greenough in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn.

PADDY CARR.

THE name of this individual indicates his lineage. His father was an Irishman who married a Creek woman, and handed down to his son a name which, though neither euphonous nor dignified in our ears, is perpetuated with no little pride by the son of Erin. The young Paddy was born near Fort Mitchell, in Alabama, and, in his infancy, was taken into the family of Colonel Crowell, the Indian agent, and kindly reared in the habits of civilised life. He was very intelligent, acquiring with facility the language of his benefactors, yet retaining his own, so as to be able in after years to speak both with equal fluency. In 1826, he accompanied the delegation headed by Opothle Yoholo, to Washington city, in the capacity of interpreter; and, although but nineteen years of age, he evinced a quick perception of the human character, which enabled him to manage and control the Indians with more success than many who were his seniors. His intuitive sagacity was such that, in rapidly interpreting the speeches of the Indian orators, even under the embarrassment of a public audience, while he faithfully repeated the thought expressed by the speaker, he often gave it additional vigor and clearness, by the propriety and force of the language in which he clothed it. As the substance of the harangues made on such occasions, by aboriginal diplomatists, is usually matured by previous consultation, he was probably well advised of the whole ground that would be taken; but those who know how much ability is employed in making an accurate and spirited translation, will acknowledge the merit of filling well so difficult an office as that of interpreter. He possessed the entire confidence of the whole delegation, who regarded him as a youth of superior talents.

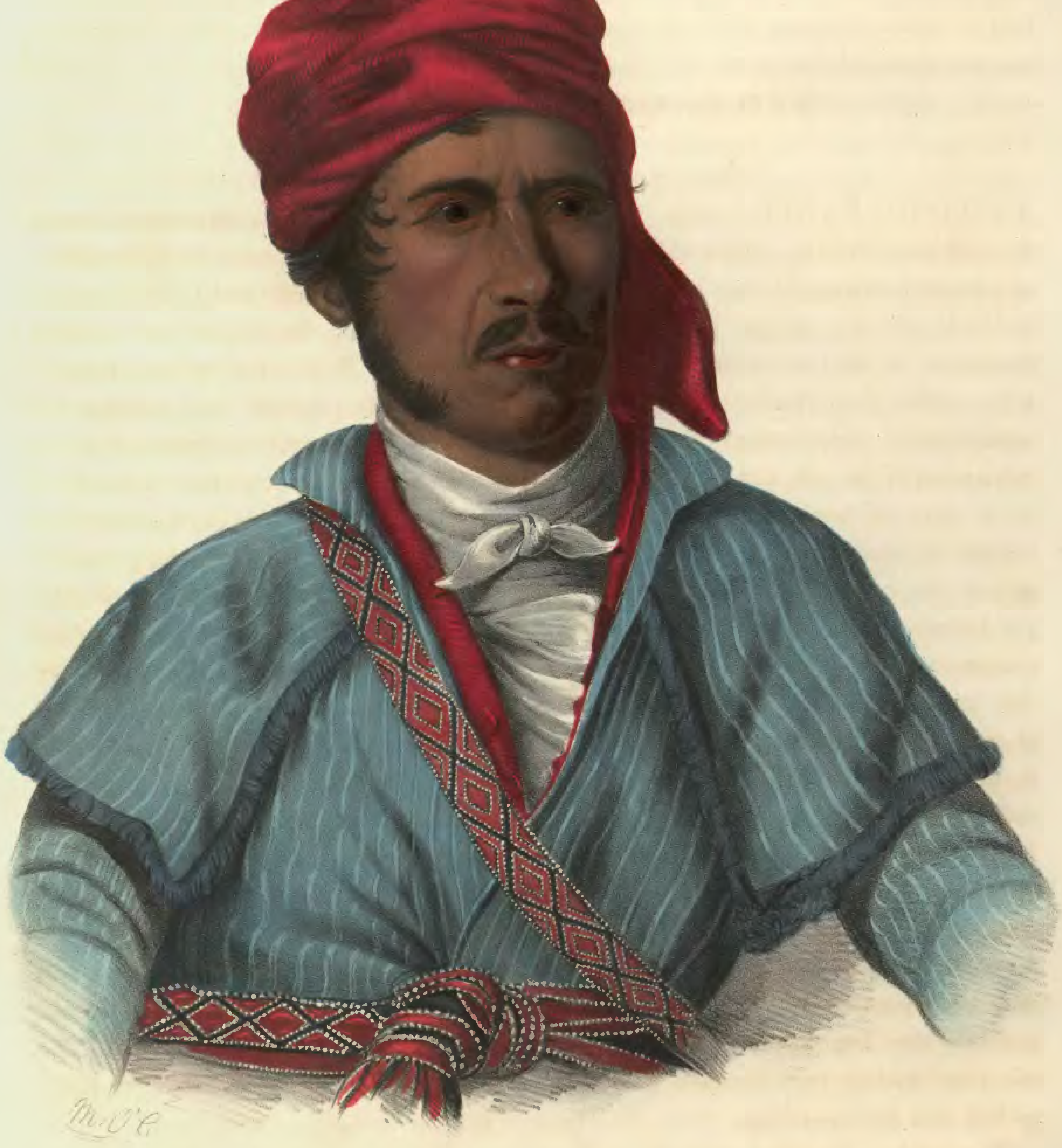
Soon after his return from Washington, he married the daughter of Colonel Lovett, a respectable half breed, with whom he received a portion which, with the property accumulated by himself, furnished a capital sufficient to enable him to go into trade. In a few years he amassed a considerable property, and is now, in 1837, possessed of from seventy to eighty slaves, besides landed property, and a large stock of horses and cattle.

In 1836, he was drawn from the quiet pursuits of trade and agriculture, by the hostile attitude of a portion of the Creeks, and, unwilling to remain inactive, he promptly took the side of the government. When Major General Jessup, with an escort of about a hundred horsemen, attempted to pass through a part of the revolted district, for the purpose of joining and taking command of the Alabama forces, Paddy Carr attended him as guide and interpreter. In a part of the country where much of the land was low and swampy, and where the roads were rendered passable by causeways made of logs, these latter were found torn up, and several straggling Indians were seen. Supposing these to be the scouts of a large body, Paddy Carr expressed his conviction that an army of eight hundred warriors was at hand, and suggested that no time should be lost in getting through these passes. The advice was taken, and, by pushing boldly through, the danger was avoided. In conducting the escort back a circuitous route was taken, by which the same body of Indians was again eluded, and a party of gallant volunteers were saved from the fatal catastrophe which befel the lamented Dade and his unfortunate companions. This happy result has been attributed, and we suppose with some reason, to the sagacity of Paddy Carr, who was the successful guide.

He continued in the service as a guide and interpreter, and also as a leader of the Indian warriors, during the continuance of the troubles in the Creek nation, and was a general favourite with the army.

The Creek revolt being over, Paddy Carr marched to Florida as second in command of about five hundred Creek warriors, who volunteered their services to the government. We understand that he ranks deservedly high, as well for his courage and skill as for his acceptable deportment in the social circle.

Paddy Carr has an innate passion for fine horses, and owns a large number of very valuable animals. He is fond of racing, and, when he has a trial of speed depending, if he cannot suit himself with a rider, he rides his own horse. He is of a liberal and generous disposition, hospitable to strangers, and kind to the poor. Many of the poorer class of Indians depend on him for support. He has three wives, one of whom is daughter of the ill fated General McIntosh. The two first born of his children were twin girls, and Captain Crowell, the son of his early friend and patron, having a daughter named Ariadne, he called one of his twins *Ari* and the other *Adne*, thus evincing a sense of benefits received, which is in itself one of the highest evidences of a noble mind.



TIMPOOCHEE BARNARD

AN UCHEE WARRIOR.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
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TIMPOOCHEE BARNARD.

A CONSIDERABLE number of the persons who have risen to distinction among the southern Indians, within the last quarter of a century, have been the descendants of adventurers from Europe or the United States, who, having married Indian women, and adopted the savage life, obtained the confidence of the tribes, and availed themselves of that advantage to accumulate property. They were at first traders, who carried to the Indians such goods as they needed, and bought their peltries, but soon directed their means to the purchase of negro slaves, whom they employed in the cultivation of the soil, and the care of large numbers of cattle and horses. They lived in a state of semi-civilisation, engrafting a portion of the thrift and comfort of husbandry upon the habits of savage life, having an abundance of every thing that the soil, or the herd, or the chase, could yield, practising a rude but profuse hospitality, yet knowing little of any thing which we should class under the names of luxury or refinement. Their descendants formed a class which, in spite of the professed equality that prevails among the Indians, came insensibly into the quiet possession of a kind of rank. Although they were bred to the athletic exercises and sports of the Indian, they had a nurture superior to that of the savage; the most of them received the rudiments of an English education, and a few passed with credit through college. The real Indian, while he despised and spurned at civilisation, when offered to himself or his children, respected in others the practical advantages which he saw it gave them; and thus the half breeds, having the Indian blood on the one hand, and the advantage of property and education on the other, became very influential, and, had they been permitted to form governments, as was attempted in one instance, would probably have concentrated in their own hands all the property of the Indians. To this class mainly was confined the civilisation among the southern tribes, so much spoken of a few years ago.

Timpoochee Barnard was the son of an Uchee woman. His father was a Scotchman, said to be of gentle blood, whose name was Timothy Barnard. It is supposed that large estates may be in reversion for the descendants of Timpoochee.

The Uchees were once a distinct and powerful people, but were subdued by the Creeks upwards of a century ago, and those who escaped the massacre, which usually attends an Indian victory, were taken into the country of the victors, and held in servitude. Being unaccustomed to labour, they were probably of little value as slaves, especially to a people who had no agriculture, and who needed warriors more than servants. They gradually became emancipated, and incorporated with the Creek nation, with whom they have ever since remained in close and cordial union, although, as is customary with the Indians, they have preserved their identity as a tribe, and retained their language. The latter is described by the venerable and learned Mr. Gallatin, in his elaborate work, just published, as "the most guttural, uncouth, and difficult to express, with our alphabet and orthography, of any of the Indian languages within our knowledge." The Creeks do not attempt to speak it, although the Uchees speak the Creek language as well as their own. Timpoochee's mother carefully imparted her own dialect to her son, while his father, though a practised interpreter of the Creek, never attempted to master the Uchee.

The subject of this memoir was first known in public life in 1814, when he took part with the American forces against the hostile Creeks, and commanded about one hundred Uchee warriors, with the commission of Major. He was at the battle of Callabee under General Floyd, and distinguished himself by an act of gallantry. An attempt was made to surprise the American camp at night, and to cut off a detachment under General Brodnax, encamped near the main body. Timpoochee Barnard discovering this movement, made a desperate onset upon the assailants, at the head of his Uchee braves, and, after a severe loss, succeeded in driving back the enemy, or in opening the way for the detachment to join the main body. During the war he acquired a high reputation for skill and bravery. He was often honoured by being placed in the post of danger, and he did not in any instance disappoint the expectations of the commanding General. He took part in nearly all the battles in the south, during that war, and was twice wounded.

On the return of peace he rejoined his family, near the Creek agency, on Flint river, in Georgia. His wife was a Creek, and is reported to have been remarkable for her good sense and propriety of conduct, while Major Barnard is said to have been domestic in his habits and devotedly attached to his children, of whom he had six. Of the latter two were girls, who were extremely beautiful, and the family, taken together, was considered the handsomest in the Creek nation. One of the daughters fell a victim to a delicacy not often found in her race, nor in the women of any country where the practice of polygamy debases the marriage relation. She was overruled in her choice of a husband, and compelled to marry against her will; and, although her husband was a Creek chief of distinction, she could not brook the degradation, as she esteemed it, of being a second and subordinate wife, and put an end to her life by poison.

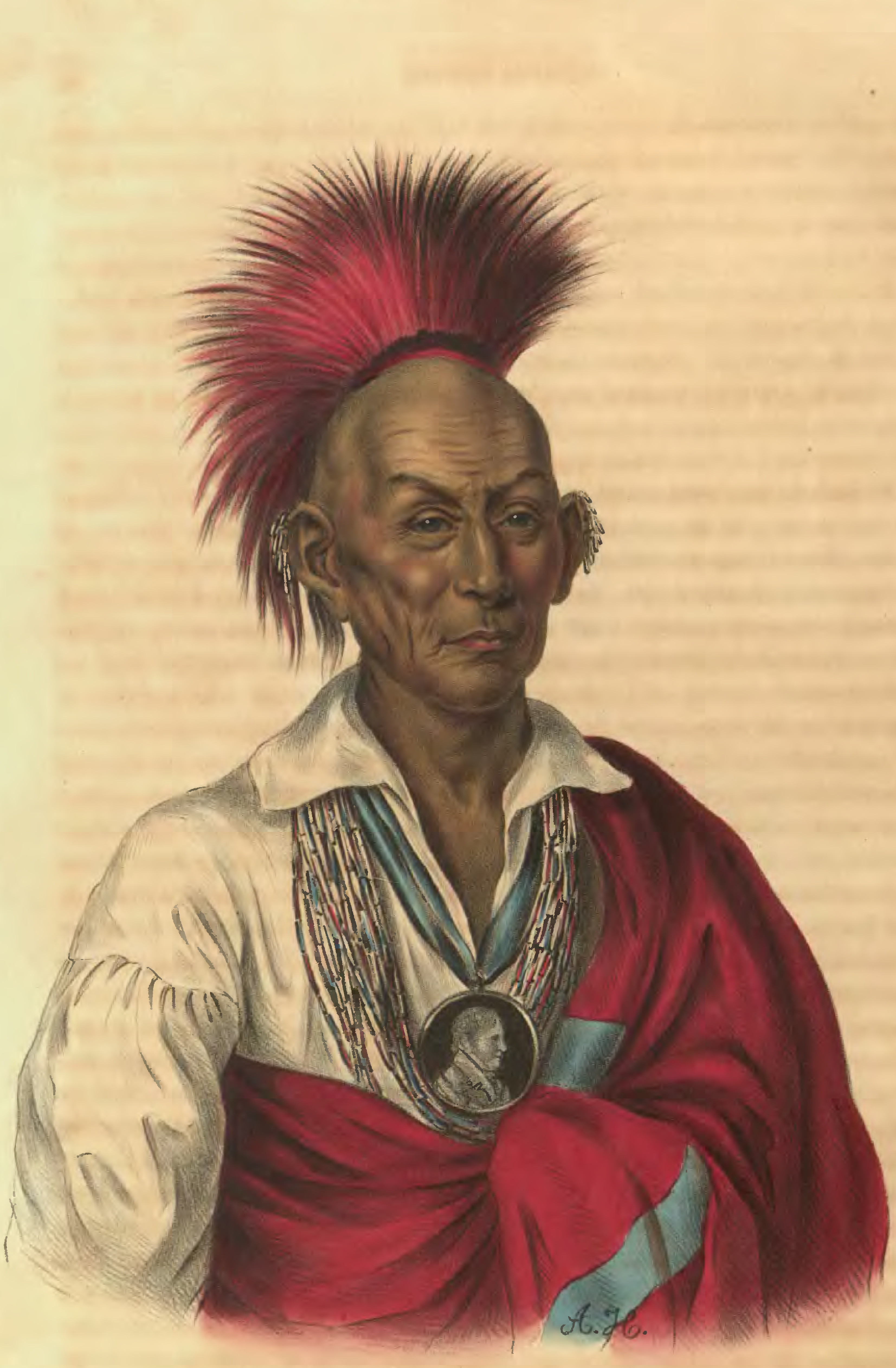
On his return from the Creek nation, in 1827, Colonel M'Kenney brought to Washington with him two little Indian boys, one of twelve and the other nine years of age, with the intention of having them educated under his own care, at the expense of the government. The elder of these was William, son of Timpoochee Barnard; the Indian name of the other was Arbor, but he was called Lee Compere, after the missionary of that name who lived in the Creek nation. After they had travelled about a hundred miles, at the beginning of their journey, Lee discovered some symptoms of discontent, and Colonel M'Kenney, having learned through William, who spoke a little English, that he was dissatisfied at being sent from home, requested the stage driver to stop his horses, and told Lee that he might return. The boy's countenance instantly brightened, and, seizing his bundle and his little blow gun, he began to clamber out of the carriage. He was, of course, not permitted to go; but the anecdote is mentioned to show the fearlessness with which the young savage throws himself upon his own resources. They remained in Colonel M'Kenney's family about three years, and until his connection with the Indian department ceased, when they were sent home. They went to school during this period, and William made considerable progress, and bade fair to become an honour to his name and country. He was intelligent and docile, while Lee had all the Indian's stubbornness of temper, impatience of restraint, and disinclination for sedentary pursuits. The school selected for these boys was one of those at which, in imitation of the discipline at West Point, the pupils were required to perform martial exercises, and to submit to a military police. The young Indians were pleased with this routine, which was in unison with their naturally martial dispositions. The uniforms and the parades were precisely suited to gratify their tastes, but neither of them liked the exact enforcement of strict rules. On one occasion Lee was ordered, for some delinquency, to be placed under guard, during the hours allotted for recreation. He was accordingly confined in a room, which was called the black hole, and another boy placed as a sentinel at the door. Lee sate for a little time, gazing wistfully at the boys who were playing on the outside, and at the sentinel who paced to and fro with a musket on his shoulder, when, espying a bayonet in the room, he seized it, and rushed upon the guard, who escaped its point at first by dodging, and then by running away. On finding himself at liberty, Lee threw down the weapon, and deliberately walked home.

Those who have paid attention to the subject have not failed to remark, that in the attempt to civilise the Indian, a *little* learning is a dangerous thing, and that a half educated savage seldom becomes an useful man. Such an individual, thrown back upon savage life, is inferior to those who had never quit it in their own arts, without bringing back much that is valuable of the habits of civilised men. Unless he has the strength of mind to attach himself decidedly to one side or the other, he is apt to vacillate between employments of the white man and the Indian, inferior to both, and respected by neither. We do not say that such was the case with William Barnard. We only know that his career has been unfortunate. Though but fifteen years old on his return home, he fell into a series of difficulties, with the precise nature of which we are not acquainted, but in course of which he killed several Indians, and he afterwards joined the Indian force sent to Florida under Paddy Carr, to assist in the war against the Seminoles.

Thus did this worthy and highly respectable person reap his full share of those domestic afflictions which not unfrequently embitter the last days of those who have been most exemplary in private life, and whose affections are garnered up in the holy and endearing joys of the domestic circle. Major Barnard had, however, the consolation to know, that he had faithfully performed a parent's duty, gaining for himself the sincere attachment of those around him, and for his family the respect of the public.

A compliment paid to this individual by the late President of the United States, is too striking to be omitted. During the residence at Washington, of the two Indian boys already mentioned, they were taken by Colonel M'Kenney to see the President, who received them with the paternal kindness of manner which distinguished so remarkably the social intercourse of that eminent man. On hearing the name of William Barnard, he took the boy by the hand and asked him if he was the son of Major Timpoochee Barnard; the reply being in the affirmative, General Jackson placed his hand on the head of the youth, and said, "A braver man than your father never lived." There is no applause which savours less of flattery than the spontaneous homage which is paid by one brave man to the courage of another.

Timpoochee Barnard was one of the delegation chosen to proceed to Washington, to remonstrate against the treaty of the Indian Springs, at which time his portrait was taken. After living in such affluence as his country afforded, distinguished for probity, benevolence, and hospitality, as highly as he was by valour and public spirit, he died near Fort Mitchell, in Alabama, aged about fifty eight years.



MA-KA-TAI-ME-SHE-KIA-KIAH
OR
BLACK HAWK A SAUKIE BRAVE

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^a
Drawn Printed & Coloured at J.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment N^o. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F. W. Greenough in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^a.

MAKATAIMESHEKIAKIAH, OR BLACK HAWK.

FEW Indians have obtained a celebrity so widely extended as that of the individual now before us. Without being a chief, or a person of remarkable abilities, he became known to the American public as the principal person engaged in the brief and hopeless war, waged by a fraction of the Sauk tribe against the United States. Having been taken prisoner at the close of that contest, he was conducted with a few companions to Washington, and some other of our cities, where his fame and his misfortunes excited so much curiosity, that he was every where visited by crowds, while his propriety of deportment was such as to sustain the reputation that had preceded him. He was the greatest lion of the day; and the public will probably be disappointed at the discovery that, although a respectable person, he is by no means a hero. The events of his early life we extract from a small volume published at Cincinnati in 1833, and said to have been dictated by himself, and which we know to be acknowledged by him as authentic. The Black Sparrow, or, as he is now called, Black Hawk, whose unpronounceable Indian name we shall not attempt to repeat, was born at the principal village of his tribe on Rock river, in Illinois, about the year 1767, and was the great grandson of a chief called Nanamakee, or Thunder. At the early age of fifteen, having had the good fortune to wound an enemy of his nation, he was admitted to the rank of a brave, and allowed to paint himself and wear feathers. The chief of a neighbouring tribe coming to the Saukie town shortly after, to raise recruits for an expedition against their common enemy, the Osages, he was permitted, in company with his father, to join the war party. A battle was fought in which the Sauks and their allies were successful, and Black Hawk signalised his valour by killing and scalping a warrior. On the return of the party he was permitted, for the first time, to join in the scalp dance. Having now established a reputation as a brave, he was enabled, a few months afterwards, to raise a party of seven young men, who went forth with him in search of adventure, and, falling in with a camp of a hundred Osages, he boldly attacked them, killed one of their warriors, and retreated without losing a man. This exploit gained him so much reputation, that when he next offered to lead a war party, a hundred and sixty braves placed themselves under his command. After a long march, they approached an Osage village with great caution, in the expectation of surprising it, but found it deserted; and the dissatisfied warriors, with the exception of five, abandoned their leader and returned home. The little remnant of the war party continued to pursue their enemies, determined not to return without a trophy; and, after some days, succeeded in killing a man and a boy, with whose scalps they marched back in triumph.

The defection of his braves on this occasion injured the standing of Black Hawk with his nation, who supposed him deficient in good fortune, or in conduct, and he was unable for some time afterwards to obtain a command. At length, at the age of nineteen, he succeeded in raising a party of two hundred warriors, whom he led against the Osages, and, meeting with an equal number of the enemy, a desperate battle ensued, in which the Sauks were victorious, and slew a hundred of their enemies, with a loss on their side of but nineteen. Black Hawk says he killed five braves and a squaw, and took four scalps.

After this decisive battle, active hostilities with the Osages ceased, and the Sauks turned their arms against the Cherokees. Black Hawk accompanied a small party commanded by his father, who met the Cherokees near the Merrimac river, the latter having the advantage in numbers. The Cherokees are said to have lost twenty-eight men, and the Sauks but seven. The father of Black Hawk being among the slain, he assumed the command, took possession of *the great medicine bag* of the deceased, and led the party home. This expedition was considered so unfortunate, that our hero blacked his face, fasted, and for five years abstained from war, praying frequently to the Great Spirit, and engaging in no manly exercises but those of hunting and fishing.

After this period, the Great Spirit having taken pity on him, or in other words, his people believing that he had sufficiently atoned for his bad luck, he led out a small party against the Osages, but could find only six men, whom he captured and delivered up to the Spanish commandant at St. Louis. In his next expedition he was more fortunate. At the head of a large party he surprised an encampment of forty lodges of the Osages, all of whom, without distinction of age or sex, were put to death, except two squaws, who were taken captive. He declared that in this battle he killed seven men and two boys with his own hand.

He then led an expedition against the Cherokees, to revenge his father's death; but finding only five of their people, he states, that having captured these, he afterwards released four, and carried the other one home, being unwilling to kill so small a party. This assumption of mercy on an occasion when revenge was his sole object, succeeding so closely the narrative of an indiscriminate massacre, in which he killed two boys, is not easily reconciled. We give the story as we find it, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. The details of several other battles, in which Black Hawk describes himself as having borne a conspicuous part, we pass over.

The treaty made by Governor Harrison with the Sauks and Foxes in 1804, by which they ceded their lands east of the Mississippi, is alluded to in this volume, as having been executed by a few chiefs, without the knowledge or consent of the nation. As we have not the means of deciding this question, we shall not enter upon it.

The erection of fort Madison, upon the Mississippi, is mentioned, the dissatisfaction of the Indians at this encroachment of the Americans, and an unsuccessful attempt which was made by the Sauks and Foxes to surprise and cut off the garrison. The visit of the enterprising traveller, Pike, at Rock Island, is noticed, and we are told that when this officer presented them with an American flag, they received and hoisted it, but when he required them to pull down the British flag, they declined, as they "wished to have two fathers."

At this time the Sauks and Foxes were in the practice of trading with the British posts on the northern lakes, and Great Britain having adopted the policy of retarding the expansion of our settlements, much exertion was used by the officers of that power to conciliate the Indians, and to gain an influence over them. The state of affairs on the western frontiers of the United States was very unsettled. The emigration to the valley of the Ohio had pushed the settlements into contact with numerous and warlike tribes of Indians, and although the latter had sold the lands that were now becoming occupied by the whites, they saw with jealousy the rapid increase of a population so essentially different from their own. Occasions were sought to rescind or deny the treaties by which territory had been ceded, and the American government, to avoid even the appearance of injustice, in various instances purchased the same tract of country over and over from the same tribe, and extinguished successively the conflicting titles of different tribes; while, on the other hand, intrusions were often inconsiderately committed on the hunting grounds of the Indians.

For several years previous to 1811, the prospect of a war between the United States and Great Britain, produced an irritable state of feeling on the frontier, and opened a wide field for the machinations of those persons who thought their own interests promoted by exciting the Indians to hostilities. The British officers and traders, therefore, co-operated in their exertions to attach the Indians to their country, and to alienate them from the American people and government. Colonel McKee, Colonel Dixon, and Simon Girty were the most active agents in this unwise and unchristian warfare, and were busily employed for several years in holding talks with the Indians residing within the United States, supplying them with arms, making them liberal presents, and inciting them to make war upon the American settlements. Several interviews were held with these officers by Black Hawk, and on one of these occasions we find him, for the first time, dignified with a title. His own relation is as follows: "In the encampment, I found a large number of Potawatimies, Kickapoos, Ottawas, and Winnebagoes. I visited all their camps and found them in high spirits. They had all received new guns, ammunition, and a variety of clothing. In the evening a messenger came to me to visit Colonel Dixon. I went to his tent, in which were two other war chiefs and an interpreter.

He received me with a hearty shake of the hand, and presented me to the other chiefs, who shook my hand cordially, and seemed much pleased to see me. After I was seated, Colonel Dixon said: 'General Black Hawk, I sent for you to explain to you what we are going to do, and the reasons that have brought us here. Our friend, La Gutrie, informs us in the letter you brought from him, what has lately taken place. You will now hold us fast by the hand. Your English father has found out that the Americans want to take your country from you, and has sent me and his braves to drive them back to their country. He has likewise sent a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and we want all your warriors to join us.'

"About the same time a deputation from the Sauk and Fox nation visited Washington, and, on their return, reported that President Madison had said to them, that, in the event of a war with Great Britain, he wished them not to interfere on either side, but to remain neutral. He did not want their help, but wished them to hunt, and support their families, and live in peace."

There seems to have been at this time a difference of opinion among these Indians, as to which side they should take in the approaching war. Individual chiefs may have had their predilections towards one side or the other; but most probably they hesitated only to ascertain which party would offer them the most advantageous terms. When the war actually broke out, a large party went to St. Louis, and offered the services of the tribe to the American government. The offer was promptly declined, because our government had resolved that they would not employ the savages. A small party claimed protection, and, separating from the nation, were sent to a new home provided for them on the Missouri, where they still live; but the great body of the Sauks and Foxes joined the British standard, and fought with their troops during the war.

An anecdote which Black Hawk relates as having occurred about this time, has probably many parallels in frontier history. A friend of his, who was old and crippled, had an only son, who had been adopted by Black Hawk, though he continued to live with his father. He had called to see his old friend on his way to join the British. Their next meeting was on his return, and is thus described: "We were in the vicinity of our village, when I discovered a smoke ascending from a hollow in the bluffs. I directed my party to proceed to the village, as I wished to go alone to the place from whence the smoke proceeded, to see who was there. I approached the spot, and, when I came in view of the fire, saw a mat stretched, an old man sitting under it in sorrow. At any other time I would have turned away without disturbing him, knowing that he had come there to be alone, to humble himself before the Great Spirit, that he might take pity on him. I approached and seated myself beside him. He gave one look at me, and then fixed his eyes on the ground. It was my old friend. I anxiously inquired for his son, my adopted child, and what had befallen our people? My old comrade seemed scarcely alive; he must have fasted a long time. I lighted my pipe and put it in his mouth. He eagerly drew a few puffs, cast up his eyes, which met mine, and recognised me. His eyes were glassy; he would again have fallen off into forgetfulness, had I not given him some water, which revived him." The wretched man who was thus mourning in solitude, told the cause of his sorrow. His boy had gone out alone to hunt. Night came and he did not return. The alarmed parents passed a sleepless night. In the morning the mother applied to the other lodges for assistance, and all went in pursuit of the absent boy. There being snow on the ground, they soon came upon his track, and after following it some time, found also the trail of a deer which he had been pursuing. They came to the place where he had stood and fired, and found a deer which had been skinned hanging upon a branch of a tree. But here they found also the tracks of *white men.* They had taken the boy prisoner. Their tracks led across the river, and then down towards a fort; and after following the footsteps for some distance the boy was found dead. His body was shot and stabbed, and his head scalped! The mother died soon after, and the old Indian, left alone in the world, and, perhaps, destitute of the means of subsistence, hied him to a solitary place to die. This recital exhausted his strength, and Black Hawk had only time to promise to avenge the murder of his son, when the eyes of the old man closed in death. Such are the atrocities of border warfare—when national animosity becomes embittered by private injuries; the invasion of dwellings, and the destruction of private property plant the feeling of revenge deep in the heart, and one deed of violence is retaliated by another, until mercy and generosity are wholly forgotten.

Shortly after this occurrence, Black Hawk with a party of eighteen warriors descended the Mississippi in canoes, and landed near Cap au Gris, in Illinois. They struck into the country, until they came to one of those rude fortresses of logs, which the settlers of the frontier erect for their protection, near which they concealed themselves. Presently two white men riding upon one horse approached, when the Indians fired and killed the horse and one of the riders, while the other escaped into the fort. The Indians retreated, but were immediately pursued by a party of mounted men, who surrounded them, and forced them into one of those funnel shaped cavities, which in this country are called sink-holes. Taking advantage of this position, the Indians threw themselves on the ground, and, being covered as by a breast-work, fired from the brink of the hole. The backwoodsmen were not to be thus foiled. A part of them retired, and soon returned with a large ox-cart, the body of which was tilted so as to be nearly perpendicular, and pushing this moveable rampart forward to the edge of the cavity, they fired from behind it. Such was the ingenuity displayed mutually, that but one man was killed on each side at this spot; when, night coming on, the Americans retired to their fort, and the Indians retreated. The incident thus related by Black Hawk in his autobiography, is substantially confirmed by a narrative repeated to us some years ago by one of the white men who was concerned in the affair, and who is now an affluent citizen of Illinois.

At the conclusion of the war between Great Britain and the United States, the Sauks and Foxes made peace with the American government, and the latter soon after established a fort on Rock Island. The planting of a military post so near their principal village, was little relished by this warlike community, nor did they willingly give up a beautiful island, which abounded in wild fruits, and was much frequented by them in the summer. They believed that a good spirit had the care of it, who lived in a cave in the rocks, immediately under the place where the fort was built. He is said to have been often seen by the Indians; and was white, with wings resembling those of a swan, but ten times larger. They were careful to make no noise in that part of the island which he inhabited for fear of disturbing him. He has never been seen since the building of Fort Armstrong, and is supposed to have been driven away by the din of the drums and cannon, or by the boisterous mirth of a licentious soldiery.

A permanent peace was now established between these Indians and the Americans, which has not since been interrupted by any general war. But many causes of dissatisfaction occurred. The facilities afforded to an intercourse with the whites enabled the Indians to procure ardent spirits more frequently than in former times, and a train of evil consequences ensued. The treaty by which the lands they still inhabited were ceded, was a subject of bitter reflection; and, as the settlements of the whites expanded from year to year, they saw that the time was rapidly approaching when they must abandon their pleasantly situated village, and the delightful plains of Illinois. Collisions occurred between their hunters and the people of the frontier. The latter were in the habit of suffering their cattle and hogs to roam at large in the woods and over the prairies, and when any of these animals were lost, the Indians were suspected—in most instances we think unjustly—of having stolen them. On one occasion when Black Hawk was hunting near the settlements, a party of white men seized him, charged him with having killed their hogs, and beat him severely with sticks. At another time, an Indian having discovered a hive of wild bees, cut down the tree for the purpose of taking the honey, and, although trees were then considered of no value, but were constantly hewed down by any who pleased, this unfortunate Indian was pursued, and robbed of all the furs he had taken during a winter's hunting, under the pretence of compensation for the injury he was alleged to have committed.

It is believed that Keokuk regarded these deeds of violence in the proper light, as the unauthorised acts of lawless individuals, who received no countenance from the American government or people. This chief was now at the head of his nation, and, although a distinguished warrior, his policy was pacific, and his professions of friendship towards the Americans sincere. Black Hawk, who viewed him with dislike and jealousy, was at the head of a faction called the "British Band," who continued to make annual visits to the British post at Malden, where they made their purchases, and received presents, while the majority of the tribe conformed to the regulations in regard to them made by the American government, and traded at St. Louis. This state of things continued for about twenty years after the war, with but little alteration.

In the meanwhile, the territory of Illinois had been formed into a state, and the settlements which had commenced in the southern part of this delightful country, were rapidly extending to the north. The Sauks and Foxes still occupied the most desirable part of the state, and around their village in every direction was an immense district of wilderness, over which they hunted. In the extreme northwestern part of the state, at Fever river, a rich mineral region was discovered, and began to be occupied, and the flourishing town of Galena sprung into existence.

We shall now turn our attention to the war in which Black Hawk acted a conspicuous part. By a treaty made in 1804, at St. Louis, between Governor Harrison on the part of the United States, and certain chiefs of the united Sauk and Musquakee nation, the latter ceded all their lands in Illinois to the United States, under a reservation, however, contained in the following words: "As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them." This treaty was disclaimed by the Sauk and Fox nation, as having been made by persons who were not authorised to treat on that subject; but it was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of Portage des Sioux in 1815, and by another treaty made in 1816.

The provision which allowed the Indians to occupy the ceded territory, occasioned no inconvenience so long as the settlements in Illinois were confined to the southern part of that state; nor would any have occurred, had the citizens of the United States been content to observe the simple and salutary regulations of their own laws. The statutory provisions for the protection of the Indians are numerous and ample. White men are strictly prohibited from purchasing or occupying the lands of the Indians, and from entering the Indian country, for any purpose whatever, without a license; and the latter are only granted to a limited number of traders. The lands of the Indians are, therefore, in the eye of the law, sacred from intrusion, and the two races are so separated as to prevent any contact or collision, which might be likely to disturb the harmony of either party. Not less guarded are the laws by which the lands of the government, previous to their conversion into private property, are protected from intrusion. When a portion of the Indian territory is purchased, it becomes part of what is termed the public domain of the United States, and individuals are strictly prohibited from inhabiting, or in any manner occupying, or trespassing upon such lands, until they are regularly offered for sale. The practice of the government has been to remove the Indians from the public lands previous to any measures being taken to bring them into market. A portion of the territory is then surveyed, divided into tracts of a convenient size, by lines corresponding with the cardinal points of the compass, and the lands are then offered for sale. By these cautious enactments the Indians are not only protected in the enjoyment of their own lands, but after having ceded them, the progressive steps by which the new population are admitted, oppose barriers, which, if not broken down by lawless violence, would effectually prevent the one race from crowding oppressively upon the other.

Unhappily, however, these humane and wise provisions have been but little regarded; and the greater number of our Indian wars have been incited by the impatience of our own people to possess the hunting grounds of the receding savage. The pioneers, or first settlers of our country, are a hardy, erratic, adventurous race, uniting the habits of the hunter and the farmer, and among them the desire for new lands is a passion as strong as it is universal. They delight in the wilderness. A fertile uninhabited tract combines the requisites which they deem necessary to happiness: a virgin soil, fresh and luxuriant, which yields an abundant harvest without laborious culture—a wide range of natural pasture over which their cattle may roam at large—and a country stocked with game. Allured by such advantages, thousands of individuals are constantly in the practice of breaking through the wholesome restraints to which we have alluded, and intruding not only on the public domain, but the lands of the Indians. Having found a choice spot, the pioneer erects his cabin, as fearless of the law, as he is reckless of danger from the savage or the wild brute, and takes quiet possession, in the confidence that when the district shall be brought into market, an indulgent government will grant the right of pre-emption to those who shall have settled within it in contravention of its laws, or, that those who shall lawfully enter the country at a future day for the purpose of becoming purchasers, will be generous enough to refrain from buying a tract already occupied, and on which the tenant has expended his labour. However unreasonable such calculations may seem, they have seldom proved fallacious.

In the winter of 1827, when the Sauks and Foxes were absent from their town on Rock River, engaged in hunting, some evil disposed persons, who were probably impatient to hasten their departure from the ceded territory, set fire to the vacant lodges, of which about forty were consumed. The Indians made no attempt to resent this outrage, but on their return quietly rebuilt their desolated village. In the following year, six or seven families of whites moved out and settled upon a choice tract of land adjoining the village. At that time nearly the entire northern half of Illinois was a wilderness, with a few scattered settlements thinly dispersed, at distant points, none of which were within fifty miles of Rock Island. There was, therefore, no reason founded upon necessity or inconvenience, nor any limitation of choice which confined the selection to that particular spot; millions of acres untrodden by the foot of civilised man, and blooming in all the luxuriance of nature, afforded ample scope to the most fastidious choice. But, besides the violation of law and the infraction of a solemn treaty, this intrusion was fraught with the most ruinous consequences to the Sauks and Foxes. The Indians keeping no domestic animals but dogs and horses, make no fences round their corn fields, or at best, throw about them slight enclosures of brushwood. The intruders brought with them large herds of cattle which were turned out to graze upon the open plain, and by which the patches of corn planted by the squaws were entirely destroyed. They even went so far as to extend their fences over the ground in the actual use of the Indians, on which corn was growing, and to plough up the latter in mere wantonness—for there could be no reason, nor any apology for such an act, when the surrounding and contiguous country was all unoccupied, except that the corn grounds of the Indians, being already under tillage, were prepared for the use of the farmer, without subjecting him to the labour of breaking the natural sod, as in the new lands. When some of the squaws, not aware of being guilty of any offence, clambered over the fences, thus unlawfully erected, they were beaten with sticks! All these wrongs and indignities were perpetrated by a handful of whites, in the midst of a warlike Indian nation; but so determined were the red men to keep at peace, and such the awe inspired by the overwhelming superiority of the American people, that they submitted without attempting any act of retaliation.

In 1829 the writer, then occupying a civil office in Illinois, in company with a friend, who had recently filled a high post in the same state, visited Rock Island. The unhappy collision between the intruding whites and the Indians had then reached the most painful state of excitement, and we gathered from the Indian agent, the officers at Fort Armstrong, and the Indians, the particulars of this disastrous contest. Black Hawk, on hearing of the arrival of two strangers, who were as he supposed chiefs in their own country, came to relate to them the wrongs of his people. He spoke of the indignity perpetrated upon himself when, upon suspicion of an act that he would have scorned, he was beaten like a criminal, and, pointing to a black mark upon his face, said that he bore it as a symbol of disgrace. The customs of his nation, and their notions of honour, required that he should avenge the wrong he had received by shedding the blood of the aggressor; but he chose rather to submit for a season than involve his people in a war which must be fatal to them. And this was the only alternative; for such is the readiness with which offence is taken against the Indian, that if one of this race should kill, or even strike a white man, the act would be eagerly seized upon and exaggerated, the whole frontier population would rush to war, and the red men would be hunted from their homes like wild beasts. He spoke of the intrusion upon their fields, the destruction of their growing corn, the ploughing up of the graves of their fathers, and the beating of their women, and added, "We dare not resent any of these things. If we did, a great clamour would be raised; it would be said that the Indians were disturbing the white people, and troops would be sent to destroy us." We inquired, "Why do you not represent these things to our government—the President is a wise and good ruler, he would protect you?" The reply was, "Our Great Father is too far off, he cannot hear our voice." "But you could have letters written and sent to him." "So we could," said the old man, "but the white men would write letters, and say that we told lies. Our Great Father would not believe an Indian in preference to his own children." This interview is alluded to in the biography already mentioned; and Black Hawk says of his visiters, "Neither of them could do any thing for us; but they both evidently appeared very sorry. It would give me great pleasure, at all times, to take these two chiefs by the hand."

Under these circumstances, the government required the removal of this nation from the ceded tract to their lands west of the Mississippi, and ordered the necessary surveys preparatory to the opening of a new land district; and, although by the treaty of 1804, the Indians had a right to occupy this country until it should be actually sold to individual purchasers, it was, perhaps, best for them that this right should not be insisted upon. The settlements were approaching so rapidly that their tenancy could be but brief. At the end of two or three years, at most, they would be forced to retire. The government having determined to sell the lands, the only question was, whether they would insist on remaining during the period while the preparations for the sale should be going forward, or retire voluntarily before the pressure of the expected emigration should elicit new causes of dissatisfaction. Keokuk, sustained by the majority of the nation, took the more prudent view of the subject and prepared to remove; while Black Hawk with the British band determined to remain. It is due, however, to these unfortunate people, to state that while they decided to insist on a right guaranteed to them by a solemn treaty, they neither threatened violence nor prepared for war. They simply resolved to remain on the land during the whole term reserved to them, or until ejected by force.

In the spring of 1831, after the Indians had for a long while passively endured a series of insults and injuries from the intruding whites settled in their vicinity, and while the most profound peace existed on the frontier, a war was suddenly kindled by the same parties, who had thus far been the aggressors. The fences of the white people had, it seems, been thrown across a path which the Indian women had been accustomed to use, and the latter finding their way obstructed threw down the enclosure. This trivial offence was eagerly seized upon by those who had long sought to bring about a war. Letters were despatched to the interior in which it was alleged that the Indians were hostile, that measures had been taken to unite the Winnebagoes and Potawatimies with them in a league against the whites, that aggressions had already been committed upon the property of the settlers, and that the latter, wholly unprotected and in the power of merciless savages, were on the eve of abandoning their homes; and an express was despatched to the Governor of Illinois formally communicating intelligence of a similar character. Upon this representation, a body of militia was ordered out by the governor and marched immediately to Rock River. Fortunately for the peace of the frontier, General Gaines, the commander of the western division of the army of the United States, was then at St. Louis, and hastened to the scene of action, where his presence and conciliatory conduct, soothed for a time the elements of discord. A council was held, in which these matters were discussed during several days; and it was finally agreed that the Sauks and Musquakees should retire to their own lands on the western shore of the Mississippi.

While this council was in session, General Gaines, observing that Black Hawk was seated among the chiefs and leading men who represented the Indian nation, and having heard his name often repeated as the most active of those who opposed the whites, inquired one day, "Who is Black Hawk? Is he a chief? By what right does he appear in council?" No reply was made. Black Hawk arose, gathered his blanket around him, and stalked out of the council room. On the following morning he was again in his seat. With the caution which marks the Indian character, he had refrained from making a reply while under the influence of passion, but had taken time to prepare himself. When the council was opened, he arose and said, "My father, you inquired yesterday who is Black Hawk—why does he sit among the chief men? I will tell you who I am. I am a Sauk, my father was a Sauk—I am a warrior, so was my father. Ask those young men who have followed me to battle, and they will tell you who Black Hawk is! Provoke our people to war, and you will learn who Black Hawk is!" He then resumed his seat, and nothing more was said upon the subject.

The nation removed, agreeably to this treaty, to the western side of the river; but the state of Illinois continued to be agitated by rumours indicating a hostile disposition on the part of these Indians. Individuals among them were said to have visited the neighbouring tribes to incite them to war—a prophet was employed in dreaming and working spells—Black Hawk visited the British post at Malden, for the supposed purpose of procuring arms and ammunition—and the band attached to this leader were known to be discontented. It was confidently asserted, that a general league among the northwestern tribes threatened the frontier with the desolation of the tomahawk and firebrand. However true these reports may have been in regard to the faction whose movements caused them, it is known that Keokuk and the majority of the nation were sincere in their pacific professions; and although Black Hawk was now mischievously disposed, it is not probable that, failing in his intrigues to implicate other tribes in the quarrel, he would have ventured upon any hostile demonstration with the small band under his own influence.

In the ensuing spring, while the public mind was thus excited, Black Hawk adopted the injudicious step of returning to Illinois, alleging that his band had been invited by the Potawatimies, residing on Rock river, to spend the summer with them, and plant corn on their lands. They crossed the Mississippi in open day, attended by their women and children, and carrying with them their lodges and travelling equipage; thus demonstrating that, whatever might have been their ulterior views, their immediate purpose was not hostile—for the Indian always strikes his foe suddenly, and by stealth, leaving behind him every incumbrance which might hinder a rapid retreat. A band of men trained to war, and well versed in its various incidents, could not be fairly suspected of the folly of making a hostile inroad upon the territory of a powerful people, under circumstances which must alike have rendered defeat certain, and flight impracticable. But reason sleeps when fear and jealousy are awake. The dreadful experience of the horrors of Indian warfare, too familiar to our frontier population, has rendered them so keenly sensitive to its dangers, that the slightest rumour of such an incursion excites an universal alarm.

On hearing the intelligence of the invasion, as it was termed, of Black Hawk, the Governor of Illinois called out a large body of militia, and, placing himself at their head, marched to Rock Island. A singular state of things was now presented. Not a blow was struck. The Indians, after resting a few days at their village, pursued their march towards the country of the Potawatimies, without concealment or violence. Notwithstanding their merciless rule of warfare, which spares no foe who may fall into their hands, however helpless, they passed the isolated cabins in the wilderness, without offering the slightest outrage to the defenceless inhabitants. The property of the settlers, intruders upon the lands of these very Indians, remained untouched. Travellers between St. Louis and Galena proceeded singly, or in small parties, through a wild region, now the reputed seat of war, without molestation, while an army was on its march to the frontier, and the newspapers were filled with reports of an Indian war in all its "pomp and circumstance." Matters did not remain long in this condition. A battalion of mounted militia, which had been sent in advance of the army, falling in with five or six Indians, who were approaching them with pacific signals, unhappily captured and put to death all except one, who made his escape, bearing the news of the slaughter of his comrades to the Indian camp, which was near. Black Hawk, who alleges that he was engaged in entertaining some visiters with a dog feast, immediately planned an ambuscade, into which the militia were enticed. On receiving the fire of the Indians they became panic struck, and fled in great disorder, with the loss of about fourteen men.

The Indians, finding that the war was commenced in earnest, now determined to do all the mischief in their power. Dividing their little force into numerous parties, they struck into the settlements which at that time were thinly scattered over an immense region of frontier, burning the huts of the settlers, and slaughtering such as fell in their way. In the course of a few weeks they committed much bloodshed and destruction. The whole state of Illinois became greatly excited. Two thousand additional militia were ordered out, and the citizens of every profession or calling were eager to participate in the campaign. It would be impossible for those who have never witnessed such scenes, to realise the state of public feeling which pervaded the country at that period. The greater portion of the population of Illinois were emigrants from the older western states, and had either experienced the horrors of Indian warfare, or were the immediate descendants of those who had seen and felt the atrocities of savage barbarity. They had been accustomed from infancy to hear of the midnight conflagration and the slaughter of women and children, and to regard the Indian with fear and hatred. They thought of the red man only as one whose hand was ever ready to shed innocent blood; and there were few who could not tell of some friend or relative whose hearth-stone had been desolated by the tomahawk. Although many years had rolled on in peace, and a new generation had grown up, the feuds of the border were not forgotten. With such feelings the whole population rose at the first alarm, and so popular was the war, that it was hardly creditable for any able bodied man to remain at home.

Farmers, lawyers, physicians, merchants, civil officers of every grade and department were among the volunteers; and especially were all gentlemen, who had any aspiration for political preferment, eager to signalise themselves in this field.

The plan of our work would not authorise a detailed account of this war. It is enough to say, that the little band of Black Hawk were soon compelled to fly before the immense force arrayed against them, directing their course north and west over the uninhabited waste lying between the head waters of Rock river and the Mississippi. The army pursued with ardour, but under many disadvantages. Although the country was level and open, the Indians being the smaller party, were enabled to elude their pursuers, while the army, too numerous for the service allotted them, and encumbered with wagons, moved with heavy steps. After several weeks laborious marching, and some skirmishes in which gallantry was displayed on both sides, the Indians were overtaken on the shore of the Mississippi, near the mouth of a stream called Bad Axe, and nearly the whole party slain or captured. Black Hawk was among the few who escaped; but he was delivered, a few days after, to General Street, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, by two Winnebagoes. Thus ended a war instigated by a few individuals to forward their own sinister views, but which cost the government more than two millions of dollars, besides needlessly sacrificing many valuable lives. But while we condemn the beginning of this contest, we would award credit to those who afterwards became engaged in it. However unjustly a war may be brought about, it becomes the cause of our country whenever hostilities have commenced, and honour should be awarded to the citizen who draws his sword to repel an armed foe from our borders.

In the spring of 1833, several of the captive leaders of the hostile band were conducted to Washington. Among these was the Prophet, who was supposed to have been the chief plotter, Neopope, who was the active military leader, Black Hawk and his son, a fine looking young man, who was facetiously called by some of the editors of the day, Tommy Hawk. On their arrival at the Federal city, they were admitted to an audience with the President, to whom Black Hawk, on being presented, said, "I am a man, you are another." Being informed by President Jackson that it was intended to hold them captive until the treaty made with General Gaines should be complied with, the Prophet made a speech, in which he remonstrated against this decision, and Black Hawk, after giving a history of the causes of the war, concluded a long address by saying, "We did not expect to conquer the whites. No, they have too many houses, too many men. I took up the tomahawk, for my part, to revenge injuries which my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking, my people would have said, Black Hawk is a woman, he is too old to be a chief, he is no Sauk. These reflections caused me to raise the war whoop. I say no more on that subject; it is all known to you. Keokuk was once here; you took him by the hand, and when he desired to return home, you were willing. We hope you will treat us in the same way, and let us go."

The prisoners were conducted to Fortress Monroe, in Virginia, where they were kindly treated, and received every mark of consideration and attention. On their liberation, after a detention of about a month, Black Hawk made a speech to General Eustis, the commanding officer, of which the following is said to have been the substance:

"Brother, I have come on my own part, and in behalf of my companions, to bid you farewell. Our Great Father has at length been pleased to permit us to return to our hunting grounds. We have buried the tomahawk, and the sound of the rifle will hereafter bring death only to the deer and the buffalo. Brother, you have treated the red men very kindly. Your squaws have given them presents, and you have provided them with plenty to eat and drink. The memory of your friendship will remain until the Great Spirit says that it is time for Black Hawk to sing his death song. Brother, your houses are as numerous as the leaves upon the trees, and your young warriors like the sands upon the shore of the big lake which lies before us. The red men have few houses and few warriors, but they have hearts as warm as those of their white brethren. The Great Spirit has given us our hunting grounds, and the skin of the deer which we kill there is his favourite, for it is white. This dress and these feathers are white: accept them, my brother. This present will remind you of Black Hawk when he is far away. May the Great Spirit preserve you and your children. Farewell."

Previous to their return to their own country, the captive warriors were conducted to the principal cities of the Atlantic states, and received every where the most marked attention and hospitality. They were invited to the theatres, museums, and other places of public resort; and great pains were taken to show them the various objects which were considered worthy of their attention, or likely to excite their curiosity. At New York they witnessed the ascension of a balloon, which was about to rise into the air as the steamboat which carried them to that city reached the wharf. On beholding the immense crowd which was assembled, and hearing the cheers of the multitude, they were at first alarmed, supposing those cries to be the war whoop of enemies; but when the real cause of the tumult was pointed out, they expressed the highest admiration. When the silken globe ascended gracefully into the air, and the aeronaut waved his flag, Black Hawk exclaimed, "That man is a great brave, but I do not think he will ever get back." When the balloon had attained so great a height as to be scarcely visible, he said, "I think he can go to the heavens, to the Great Spirit;" and another of the party added, "I should think he could see the Great Spirit now."

After a tour of about two months, during which they visited Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Boston, and other towns of less note, they returned, by way of the northern lakes, to Fort Armstrong. Major Garland, of the army, under whose charge they had travelled, being instructed to secure for them a kind reception from their nation, previous to their enlargement, sent a messenger to advise Keokuk of their arrival. That chief was encamped on the opposite shore of the river, about twenty miles below; and although these persons were his enemies, and had especially contemned his authority in bringing about the recent disastrous war, he determined, with the dignity which usually marks his conduct, to give them a respectful and cordial reception. A message was sent immediately to announce his intention; and at noon, the following day, the dull monotonous sound of the Indian drum proclaimed the approach of the chief. He led the cavalcade, with two large canoes lashed together, and shaded by a canopy, under which, with his three wives, he sat in state. About twenty canoes followed, each containing six or eight braves, who sung their wild songs as they plied the paddle. They ascended the river slowly until they came abreast of the fort, and then landed on the right bank, where they remained about two hours, engaged in painting themselves and arranging their dresses. They then crossed the river, and, on landing, Keokuk said to his followers, "The Great Spirit has sent our brothers back; let us shake hands in friendship." On reaching the spot where Black Hawk and his companions were encamped, they found these unfortunate braves seated in front of their tent, silent and motionless, as if absorbed in sorrowful reflection—doubtful, perhaps, of the reception that awaited them. Keokuk extended his hand to Black Hawk, and then to the rest of the newly returned party, without speaking; his followers imitated his example; the salutation was reciprocated with apparent cordiality, and then the whole company seated themselves on the ground. No one spoke, each waiting until the chief should break the silence. After an interval of fifteen minutes, Keokuk asked Black Hawk how long he had been on the road, adding that he had been expecting him, and was on the way to meet him when he heard of his arrival. Pipes were then introduced, and a general conversation ensued; after which the parties separated, Black Hawk and his party remaining in their camp at Fort Armstrong, while Keokuk with his band returned to the western shore of the river, where they spent the night in singing and dancing.

A council was held the next day, in a large room in the fort. Keokuk came attended by a hundred braves, decked in their savage finery, and singing their wild songs, until they reached the fort, which they entered in silence. Keokuk seated himself with Pashepahaw on one side, and Wapella on the other. The braves sat behind, and maintained a profound silence during the whole interview. Black Hawk with his party entered afterwards, and were seated opposite, facing the rest of the tribe. The chiefs rose and shook hands with them. Black Hawk and his son appeared dejected; they had unwillingly consented to attend this council, which to them could be no other than a scene of public humiliation. He had parted from his people in anger and rebellion, stigmatising them as cowards, and heaping, especially upon Keokuk, the most abusive epithets, because they would not rashly plunge into a war with a nation which could crush them at any moment. Keokuk had predicted the event of such a contest, and Black Hawk, who had brought it on his followers by imprudently entering the country of an incensed enemy, now stood before his people a ruined man, owing his life to the clemency of his captors—his reputation for prudence and conduct blighted, his followers nearly all slaughtered, his long nursed scheme of superseding Keokuk blasted forever.

Major Garland was the first to speak. He expressed his gratification at the friendly reception which had been extended to Black Hawk and his companions, and hoped that the nation would now live at peace. He reminded them of a speech made to the prisoners by the President, in which the red men were dissuaded from war and domestic broils, and caused that address to be interpreted at full length. Keokuk arose and said, "The heart of our Great Father is good; he has spoken like the father of many children. The Great Spirit made his heart big in council. We receive our brothers in friendship, our hearts are good towards them. They once listened to bad advice, now their ears are closed against evil counsel. I give them my hand. When they shake it, they shake the hands of all. I will shake hands with them, and then I have done."

They were then told by Major Garland, that the President considered Keokuk the principal chief of the nation, and desired he should be acknowledged as such; he expected Black Hawk would listen, and conform to this arrangement; he hoped the dissensions in the tribe would cease, that he should hear no more of two bands, but that all would unite in living together as one nation. From some mistake of the interpreter, Black Hawk understood that he was *ordered* to submit to the advice of Keokuk, and became greatly excited. Losing all command of himself he arose, trembling with anger, and exclaimed, "I am a man—an old man. I will not obey the counsels of any one! I will act for myself—no one shall govern me! I am old, my hair is gray. I once gave counsels to young men—am I to be ruled by others? I shall soon go to the Great Spirit, where I shall be at rest! What I said to our Great Father at Washington, I say again—I will listen to him. I am done!"

This address caused a momentary excitement throughout the assemblage. It was an unusual departure from the decorum which ordinarily prevails in an Indian council; and was not expected from so old a man—still less from one who had recently been severely punished for giving way to his passions. The offensive remark was explained: he was told that the President had not commanded, but advised him, to submit himself to the chief of his people. He made no reply. His galled spirit had been touched; he had given loose to feelings which had long been restrained, and he now sat in moody silence. Keokuk, in a low tone, said to him, "Why do you speak thus before white men? You trembled—you did not mean what you said. I will speak for you." The old man consented, and Keokuk arose:

"Our brother, who has lately come back to us," said he, "has spoken, but he spoke in anger. His tongue was forked. He did not speak like a man, like a Sauk. He felt that his words were bad, and trembled like a tree whose roots have been washed by many rains. He is old—let us forget what he said. He says he did not mean it. He wishes it forgotten. What I have said are his words, not mine. Let us say that our brother spoke in council to-day, and that his words were good. I have spoken."

Conciliatory remarks were made by Colonel Davenport, the commanding officer at Rock Island, and by Major Garland, after which Black Hawk requested, that if his words had been written down, a black line might be drawn over them.

Wapella said, "I am not in the habit of talking—I think—I have been thinking all day. Keokuk has spoken; he spoke for us all. I am glad to see my brothers. I will shake hands with them. I have done."

After the council had closed, Major Garland invited the principal chiefs, with Black Hawk, to spend the evening at his quarters, in the hope of cementing the reconciliation which had been effected. The pipe was circulated, and the Indians treated to a glass of sparkling champaigne, which they relished highly. Pashepahaw, after shaking hands with the whole company, made a speech:

"We met this morning," said he, "I am glad we have met again. That wine is very good; I never drank any of that kind before. I have thought much of our meeting to-day; it was one that told us we were brothers, that we were all Sauks. We had just returned from a buffalo hunt, and thought it was time for our brothers to be here, as our brothers at St. Louis told us they would come in this moon. We started before sunrise to meet you; we have met, and taken our brothers by the hand in friendship. They always distrusted our councils, and, forsaking the trail of the red men, went where there were no hunting grounds, nor friends—now they have returned to find the dogs howling around their wigwams, and wives looking for their husbands. They said we counselled like women, but they have found our counsels were sound. They have been through the country of our Great Father. They have been to the wigwams of the white men. They received them kindly, and made their hearts glad. We thank them: say to the white people that Keokuk and Pashepahaw thank them. Our brother has promised to listen to the counsels of Keokuk. What he said in council to-day was like the fog of the Mississippi—the sun has shone and the day is clear, let us forget it. His heart is good, but his ears have been open to bad counsels. He listened to them, and closed his ears to the voice which came across the great waters. He now knows that he ought to listen to Keokuk. We told our Great Father that all would be quiet, and asked him to let our brother go. He opened his dark prison and let him see the rising sun; he gave him to his wife and children, who were without a lodge. Our Great Father made straight the path of our brother. I once took prisoner a great chief of the Osages. I heard the cries of his women and children. I took him out to the rising sun, and put him upon the trail to his village. Go, said I, and tell your people that Pashepahaw, chief of the Sauks, sent you. We thank our Great Father. Say to him that I reach out my right hand; he is a great way off, but I now shake him by the hand. Our hearts are good towards him. I hope to see him before I lie down in peace. May the Great Spirit be in his counsels. What our brother said to day let us forget. I am done."

Keokuk arose and said, "We feel proud that you have invited us here this evening to drink with you. The wine which we have drank we never tasted before. It is the wine which the white men make, who know how to make every thing. I will take another glass, as I have much to say. To-day we shook hands with our brothers. We were glad to see them—we often thought of our brothers. Many of our nation said they would never return; their wives and children often came to our wigwams, which made us feel sad. What Pashepahaw said is true. I talked to our young braves, who had the hearts of men; I told them that the Great Spirit was in our counsels, and they promised to live in peace. Those who listened to bad advice and followed our brothers, have said that their ears are closed—they will go to war no more. I sent their words to our Great Father, whose ears were open. His heart had been made sad by the conduct of these our brothers, whom he has now sent home. We thank him. Say to him, Keokuk thanks him. Our brothers have seen the great villages of the white men; they travelled a long road, and found the Americans like grass. Many years ago I went through the villages of our Great Father; he had many that were broad like the great prairies. He has gone: another is our Father; he is a great war chief. I want to see him; I shall be proud to take him by the hand. I have heard much of him; his head is gray. Tell him as soon as the snow melts from the prairie I will come. What I have said I wish spoken to him, before it is put upon paper, so that he shall hear it as I said it. What our brother said in council to-day let us forget. He told me to speak: I spoke his words. I have spoken."

Black Hawk then rose with a calm but dejected air. "I feel," said he, "that I am an old man; once I could speak, but now I have little to say. We have met many of our brothers to-day; we were glad to see them; we have listened to them; their hearts are good. They have behaved like Sauks since I left them; they have taken care of my wife and children, who had no wigwam; I thank them for it. The Great Spirit knows I thank them. Before the sun gets behind the hills to-morrow I shall see them. When I left them I expected to return soon. I told our Great Father at Washington I would listen to his counsels; I say so to you. I will listen to Keokuk. I shall soon be far away, where I shall have no village, no band; I shall live alone. What I said in council to-day I wish forgotten. Say to our Great Father, and Governor Cass, I will listen to them. Many years ago I met Governor Cass in council, far across the great prairies towards the rising sun. His advice was good but my ears were shut. I listened to the Great Father far across the big waters. My father, whose band was large, also listened to him. My band was once large—now I have no band. I and my son, and all our party, thank our Great Father for what he has done. He is old, I am old; we shall soon go to the Great Spirit and be at rest. He sent us through his great villages. We saw many of the white men, and were kindly treated. We thank them. Say to them, we thank them. We thank you for travelling with us—your path was long and crooked.

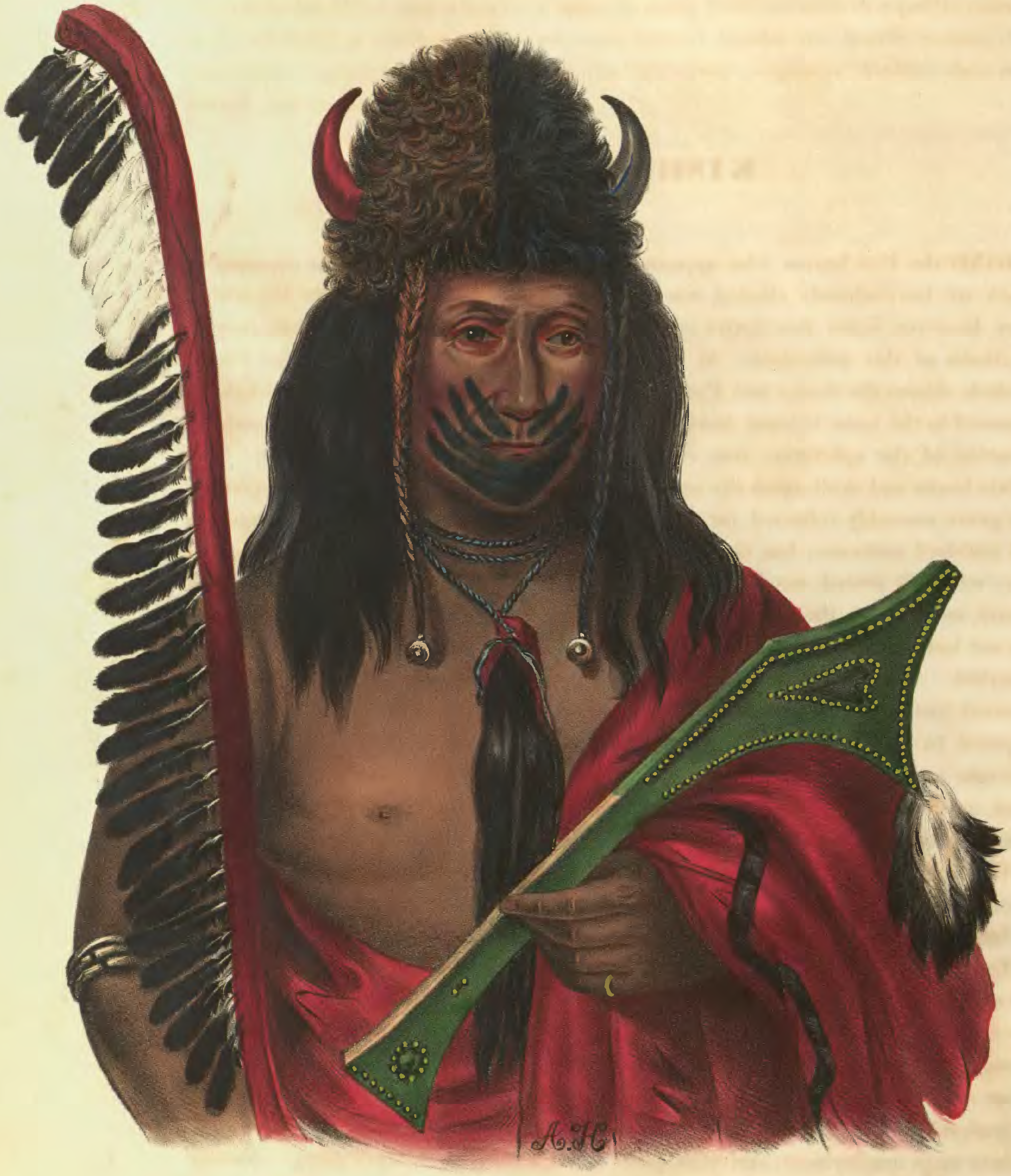
We never saw so many white men before; but when with you we felt as safe as if among friends. When you come to the Mississippi again you shall come to my lodge—now I have none. On your road home you will pass where our village once was. No one lives there now—all are gone. I give you my hand; we may never meet again, but we shall remember you. The Great Spirit will be with you, and your wives and children. I will shake hands with my brothers here, and then I am done."

Thus ended the brief but disastrous contest brought about by the rapacity of a few of our citizens. But although this was the immediate cause of the war, it must not be denied that there were other latent sources of disquiet which had predisposed a portion of the Sauks to such a measure. The rivalry between Black Hawk and Keokuk was of long standing, and had occasioned much heart burning. The former was the older man, and was descended from the chiefs, but was deficient in talent, and inferior to his rival in popularity; the latter, having energy, address, conduct, and eloquence, gradually rose to the head of the tribe. The division would probably have been healed long since but for an unfortunate interference. After the war between the United States and Great Britain, in which the Sauks and Foxes took part with the latter, a formal peace was made, in 1815, in which those tribes acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the American government. For this reason, and because their lands were within the boundaries of the United States, Keokuk at once admitted the propriety of trading and negotiating entirely with the American agents and traders, and made his annual visits accordingly to St. Louis. Black Hawk, from mere perverseness at first, but afterwards from interest, continued to resort to the British post at Malden, and to receive protection from the British authorities, or, as he expressed it, "to listen to the Great Father across the big waters." Those who recollect the late unhappy war with Great Britain, have not forgotten that it occasioned, especially upon the frontier, a bitterness of feeling, akin to that created by a civil war, and which continued to rankle for years after the contest was over. The visits, therefore, of Black Hawk, to Canada, were not likely to produce on his part a disposition friendly to the United States. It was on such occasions that he received the bad advice alluded to by the chiefs in their speeches.

Black Hawk was one of the party which attended Keokuk in his journey to Washington in 1837. He was, however, not one of the delegates, but was taken with them to prevent him from engaging in their absence in intrigues which might disturb the harmony of the tribe. He accompanied them to all public places, and was treated as a friend and equal, but did not sit in council, except as a spectator. At their first interview with the Secretary of War, where we happened to be present, Keokuk rose and said, "There is one here who does not belong to the council, but he has been accustomed to sit with us at home, and is our friend. We have brought him with us—we hope he will be welcome."

This noted individual is now old, and is frail and broken in his appearance. His stature is small, and his figure not striking; nor do his features indicate a high grade of intelligence. The strongest evidence of his good sense is found in an assertion contained in his autobiography, that he has never had but one wife.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing was written the papers announce the death of Black Hawk. He died at his village on the Des Moines river on the 3d of October, 1838. His body was disposed of, at his special request, after the manner of the chiefs of his tribe. He was placed upon the ground in a sitting posture, his hands grasping his cane. A square enclosure made of saplings is all the monument that marks the spot where rest the remains of this far-famed chief.



KISH-KE-KOSH

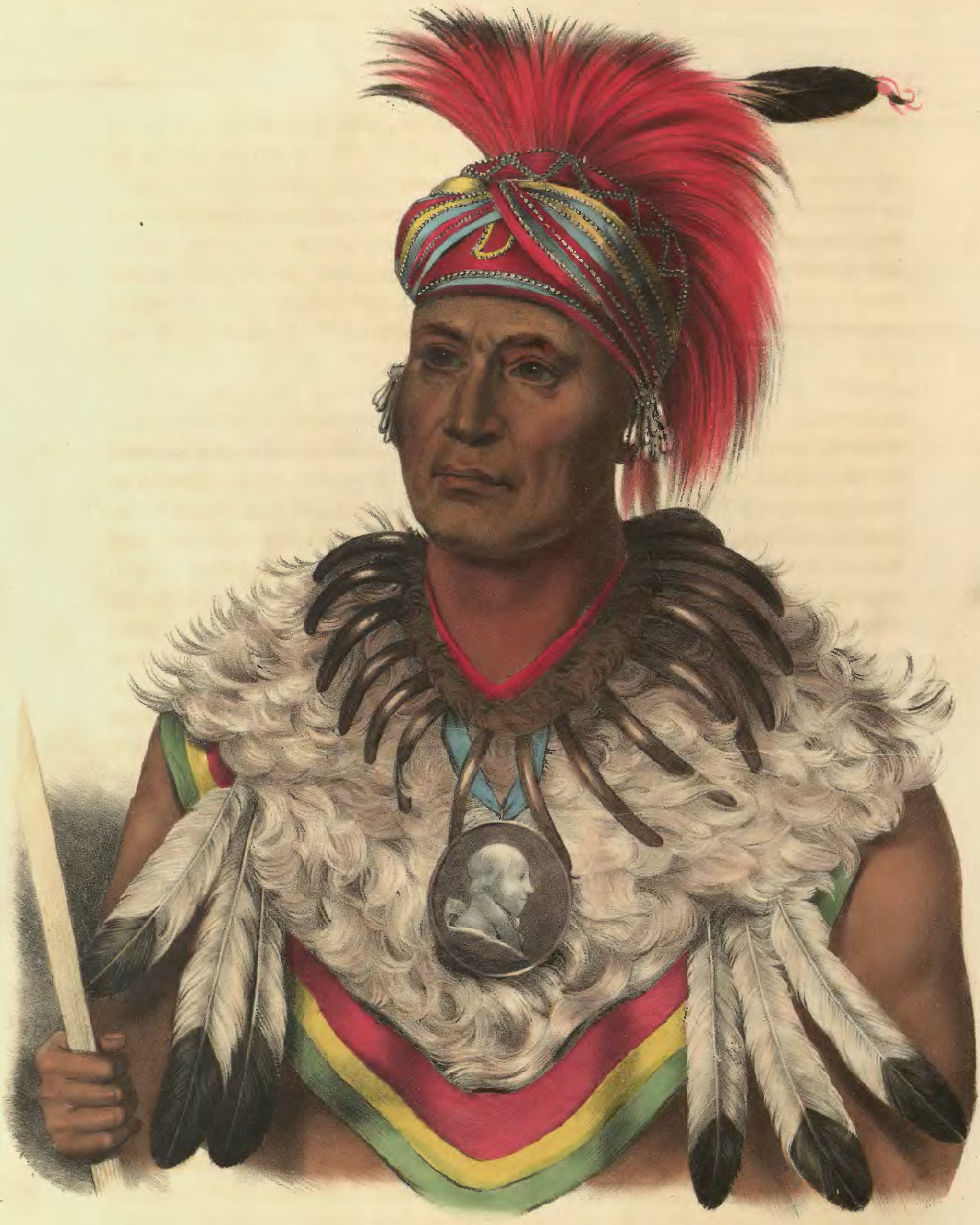
A FOX BRAVE.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^A
Drawn Printed & Coloured at J.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F. W. Greenough in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^a

KISHKEKOSH.

AMONG the Fox braves who appeared at Washington in 1837, on the occasion to which we have already alluded, was Kishkekosh, or *The man with one leg*, whose name, however, is not descriptive of his person; for we discovered no deficiency in the limbs of this individual. At the council which we described in the life of Keokuk, where the Sauks and Foxes were confronted with the Sioux, Kishkekosh appeared in the same hideous head dress which is exhibited in the picture, and the attention of the spectators was strongly attracted by this novel costume. The buffalo horns and skull, upon the man's head, would have rendered him conspicuous in a grave assembly collected for a serious purpose, in the presence of a numerous and polished audience; but this was not sufficient for Kishkekosh, who, when his party were all seated, stood up on a bench behind them, so as to display his full stature, and attract the special notice of all eyes. It was seen that this exhibition was not lost upon the Sioux, who whispered, exchanged glances, and were evidently disturbed. Those who were merely spectators, and who knew nothing of the personal history of the strange beings before them, were amused at what they supposed to be a piece of savage buffoonery, and could not help smiling at the ludicrous contrast between the uncouth figure perched up against the wall, and the silent, motionless group of grave warriors who sat before him arrayed in all the dignity of barbarian pomp.

We learned afterwards that the intrusion of the buffalo head was not without its meaning. It seems that on a certain occasion, when some skirmishing was going on between these hostile tribes, Kishkekosh, with a single companion, charged suddenly upon the Sioux, rushed into their ranks, killed several of their warriors, and retreated in safety, bringing off as a trophy this buffalo head, which Kishkekosh tore from the person of one of the slain. Such exploits, which are not uncommon among the Indians, resemble some of the deeds of antiquity, or those of the knights errant of a later age. Acts of desperate valour, leading to no practical advantage, but undertaken in mere bravado, must often occur among a people who follow war as their main employment, and who place a high value on military glory. Among savages especially, or any rude nation whose warfare is predatory, and made up chiefly of the exploits of individuals or small parties, such deeds are estimated extravagantly, not only on account of the courage and conduct shown in them, but because they afford themes for biting sarcasm and triumphant boasting over their enemies. Such, doubtless, was the light in which this deed of Kishkekosh was viewed by his tribe; and when they were to meet their enemies in a public council, at which a large number of persons were present besides the hostile parties, they tauntingly displayed this trophy with the deliberate purpose of feeding their own hatred and insulting their foemen.



WA-PEL-LA

CHIEF OF THE MUSQUAKEES.

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WAPELLA.

WAPELLA, whose name signifies the *Prince*, or the *Chief*, is the head man of the Musquakee, or Fox tribe. He was one of the delegation led by Keokuk to Washington in 1837, and made a favourable impression by the correctness of his deportment on that occasion. In stature he is shorter, and more heavily built than most of the Indians, and has the appearance of great strength and activity.

In the council held by the Secretary of War, for the purpose of reconciling the Sioux with the Sauks and Foxes, Wapella spoke next after Keokuk, and acquitted himself well. Although he possessed not the fine form and striking manner of Keokuk, many thought his speech not inferior to that of the principal chief. It was well digested, sensible and pertinent. We remarked that, in the opening of his harangue, the authority of Keokuk was distinctly recognised, as well as the identity of interest of the tribes represented respectively by these two chiefs. "My father," said Wapella, "you have heard what my chief has said. He is the chief of our nation. His tongue is ours. What he says we all say—whatever he does we will be bound by it."

Having concluded their visit at Washington, the delegates were conducted to several of the principal cities of the Atlantic states, where they excited much curiosity, and, we are happy to say, were treated with uniform kindness and hospitality. Unfortunate as are the relations between our government and the Indians, imposed by a train of circumstances for which, as a people, we are not accountable, there is evidently no lack of generous sympathy towards that race in any part of our country.

The reception of these Indian delegates at Boston was conducted with more ceremony than at any other place, and must have been highly gratifying to them, as well as interesting to numerous assemblages of citizens, most of whom saw for the first time the American savage in his native costume. It is said that so great a multitude was never assembled in that city to witness a public spectacle. In the morning, from ten to twelve, the chiefs held a levee at Faneuil Hall, for the reception of ladies exclusively, when it might doubtless have been said of the Boston ladies, as a New England poet wrote, long ago,

> "All longed to see and touch the tawny man;"

for we are told that this ancient hall was crowded in every part, floor and gallery, by the fair citizens.

At noon the chiefs and warriors were conducted to the State House, where the Governor, the members of the legislature, and other dignitaries, were prepared to receive them. Governor Everet, whose celebrity as a scholar, statesman, and philanthropist, would have naturally placed him in a conspicuous position at this exhibition of civic hospitality, independently of his office, addressed them in a bland and spirited manner. The chiefs replied separately. As usual, Keokuk spoke first, and after him Wapella. The remarks of the latter were as follows:

"I am very happy to meet my friends in the land of my forefathers. When a boy I recollect my grandfather told me of this place, where the white man used to take our fathers by the hand. I am very happy that this land has induced so many white men to come upon it; by that I think they get a living on it, and I am pleased that they content themselves to stay on it. (Great applause.) I am always glad to give the white man my hand and call him brother. The white man is the eldest of the two; but perhaps you have heard that my tribe is respected by all others, and is the oldest among the tribes. I have shaken hands with a great many different tribes of people. I am very much gratified that I have lived to come and talk with the white man in this house, where my fathers talked, which I have heard of so many years ago. I will go home and tell all I have seen, and it shall never be forgotten by my children."

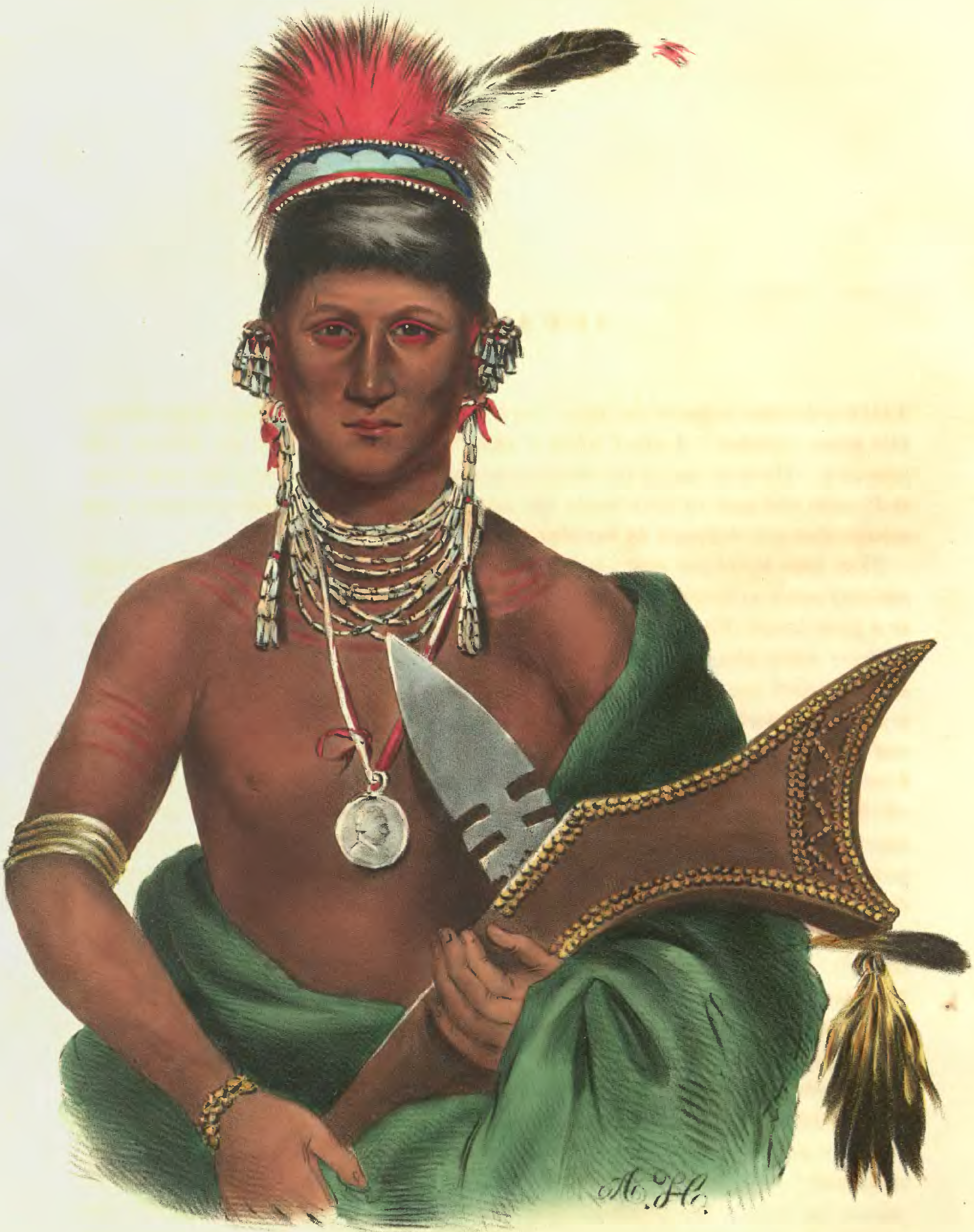
When the speaking was concluded, the Governor and the chiefs repaired to the balcony of the State House, which overlooks a beautiful and extensive open square, where presents were distributed to the Indians. Keokuk received a splendid sword and a pair of pistols; his little son a pretty little rifle. The principal chiefs were presented with costly swords, and others of less value were given to the warriors. Black Hawk had a sword and pistols. Shawls, calico, and trinkets, were given to the women. "During this ceremony," says one of the Boston editors, "a mass of at least fifteen acres of people stood below, filling the streets and the common. The chiefs were escorted to the common by the cadets, and began their war dance. The crowd very patiently kept outside the lines, leaving a space of many acres, in the centre of which were the Indians. Their war exercises were not very striking. One beat a drum, to which they hummed monotonously, and jumped about grotesquely. This lasted half an hour, when they moved off in carriages to their lodgings."

At Philadelphia, the delegations were taken to Cooke's splendid circus, and witnessed the equestrian exercises, which were probably more to their taste than any exhibition with which they were gratified during their tour. At New York they visited Mr. Catlin's extensive gallery of Indian portraits, and are said to have borne testimony to the fidelity of the likenesses of their acquaintances in that valuable collection.

Perhaps the most amusing incident of this tour was that which occurred at the

Washington theatre, to which the several Indian delegations had access every evening during their stay in the metropolis. Their conduct on these occasions did not evince the apathy usually attributed to them, but struck us rather as characterised by the habitual decorum and gravity of this singular people, mingled with an indifference resulting from their indistinct understanding of the subject. There were exceptions from this general deportment. They sometimes whispered to each other, with an appearance of interest, and more than once laughed heartily at some stroke of buffoonery. But the occurrence alluded to was of a more decided character. Miss ——— was acting the part of a sylph, which she did very charmingly. The merit of the performance consisted in her graceful attitudes, and in movements so light and easy that they seemed to be effected by means of mere mental volition, independently of the vulgar locomotive machinery commonly used by mortals. The Sioux occupied a stage box, and were so much delighted that, in the midst of the performance, one of them rose, and, taking a dressed buffalo robe from his shoulders, threw it at the feet of the actress, with a speech, which, according to the established phraseology, should doubtless be called an *appropriate address;* another threw a head dress, a third something else, until the whole company had each given a token of his approbation. Though taken by surprise, the sylph showed great presence of mind; indeed, if there is anything for which a woman is never wholly unprepared, it is admiration. Gathering up the unexpected tribute, she threw the articles over her arm, and continued to act in character, until showers of Indian finery became so thick that she was obliged to seek assistance to remove them. After a momentary absence she reappeared with a sheaf of ostrich feathers, which she distributed among the warriors—with an *appropriate* address.

We may mention, in connection with the foregoing anecdotes, the conduct of some Pawnee and Oto chiefs and warriors, who visited the Cincinnati theatre, on their way to Washington, during the same season. The Ravel family were exhibiting their wonderful feats of strength and agility, and the Indians evidently shared the universal admiration excited by these surprising performances. They confined themselves, however, to the ordinary expressions of pleasure, until the lad who was called the "Infant Hercules" exhibited a feat which displayed great muscular power, when the whole band evinced their admiration by loud shouts.



AP-PA-NOO-SE

SAUKIE CHIEF.

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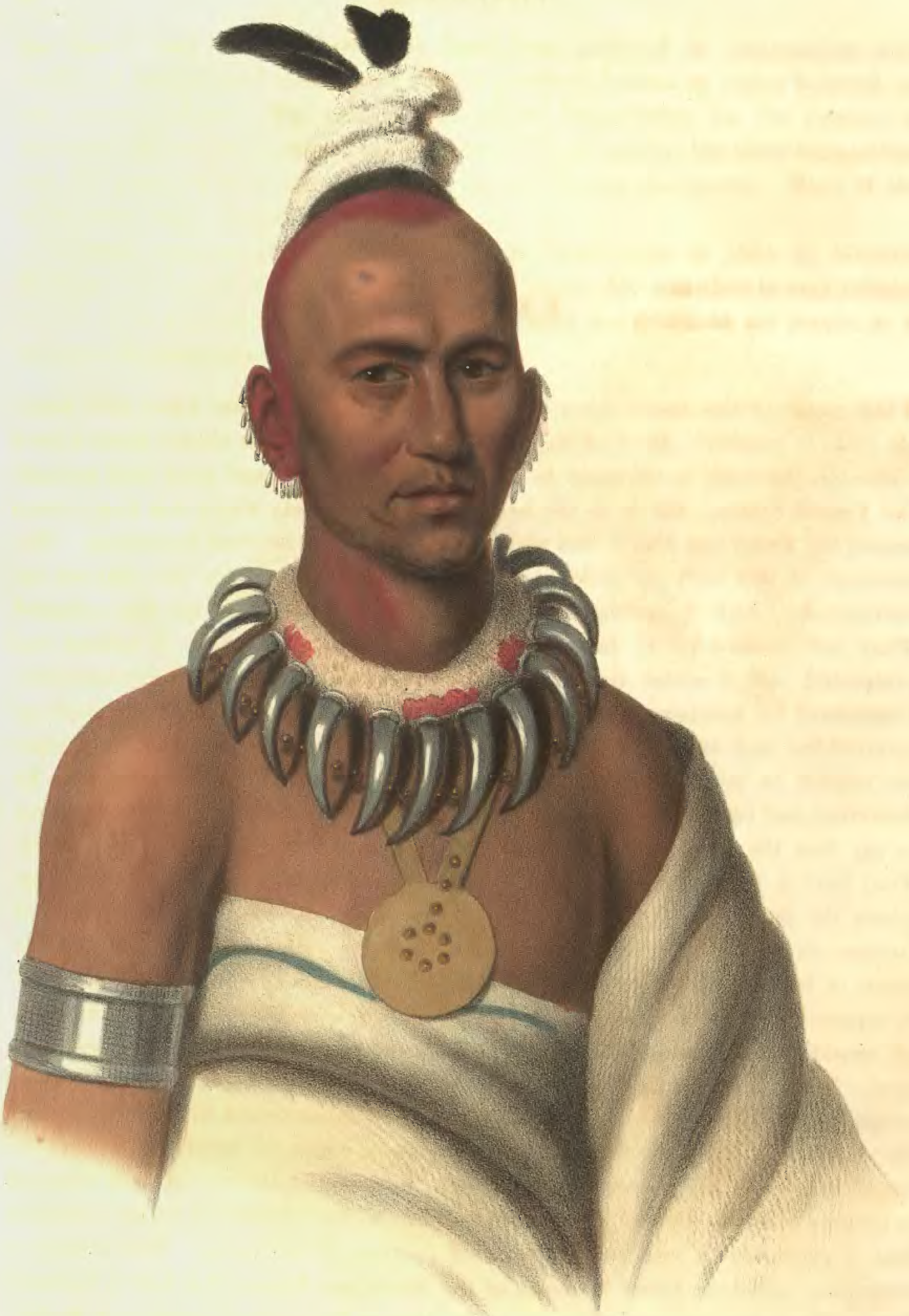
APPANOOSE.

THIS individual is one of the peace chiefs, and presides over a village of the Sauks. His name signifies "*A chief when a child,*" and indicates that his station was inherited. He was one of the delegation sent to Washington in 1837, and, when at Boston, was said to have made the most animated speech, both in manner and matter, that was delivered by the chiefs. He said,

"You have heard just now what my chief has to say. All our chiefs and warriors are very much gratified by their visit to this town. Last Saturday they were invited to a great house, (Fanueil Hall,) and now they are in the great council house. They are very much pleased with so much attention. This we cannot reward you for now, but shall not forget it, and hope the Great Spirit will reward you for it. This is the place which our forefathers once inhabited. I have often heard my father and grandfather say they lived near the sea coast where the white man first came. I am glad to hear all this from you. I suppose it is put in a book, where you learn all these things. As far as I can understand the language of the white people, it appears to me that the Americans have attained a very high rank among the white people. It is the same with us, though I say it myself. Where we live, beyond the Mississippi, I am respected by all people, and they consider me the tallest among them. I am happy that two great men meet and shake hands with each other." As he concluded, Appanoose suited the action to the word by extending his hand to Governor Everet, amid the shouts of applause from the audience, who were not a little amused at the self complacency of the orator.

The newspaper account, from which we gather some of these facts, concludes with the following remark. "We have taken pains to give the speeches of the Indian chiefs with verbal accuracy, as a matter of high intellectual curiosity. History, romance, and poetry, have embodied the Indian character to our perceptions from childhood. It is pleasant, therefore, to see the original, and find how accurate the picture has been. The language, ideas, and style of these Indians are precisely such as have been ascribed to their race. There is much to admire in the simple and manly manner in which they convey their ideas. He must be but a churl who does not associate with their visit here, objects of philanthropy and protection to their race."



TAI-O-MAH

A MUSQUAKEE BRAVE.

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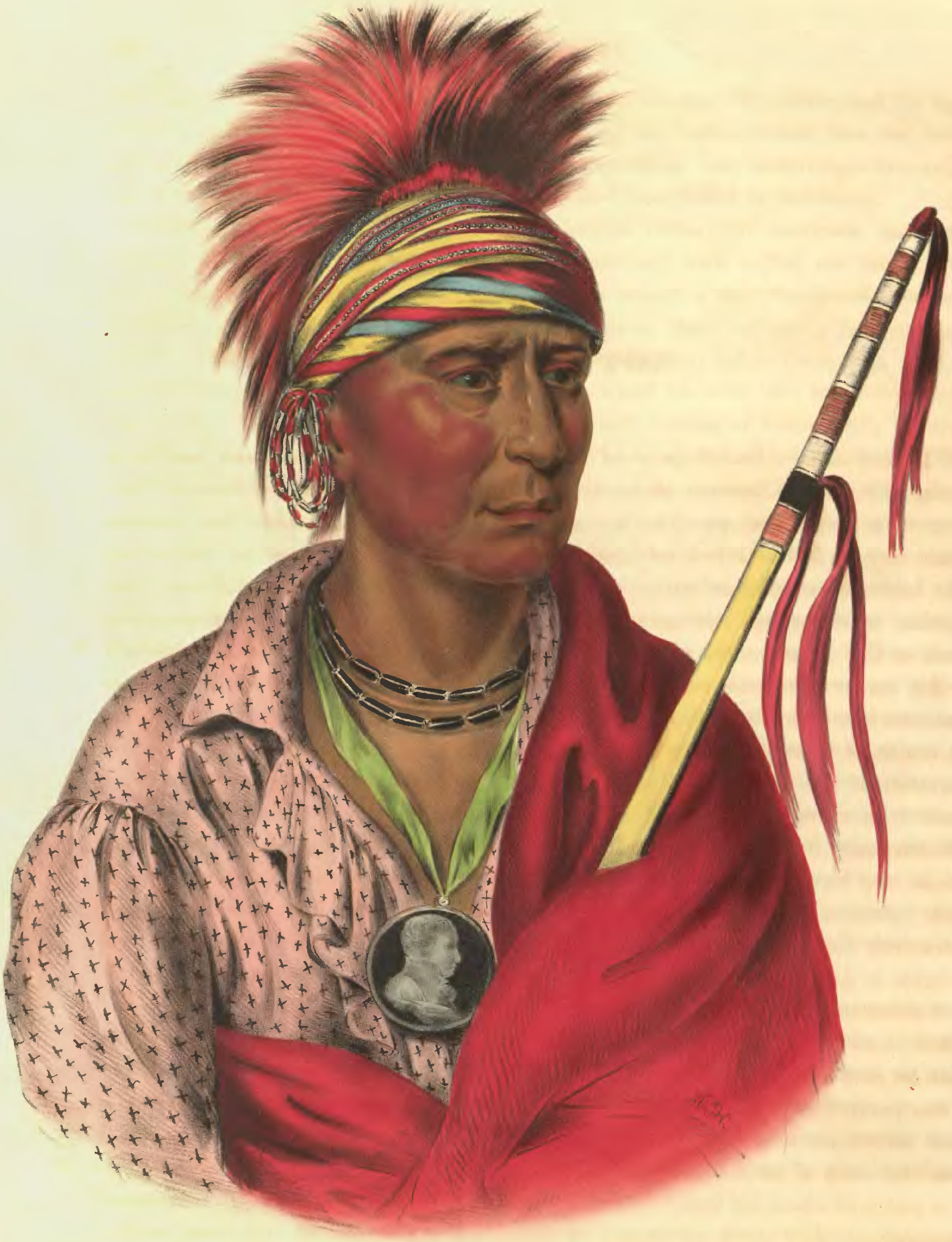
TAIOMAH.

THE name of this brave, when interpreted, signifies "*The bear whose voice makes the rocks to tremble.*" He is of the Musquakee tribe, and has always borne a good character, especially in reference to his uniform friendship and good faith towards the United States. He is at the head of a secret society which has long existed among the Sauks and Foxes, and may be considered as a national institution. The meetings of this body are held in a spacious lodge, erected for the purpose, the entrance to which is guarded by a sentinel, who admits none but the initiated. They are understood to have a ceremony of initiation which is solemn and protracted, and a secret that may not be divulged without fatal consequences. Candidates for admission are subjected to careful trial and scrutiny, and none are received but such as give undoubted evidence of courage and prudence. Women are eligible to membership, but as those only are admitted who are exemplary for discretion, and have sustained characters wholly unblemished through life, we regret to say that the number of females who have attained this honour is very small. They have a peculiar dress and mode of painting, and, like our free masons, from whom the institution may have been derived, exhibit themselves to the public in costume on certain great occasions. Taiomah is also called "*the medicine man,*" in virtue of his office as the presiding functionary of this society, by means of which he is supposed to have acquired some valuable occult knowledge. The members are all considered as more or less expert in such information, and are called medicine men. When a young man proposes to join this society, he applies to a member to propose and vouch for him. The application is communicated to the head man of the order, who, in a few days, returns an answer, which is simply affirmative or negative, without any reason or explanation. If accepted, the candidate is directed to prepare himself. Of this preparation we have no knowledge, but we are informed that a probation of one year is imposed previous to initiation. The society is sometimes called the Great Medicine of the Sauks and Foxes: it is said to embrace *four roads* or degrees—something is to be done or learned to gain the first degree, a further progress or proficiency leads to the second, and so on. Admission is said to cost from *forty* to *fifty* dollars, and every subsequent step in the four roads is attended with some expense. There are few who have attained to the honours of the fourth road. These particulars have been gathered in conversation with intelligent Indians, and embrace all that is popularly known, or rather believed, on this curious subject. The traders have offered large bribes for the purpose of obtaining information in regard to the mysteries of the society; but these temptations and the promises of secrecy failed alike to lead to any disclosures. Many of the tribes have similar institutions.

Taiomah was one of the delegation led to Washington in 1824, by General William Clark, and signed the treaty of that year. He was then in very inferior health, as his portrait indicates, and died soon after his return to his people, as is believed, of consumption.



NOT-CHI-MI-NE.

AN IOWAY CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F. W. Greenough in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn.

NOTCHIMINE.

THIS individual is a village chief, or peace chief, of the Ioways, and resides at Snake Hill, on the Missouri, about five hundred miles above the confluence of that river with the Mississippi. He was about forty years of age, when this portrait was taken, in 1837. His brief history, like many others contained in this series, was taken from his own recital through the medium of an interpreter, and adds another to the many evidences afforded in these volumes of the sameness of the tenor of an Indian warrior's life. Whatever may have been his vicissitudes, his joys or his sorrows, he tells only of his warlike exploits. The touching episodes of domestic life, which, in the autobiography of a civilised man, afford such varied and agreeable pictures of human thought and experience, have scarcely a place in the narrative of the savage. He may have a relish for home, and a strong love for those who surround his camp fire—friendship and paternal love, and conjugal affection may have interwoven their tendrils with the fibres of his heart, and his bosom may have often throbbed in joy or in sorrow, but he is silent in regard to all such emotions. Whatever may have been his experience, he has not observed attentively the lights and shadows of domestic life, or scorns to narrate them, but delights in depicting the storms that he has braved in the chase or on the war path.

Notchimine, or *No Heart*, remembers that when a boy he killed squirrels and other small game with the bow and arrow, and that when he grew to be a young man he used a gun, and pursued the deer and the elk. While yet a youth he joined a war party, and went against the Otoes, but the expedition was unsuccessful. His next adventure was with a party under the Orator, when the only trophy gained was the scalp of an old Indian. Again he went, against the Osages, with a large war party, of which his father, Mauhawgaw, was leader, and Wanathurgo was second in command: they killed ten Osages, of whom Notchimine, though still a boy, scalped one. The next time he went under his brother, the White Cloud, against the Sioux. Having discovered an encampment of the enemy, who were sleeping around four fires, they crept stealthily upon them, spending the whole night in watching and approaching the foe. At day break they rushed with sudden onset and loud yells upon the encampment, Notchimine being mounted on the same horse with White Cloud. A lad about his own age struck down with a club the first of the enemy who fell. The Sioux scattered themselves over the prairie, and the fight became general. The White Cloud, abandoning his horse, dashed into the battle on foot, and took a woman prisoner. This expedition was undertaken to revenge the death of the father of White Cloud, who had been killed by the Sioux.

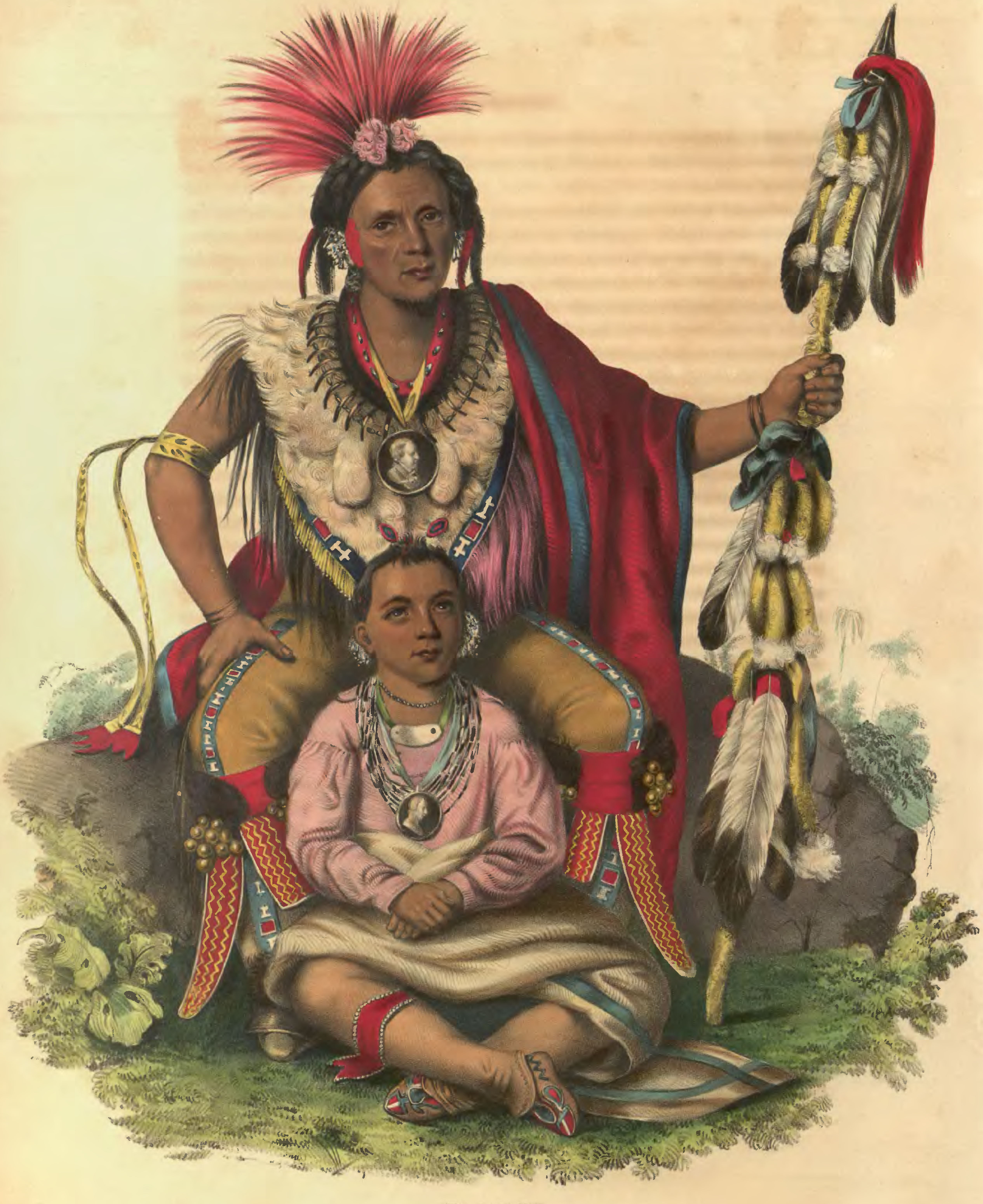
Notchimine now took command of a party of twenty-five warriors, and went against the Osages, but did not succeed in meeting with any of the latter. An unsuccessful war party is always dangerous to friend or foe; disappointed in their purposes of revenge or plunder, they become more than ordinarily ferocious, and wreak their fury upon any helpless wanderers who may fall in their way. It was so with this party. Meeting two Kansas, a man and his wife, they murdered them; the leader taking upon himself the distinguished honour of killing with his own hand the woman, who was very handsome. The spoil gained by this exploit was six horses, of whom they killed four, and retained the others. Nor did the gallant adventures of this courageous band end here. Five years previously the Omahas had killed a son of the Crane, an Ioway leader, who had marched against them, and now, finding an Omaha squaw at the house of a trader, they endeavoured with pious zeal to appease the spirit of the dead by whipping her; and again, by killing a Pawnee squaw, who was so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. These facts throw a strong light upon the principle, or rather impulse, of revenge, which constitutes so prominent a feature in the Indian character, and in the history and policy of the savage tribes. If it was a sense of honour, a desire to wipe out an insult, or any other feeling usually comprehended under the term chivalric, which stimulated the Indian to the pursuit of vengeance, the lives of women and children would be secure from his resentment. But we find that the Indian, when seeking revenge, and especially when foiled in an attempt upon the primary object of his hatred, becomes possessed of an insatiate and insane thirst for blood, which impels him to feed his passion, not only with the carnage of the helpless of the human race, but even by the slaughter of domestic animals.

Still prosecuting the ancient feud with the Osages, our hero was subsequently one of a party of twelve who went against that tribe under Totanahuca, the Pelican. They captured fifty-six horses. Then he went against the Omahas, and, on this occasion, distinguished himself by rushing into a lodge, in which were horses as well as people, and capturing seven horses, three of which he carried home, leaving four that were of little value. His next expedition, against the Osages, was bloodless, eventuating in the capture of a few horses.

Two years ago he endeavoured unsuccessfully to make peace with the Omahas, whose village he visited for that purpose. He afterwards went to St. Louis to effect the same object through the intervention of General Clark, when it was arranged that he should visit Washington.

He says that the practice of his people has been, previously to going to war, to send out hunters to kill a deer, which is eaten, and a prayer for success made to the Great Spirit. On such occasions he has had dreams, and, according to the belief of his fathers, put full faith in them. Previous to going out as leader of a party he dreamed of taking two prisoners; in the event one of the enemy was taken, and one killed, which he deemed a sufficient fulfilment. In some instances, possibly, the wanton cruelty of the Indians, displayed in the slaughter of women, or of chance captives not taken in battle, may be the result of a desire, or a fancied necessity, to fulfil a dream. The faculty of dreaming is in many respects so important to the leader of an ignorant and superstitious band, and is so frequently exerted for the purpose of quelling or directing the savage mind, that the chiefs have a strong inducement to bring about events in accordance with their real or pretended visions.

This chief has but one wife and three children living. Since killing the Pawnee woman he has inclined to peace, and has been friendly towards the whites.



KEOKUK

CHIEF OF THE SACS & FOXES

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADª
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowens Lithographic Establishment Nº 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F. W. Greenough, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennª

KEOKUK.

THE Sauks and Musquakees, more usually called the Sacs and Foxes, having for many years resided together, form now a single community, divided only by certain internal regulations, by means of which each portion keeps up its distinctive name and lineage. The individuals and families adhere carefully to certain customs, which distinguish them, and have thus far prevented them from being merged, the one in the other. They have separate chiefs, who, at the sittings of councils, and on other occasions of ceremony, claim to be recognised as the representatives of independent tribes; but they are in effect one people, and Keokuk, who is the head man of the Sauks, is the ostensible and actual leader of the united nation.

There is reason to believe that these two tribes were originally one. They both acknowledge a common descent from the great Chippeway stock, although the tradition which has preserved this fact retains no trace of the progressive steps by which they acquired a distinct language, and became a separate people. The word Sauk is derived from the compound *asawwekee*, which signifies *yellow earth*, while Musquakee comes from *mesquawee*, or red earth—showing a similarity of name which strongly indicates an identity of origin. Nor is it difficult to imagine that such a separation may have occurred, without leaving any decisive remembrance of the rupture. In the predatory and erratic life led by the Indians, it is not uncommon for a party to become disunited from the main body of the nation, and in process of time to form a distinct tribe. The separation becomes the more complete in consequence of the want of a written language, to fix and preserve the common tongue of the dispersed members of a nation; and as the Indian dialect is, from this cause, continually fluctuating, the colony soon loses one of the strongest ties which would otherwise bind it to the mother nation. Numerous as are the dialects spoken by the various tribes in North America, Mr. Gallatin has very successfully traced them to a few sources.

The former residence of the Sauks was on the banks of the St. Lawrence, whence they were driven by the Six Nations, with whom they carried on a long and bloody war. As they retired towards the west, they became embroiled with the Wyandots, and were driven further and further along the shores of the lakes, until they found a temporary resting place at Green Bay. Here they were joined by the Musquakees, who, having been so greatly reduced by war, as to be unable to maintain themselves as a separate people, sought refuge among their kindred. La Hontan, under the date of 1689, speaks of "the villages of the Sakies, the Potawatimies and the Malhominies," on Fox river, and of a house or college established there by the Jesuits; and Henepin, in 1680, speaks of the Outagamies, or Foxes, who dwelt on the Bay of Puants, or Green Bay. The Sauks soon removed to the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and afterwards to the left bank of the Mississippi, below the Wisconsin. It is probable that they gained useful experience in the hard school of adversity. In the long series of hostile operations in which they had been engaged against superior numbers, they had become very warlike, and they now prepared to act upon the offensive.

The delightful plains of Illinois were inhabited at that time by a numerous people called the Illini, or, as we find it elsewhere written, Linneway, or Minneway. The former reading is that of Jontel, a French officer, who visited the country in 1683, and the fact that the territory inhabited by that nation received from the earliest French explorers the name of Illinois, seems to be decisive in favour of that orthography. In the interpretation of the word, however spelled, we find no disagreement, the name being uniformly translated "men," or "perfect men." This nation was divided into various bands, the principal of which were, the Kaskaskias, Cahokies, and Tamarois, in the southern part of the territory; the Michigamies, near the mouth of the Des Moines, and probably on the right bank of the Mississippi; the Piankeshaws, near Vincennes; the Weas, on the Wabash above Vincennes; the Miamis, towards the lakes; the Peorias, on the Illinois river; and the Mascos, or Mascontins, called by the French "Les Gens des Prairies," on the great central plains between the Wabash and Illinois rivers. All these used the language which is now spoken by the Miamis; and, though scattered over a wide expanse of country, considered themselves as one people.

Against this nation the Sauks and Musquakees, in league with the Chippeways, the Ottowas, and the Potawatimies, turned their arms; while the Choctaws and Cherokees at the same time invaded the Illinois country from the south. A bloody war ensued, which lasted many years. It was probably an unequal contest between the inhabitants of these rich plains and the more hardy barbarians of the north, accustomed to the rigors of an inhospitable climate, and to the vicissitudes of continual warfare. The tribes of Illinois were nearly exterminated. Of a population which must have exceeded fifty thousand not more than five hundred now remain. The Miamis and Weas, who abandoned the country, number about four hundred. A larger number of the Kaskaskias, protected by the French at the village which bears their name, escaped that war, but many of them were afterwards slaughtered by the Kickapoos, and intoxication has since reduced them to about forty souls. Of the Piankeshaws but forty or fifty, and of the Peorias not more than ten or fifteen, are left. The Sauks defend the exterminating policy pursued by them and their allies in this war, by alleging that the Illini were more cruel than other Indians, and always burned their prisoners; and that in retaliation they adopted the practice of delivering over such of the Illini as fell into their hands to the women, to be tortured to death.

During this contest an incident occurred which may be mentioned in illustration of the uncompromising character of savage warfare. On the shore of the Illinois stands a singular rock, rising perpendicularly from the water's edge, and inaccessible on three sides, while on the fourth its summit, which is level, may be reached by a very narrow pathway. A party of the Illini, hotly pursued by their enemies, took refuge on this rock with their women and children. They were discovered and besieged; and such was the vigilance of their adversaries, that, although certain death by starvation awaited them within their fortress, they were unable to effect a retreat. They even stationed sentinels in canoes upon the river, by day and by night, to defeat any attempt of the besieged to procure water, by lowering vessels into the stream; and the wretched garrison, having no stores, nor means of supply, began soon to be tortured by the pangs of hunger and thirst. They resolved to die rather than surrender; and, for a while, consoled themselves by hurling defiance and scoffs at their foes. At length they ceased to appear upon the ramparts, and their voices were no longer heard. The besiegers, cautious to the last, and secure of their prey, delayed making any attempt to enter the fortress until so long a time had elapsed as to render it certain that famine had performed its deadly office. When at last they ascended to the summit of the rock, but one soul was found lingering among the carcases of the dead—an aged squaw was still breathing, and lived many years in captivity, the last of her tribe. The "Starved Rock" is still pointed out by the inhabitants as the scene of this heart rending adventure.

Having possessed themselves of the country, the invaders continued to pursue, with unrelenting hostility, the scattered remnants of the once powerful Illini, who lingered for protection about the settlements of the French and Spaniards. Their last attempt to destroy this unhappy people was in 1779, when they approached St. Louis with fifteen hundred braves, in search of a small band of Peorias, supposed to be lurking in that vicinity. The Spanish Governor turned a deaf ear to the representations of the inhabitants, who believed their village to be in danger; and the latter, unable to prevail upon him to put the place in a posture of defence, sent an express to the American Colonel, George Rogers Clarke, who was then at Kaskaskia, to solicit his protection. Clarke instantly marched with five hundred men, and encamped on the left bank of the river, opposite St. Louis. The Governor, convinced at last of the hostile intentions of the Indians, who, not finding the Illini, were marching upon St. Louis, became panic struck, and offered to deliver over the colony to Clarke. The latter declined an offer which he had no authority to accept, but remained in his camp prepared to assist the inhabitants if required. An attack was made. Clarke immediately crossed the river with a party of his men, but the Indians, on seeing the "Long Knives," as the Virginia troops were called by them, hastily retreated, having previously killed about seventy of the Spaniards. Colonel Clarke afterwards sent a detachment of one hundred and fifty men, who scoured the country far above the Sauk village, and returned without molestation; the Indians, awed by the boldness of this measure, declaring that, if so few dared to invade their country, they were prepared to fight with desperation.

There was a small tribe of Ioways in the Illinois country at the time of the irruption by the northern Indians, who were probably themselves intruders. Being too weak to oppose the invaders, they received them hospitably, and remained at peace with them.

Having conquered the country, the Musquakees established themselves on Rock river, near its junction with the Mississippi; the Sauks soon followed them, and this spot became the principal seat of the united nation. The whole of this region is fertile and picturesque beyond description. It is a country of prairies—of magnificent plains, spreading out in every direction as far as the eye can reach, and whose beautifully undulating surface is clothed with a carpet of the richest verdure, studded with splendid groves, giving to the extended landscape an air of ornate elegance and rich embellishment, such as is seldom beheld in the scenery of the wilderness.

The Mississippi, which below its junction with the Missouri is a turbid stream, meandering through low grounds, and margined by muddy banks, is here a clear and rapid river, flowing over beds of rock and gravel, and bordered by the most lovely shores. Nothing of the kind can be more attractive than the scenery at the Upper Rapids, in the vicinity of the Sauk and Fox village. On the western shore a series of slopes are seen commencing at the gravelly margin of the water, and rising one above another with a barely perceptible acclivity, for a considerable distance, until the back ground is terminated by a chain of beautifully rounded hills, over which trees are thinly scattered, as if planted by the hand of art. This is the singular charm of prairie scenery: although it be a wilderness, just as nature made it, it has no savage nor repulsive feature—the verdant carpet, the gracefully waving outline of the surface, the clumps, the groves, and the scattered trees, give it the appearance of a noble park, boundless in extent, and adorned with exquisite taste. It is a wild but blooming desert, that does not awe by its gloom, but is gay and cheerful, winning by its social aspect, as well as by its variety and intrinsic gracefulness. The eastern shore is not less beautiful. A broad flat plain of rich alluvion, extending from the water's edge, is terminated by a low range of wooded hills. A small collection of Indian lodges stood on this plain when the writer last saw it; but the principal village of the Sauks and Foxes was about three miles distant, on Rock river. In the front of the landscape, and presenting its most prominent feature, as viewed from an ascending boat, is Rock Island, on the southern point of which, elevated upon a parapet of rock, stands Fort Armstrong. The surrounding region is healthy, and amazingly fruitful. The grape, the plum, the gooseberry, and various other native fruits abound; the wild honeysuckle gives its perfume to the air, and a thousand indigenous flowers mingle their diversified hues with the verdure of the plain.

These prairies were formerly covered with immense herds of buffalo, and abounded in game of every description. The rivers furnished excellent fish; and the whole region, in every respect so rich in the bounties of nature, must have formed that kind of paradise of which alone the Indian has any conception. If ever there was a spot on earth where scenic beauty, united with fecundity of soil and salubrity of climate, could exert a refining influence upon the human mind, it was here; and those who claim for the savage an Arcadian simplicity of character, or who suppose the human mind may become softened by the genial influence of climate and locality, might reasonably look here for effects corresponding with such opinions. Blessed with abundance, there could have been no necessity for any intrusion upon the hunting grounds of others, and the causes of war, other than the lust for carnage, must have been few. Surrounded by the choicest beauties of nature, it would seem that a taste for the picturesque, a sense of the enjoyment of home and comfort, and an ardent love of country, would have been implanted and fostered. But we find no such results. The Sauks of Illinois presented the same character half a century ago which they now exhibit. They are savages as little ameliorated by place or circumstances as the Osages and the Camanches of the farther west, or the Seminoles of Florida, and are in no respect more assimilated to civilised men than the wretched Chippewa who wanders over the bleak and sterile shores of Lake Superior.

The office of chief, among the Sauks, is partly elective and partly hereditary. The son is usually chosen as the successor of the father, if worthy, but if he be passed over, the most meritorious of the family is selected. There are several of these dignitaries, and in describing their relative rank, they narrate a tradition, which we suppose to be merely figurative. They say that, a great while ago, their fathers had a long lodge, in the centre of which were ranged four fires. By the first fire stood two chiefs, one on the right hand, who was called the Great Bear, and one on the left called the Little Bear. These were the village or peace chiefs. They were the rulers of the band, and held the authority that we should describe as that of chief magistrate—but not in equal degree, for the Great Bear was *the* chief, and the other, next in authority. At the second fire stood two chiefs, one on the right called the Great Fox, and one on the left called the Little Fox. These were the war chiefs or generals. At the third fire stood two braves, who were called respectively the Wolf and the Owl; and at the fourth fire were two others, who were the Eagle and the Tortoise. The last four were not chiefs, but braves of high reputation, who occupied honourable places in the council, and were persons of influence in peace and war. The lodge of four fires may have existed in fact, or the tradition may be merely metaphorical. It is quite consonant with the Indian character to describe events by figures, and the latter, in the confusion of bad translations, are often mistaken for facts. The chiefs actually rank in the order pointed out in this legend; and the nation is divided into families, or clans, each of which is distinguished by the name of an animal. Instead, however, of there being but eight, there are now twelve.

The place of peace chief, or head man, confers honour rather than power, and is by no means a desirable situation, unless the incumbent be a person of popular talents. He is nominally the first man in the tribe. He presides at the councils; all acts of importance are done in his name; and he is saluted by the patriarchal title of Father. But his power and influence depend entirely upon his personal weight of character; and when he happens to be a weak man, the authority is virtually exercised by the war chiefs. He is usually poor. Whatever may be his skill or success as a hunter, he is compelled to give away his property in hospitality or benevolence. He is expected to be affable and generous, must entertain his people occasionally with feasts, and be liberal in giving presents. He must practice the arts of gaining popularity, which are much the same in every state of society, and among which a prodigal hospitality is not the least successful. If any one requires to borrow or beg a horse on any emergency, he applies to the chief, who cannot refuse without subjecting himself to the charge of meanness. Not unfrequently the young men take his horses, or other property, without leave, when he is perhaps the only individual in the tribe with whom such a liberty could be taken with impunity. He is the father who must regard with an indulgent eye the misdeeds of his children, when he is himself the injured party, but who must administer inflexible justice when others are aggrieved. A person of energetic character may maintain a high degree of influence in this station, and some who have held it have been little less than despotic; but when a man of little capacity succeeds to the hereditary chieftaincy, he becomes a mere tool in the hands of the war chiefs, who, having command of the braves and young men, control the elements of power, and readily obtain the sway in a community essentially martial, where there is little law, and less wealth. The principal war chief is often, therefore, the person whose name is most widely known, and he is frequently confounded with the head man. The station of war chief is not hereditary, nor can it properly be said to be elective; for, although in some cases of emergency a leader is formally chosen, they usually acquire reputation by success, and rise gradually into confidence and command. The most distinguished warrior, especially if he be a man of popular address, becomes by tacit consent the war chief.

Whether the eight fires, or families, mentioned above, comprised at any period the whole tribe, we cannot determine. The Sauks are now divided into twelve families, and the Musquakees into eight; and, although great care is taken to preserve this distinction, we may readily suppose that a name sometimes becomes extinct, and that a distinguished man may found a new family.

There is another division peculiar to this tribe, which is very singular. Every male child, shortly after its birth, is marked with *white* or *black* paint, the mother being careful to use the two colours alternately, so that if her eldest son be marked with black, the second will be distinguished by white. Thus, if there be an even number of males in a family, the number marked with each colour respectively will be equal, and the whole nation will be nearly equally divided. The colours thus given are appropriated to the individuals unchangeably through life, and in painting themselves upon any occasion, those of the one party use white, and those of the other black, in addition to any other colours they may fancy, all others being free alike to the whole nation. The object of this custom is to create a continual emulation between the two parties. At the public ball playing, and all other games, the whites play against the blacks. In the dances of ceremony they endeavour to outdo each other; and in war, the scalps taken by each party are numbered against those of the rival division.

The chiefs have the sole management of the public affairs, but the braves are consulted as advisers, and have great influence. In the councils a question is not usually considered as decided unless there is an unanimous voice. The discussions are deliberate and grave, seldom disturbed by inflammatory appeals, or distracted by flippant or unadvised counsels. The speakers, in general, prepare themselves carefully beforehand. Their style is sententious and figurative, but their speeches are weakened by the frequent repetition of the same idea. One circumstance in regard to their public speaking, which we have never seen noticed, has struck the writer forcibly on several occasions. The same etiquette which, in the parliamentary bodies of civilised nations, forbids the speakers to allude to each other by name, prevails among them. We do not pretend to say that the practice is invariable; but whenever we have attended their councils, we noticed that, in commenting on each others' speeches, they used expressions such as "the chief who has just spoken," "the chief who spoke first," "one of my brothers has said," with other circumlocutions, which were obviously the result of a guarded intention to avoid a more direct allusion. They are, however, fond of speaking in the third person, and in doing this the orator often uses his own name.

The laws of this nation are few and simple. Debts are contracted but seldom, and no method of enforcing payment is known. The obligation is merely honourable. If the party is unable to fulfil his engagement at the stipulated time, that is a sufficient excuse, and the failure, under any circumstances, is considered as a trivial affair. This arises not so much from want of integrity as from the absence of definite notions of property, and of the obligations consequent upon its possession.

Civil injuries are settled by the old men who are friendly to the parties. A murder, when committed by one of the nation upon another, is seldom punished with death. Although the relatives of the deceased may, as in all the Indian tribes, take revenge, this mode of reparation is discouraged, and it is more usual to accept a compensation in property. If the parties cannot agree, the old men interfere, and never fail to effect a compromise. We are not aware of any offence which is considered as against the peace and dignity of the public, or is punishable as a national affair, except aiding or assisting their enemies, unless it be some dereliction connected with military duty, which always receives a prompt and contemptuous rebuke. A sentinel, for instance, who neglects his duty, is publicly flogged with rods by the women. The traders consider the Sauks and Foxes perfectly honest, and feel safe among them, seldom locking their doors by day or night, and allowing them free access. They are humane in the treatment of their prisoners. Young persons taken in war are generally adopted into the family of one of the slain. Other prisoners are bought and sold as such; but if, after having gained the confidence of their masters, they choose to go to war, and kill an enemy of the nation, they become free, and are entitled to all the rights of a native. The women taken in war are received into the families of those who capture them, either as wives or servants, and their offspring become members of the tribe. One who knew the Sauks and Foxes intimately for many years, informs us that he never knew of their burning a prisoner, except in the war with the Menomenies, and in this instance they alleged that their enemies commenced the practice. An instance occurred in which a Sauk brave, having died, a favourite male slave was slain by his relatives and buried with him, in order that his spirit might wait on that of his master in the other world.

The individual whose history we are about to relate is now the head of the Sauk nation, and is one of the most distinguished of his race. His public career commenced in early life, and has been eminently distinguished through a long series of years. In his first battle, when quite young, he killed a Sioux warrior by transfixing him with a spear, under circumstances which rendered the exploit conspicuous, the more especially as he was on horseback; and the Sioux being considered greatly superior in horsemanship, the trophy gained on this occasion was esteemed a matter of national triumph. A feast was made by the tribe in honour of the incident. They requested of the chiefs that Keokuk should be put in his father's place, or, in other words, that he should be admitted to the rank of a brave, and all the rights of manhood, notwithstanding his youth. It was also allowed that on public occasions he might appear on horseback. He continues to enjoy this singular mark of respect; and even when all the rest of the tribe appear on foot, in processions and other ceremonious occasions, he has the privilege of being mounted, and may be often seen riding alone and proudly among his people.

Shortly after this event, and while Keokuk was yet too young to be admitted to the council, a rumor reached the village that a large body of American troops was approaching to attack it. So formidable was this enemy considered, that, although still distant, and the object of the expedition not certainly ascertained, a great panic was excited by the intelligence, and the council, after revolving the whole matter, decided upon abandoning the village. Keokuk, who stood near the entrance of the council lodge, awaiting the result, no sooner heard this determination than he stepped forward and begged to be admitted. The request was granted. He asked permission to address the council, which was accorded; and he stood up for the first time to speak before a public assemblage. Having stated that he had heard with sorrow the decision of his elder brethren, he proceeded with modesty, but with the earnestness of a gallant spirit, to deprecate an ignominious flight before an enemy still far distant, whose numbers might be exaggerated, and whose destination was unknown. He pointed out the advantages of meeting the foe, harassing their march, cutting them up in detail, driving them back, if possible, and finally of dying honourably in defence of their homes, their women, and their children, rather than yielding all that was dear and valuable without striking a blow. "Make me your leader," he exclaimed; "let your young men follow me, and the pale faces shall be driven back to their towns! Let the old men and the women, and all who are afraid to meet the white man, stay here; but let your braves go to battle! I will lead them." This spirited address revived the drooping courage of the tribe. The warriors declared their readiness to follow Keokuk. The recent decision was reversed, and Keokuk was appointed to lead the braves against the invaders. The alarm turned out to be false; and after several days' march it was ascertained that the Americans had taken a different course. But the gallantry and eloquence of Keokuk in changing the pusillanimous policy at first adopted, his energy in organising the expedition, and the talent for command discovered in the march, placed him in the first rank among the braves of the nation.

The entire absence of records, by which the chronology of events might be ascertained, renders it impossible to trace, in the order of their date, the steps by which this remarkable man rose to the chief place in his nation, and acquired a commanding and permanent influence over his people. We shall, therefore, without reference to the order of the events, present such facts as we have collected with great care, partly from personal observation, and partly from the testimony of gentlemen whose statements may be relied on as authentic.

Possessing a fine person, and gifted with courage, prudence, and eloquence, Keokuk soon became the chief warrior of his nation, and gradually acquired the direction of civil affairs, although the latter continued for many years to be conducted in the name of the hereditary peace chief. The most daring and graceful rider of his nation, he was always well mounted, and has no doubt owed much of his popularity to his imposing appearance when equipped for war or ceremony, and to his feats of horsemanship. From a natural pride, or from policy, he has always made the most of this advantage by indulging, at great expense, his love of fine horses, and costly caparisons, and exhibiting himself in the best manner on public occasions.

Keokuk is, in all respects, a magnificent savage. Bold, enterprising, and impulsive, he is also politic, and possesses an intimate knowledge of human nature, and a tact which enables him to bring the resources of his mind into prompt operation. Successful in his undertakings, yet there is a freshness and enthusiasm about him that throw a tinge of romance over many of his deeds, and would indicate a mind acting for effect rather than from the dictates of policy, if there were not abundant proofs of the calm judgment which forms the basis of his character.

Keokuk is fond of travelling, and of paying visits of state to the neighbouring tribes. On these occasions he always goes in an imposing style, which cannot fail to make a favourable impression. The mild season of autumn, so peculiarly delightful in the prairie region of western America, is the time chosen for these excursions, that being the period of the year when game and forage are abundant. A band of forty or fifty of the most active and finest looking young men are selected to accompany the chief, all of whom are well mounted and completely equipped. The chief, especially, spares no expense in his own outfit. The most superb horse that can be procured, the most showy Spanish saddle and housings, arms of faultless workmanship, a robe elaborately wrought with all the combined taste and skill of his six wives, and a pipe of state, are duly prepared. A runner is sent forward to announce his intention; and in this style he visits some one of the tribes with whom he is at peace—either the Osages, the Otoes, the Omahas, the Winnebagoes, or the Ioways. The honour is properly appreciated, and ample provision made for the entertainment of so illustrious a guest. Food and tobacco are laid up in store against his coming, and especially, if it be at all attainable, is there a supply procured of the *Christian's fire water.* The guests are received hospitably, and with every mark of ostentatious ceremony that may be afforded by the circumstances of the parties. The time is spent in a round of hunting, feasting, athletic sports, and a variety of games. Horse racing, ball play, foot races, and gambling with dice, form the amusements; while dancing, which may be considered rather as a solemnity than a recreation, fills a due portion of the time. Keokuk is a great dancer, and has been an overmatch for most of his contemporaries at all athletic sports.

The warlike exploits of this chief have been numerous; but few of them are such as would interest our readers. On one occasion, while engaged, with a body of his warriors, in hunting on the great plains which lie between his nation and their mortal enemies, the Sioux, a war party of the latter came suddenly upon them. Both parties were mounted; but the Sioux, being the superior horsemen, and fully armed for battle, had the advantage, for the plain afforded no coverts to which the Sauks, who excel them in fighting on foot, could retreat. A less prompt leader than Keokuk would have sacrificed his band, either by an attempt at flight, or a desperate effort to resist an unequal foe. His resolution was instantaneously adopted. Forming his horses in a compact circle, the dismounted band were placed within, protected from the missiles of the enemy, and placed in a condition to avail themselves of their superiority as marksmen. The Sioux charged with loud yells, and were received with a well directed fire, which compelled them to fall back. The attempt was repeated, but with the same result which usually attends a charge of horse upon well posted infantry. The horses could not be forced upon the muzzles of guns which poured forth fire and smoke, and, after several ineffectual efforts, the assailants retreated with loss. On this occasion the promptitude of Keokuk was not more praiseworthy than the military sagacity by which he estimated the peculiarities of his own force and that of the enemy, and the accuracy of judgment with which he opposed the one to the other.

At another time, during a temporary peace between these tribes, the Sauks had gone to the prairies to hunt the buffalo, leaving their village but slightly guarded, and Keokuk with a small party approached a large encampment of the Sioux. By accident he learned that they were painted for war, and were preparing a numerous party, destined against his village. His own braves, widely scattered, could not be hastily collected together. He adopted the bold expedient of a daring and generous mind, and threw himself between his people and danger. Advancing to the encampment of his treacherous foes, he left his party hard by, and rode alone into the camp. The war pole stood in the midst of the lodges, the war dance was going on, and all the fierce excitements by which the Indians lash themselves into fury, and stir up the storm of vengeance in each other's bosoms, were in full practice. Revenge upon the Sauk was the burthen of their song. At such a moment Keokuk, mounted as usual on a fine horse, rode boldly in among them, and demanded to see their chief. "I have come," said he, "to let you know that there are traitors in your camp. They have told me that you are preparing to attack my village. I knew they told me lies, for you could not, after smoking the pipe of peace, be so base as to murder my women and children in my absence. None but cowards would be guilty of such conduct!" The Sioux, who, for a moment, were abashed by the audacity of their enemy, now began to crowd about him, in a manner that showed a determination to seize his person; and they had already laid hold of his legs, on either side, when he added, in a loud voice, "I supposed they told me lies; but if what I have heard is true, then know that the Sauks are ready for you!" So saying he shook off those who were attempting to seize him, plunged the spurs into his horse's flanks, and dashed away through the crowd. Several guns were fired at him ineffectually, and a number of warriors, instantly mounting, followed him in rapid pursuit. But they had lost their prey. Keokuk was now in his element. Yelling the dreadful war whoop, brandishing the tomahawk, and taunting his foes as he fled before them, he continued on his way gallantly, until he came in sight of his own little band. The Sioux, fearing some stratagem, then halted, and Keokuk deliberately joined his people, while the Sioux retired. He took measures to call in his braves, and returned hastily home; but the Sioux, finding their design discovered, did not attempt to put it in execution.

The talents of Keokuk, as a military chief and civil ruler, are evident from the discipline which exists among his people. We have seen no other tribe so well managed. In 1837, when deputations from a number of tribes visited Washington, a striking contrast was observed; for, while all the other Indians strutted about in blue coats, and other absurd finery, which they had received as presents, the Sauks and Foxes appeared in their native dress, evincing a dignity and good taste which attracted general notice. Another anecdote is illustrative of the same habitual good order. A few years ago a steamboat, ascending the Mississippi, touched for a few minutes at Rock Island. A number of the Indians sauntered to the shore to gaze at it, and a passenger, expecting to see a scramble, held up a whiskey bottle, and beckoned to the savages, who took no notice of his motions. He stepped on shore, again showed the enticing bottle, and made signs, but without effect. Supposing the Indians to be bashful, or afraid, he placed the bottle on the ground, pointed to it and returned to the boat, which now shoved off, while his fellow passengers laughed loudly at his want of success. No sooner did the boat leave the shore than the Indians ran from the top of the bank where they had been standing down to the water's edge, and the passenger beholding, as he supposed, the expected scramble, exulted in the success of his experiment; but, to his astonishment, the Indians picked up the bottle and threw it, with symptoms of great glee, after the boat, into the water, at the same time clapping their hands, laughing and evidently exulting in the disappointment of the passenger.

In the year 1829, the writer made an excursion up the Mississippi, and having passed beyond the settlements, stopped one day at a cabin on the shore, inhabited by a respectable farmer from Pennsylvania, who had been enticed by a fine tract of land to sit down in the wilderness, more than fifty miles from any neighbour. While enjoying the hospitable fare that was kindly spread before us, we inquired if these dwellers in the blooming desert were not afraid of the Sauks and Foxes, whose hunting grounds extended around them. They said they had felt much alarm until after a circumstance which occurred shortly before our visit. They one day saw canoes ascending the river, and small parties of Indians passing along the shore, and in the evening the main body arrived and encamped in the neighbourhood. At night a warrior of very prepossessing appearance came to the house, and by signs asked permission to sleep by the fire. This they dared not refuse, and resolving to make the best of what they considered an awkard predicament, they spread a good meal for their self invited guest, having despatched which he took up his lodging upon the floor. The good people were much alarmed; the more so as some Indians were seen lurking about during the night. In the morning early their guest departed, but shortly after sent a person, who spoke English, to explain that the tribe had been to St. Louis to receive their annuities, and having been indulged in the use of ardent spirits, were not under the control of their usual discipline. Fearing that, under these circumstances, some depredation might be committed upon the property of the backwoodsman, a war chief had taken post in his house, and sentinels had been placed around it; and the farmer was assured, that if, hereafter, any injury should be discovered to have been committed during that night by the Indians, the chief would pay for it when he next came that way. Whether Keokuk was the person who slept in the settler's cabin, we had not the means of learning, but as he was undoubtedly at the head of the band, the anecdote shows him desirous to avoid giving offence to the whites, and exhibits a careful attention to the discipline of his tribe.

Keokuk is an able negotiator. He has several times made peace with the Sioux, under the most unpromising circumstances, and they have as often broken the treaties. One of his achievements in this way displays his skill and eloquence in a remarkable manner. Some of his warriors falling in with an encampment of unarmed Menomenies, in sight of Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, wantonly murdered the whole party. The Menomenies, justly incensed at an unprovoked and cowardly murder, declared war; and their friends, the Winnebagoes, who were previously hostile to the Sauks, were also highly indignant at this outrage. To prevent a sanguinary war, General Street, the agent of the United States at Prairie du Chien, invited the several parties to a council. They assembled at Fort Crawford, but the Menomenies positively refused to hold any negotiation with the offending party. When Keokuk was informed of this resolution, he told the agent confidently that it made no difference, that he would make a treaty with the Menomenies before they separated—all he asked was to be brought face to face with them in the council house. The several tribes were accordingly assembled, each sitting apart; but when the ceremony of smoking, which precedes all public discussions, was commenced, the Menomenies refused to join in it, sitting in moody silence, while the other tribes exchanged this ordinary courtesy. The breach between the Winnebagoes and the Sauks and Foxes was talked over, explanations were mutually made, and a peace cemented. Keokuk then turned towards the Menomenies and addressed them. They at first averted their faces, or listened with looks of defiance. The commencement of a speech without a previous smoking and shaking of hands was a breach of etiquette, and he was besides the head of a tribe who had done them an injury that nothing but blood could atone for. Under all these disadvantages the Sauk chief proceeded with his harangue, and such was the power of his eloquence, even upon minds thus predisposed, that his hearers gradually relaxed, listened, assented—and when he concluded by saying proudly, but in a conciliatory tone, "I came here to say that I am sorry for the imprudence of my young men—I came to make peace. I now offer you the hand of Keokuk—who will refuse it?" they rose one by one, and accepted the proffered grasp.

In the year 1831, a faction of the Sauk tribe, formerly called the British band, but latterly known as Black Hawk's band, became engaged in a war with the whites, some account of which is given in our sketch of Black Hawk. Keokuk, with the majority of the Sauk and Fox nation, remained at peace with the United States; but it required all the influence, firmness, and tact of this chief, to keep his people in a position so little consonant with their habits and feelings. Their natural fondness for war, their love of plunder, their restless dispositions, their dislike towards the whites, and the injustice with which they had been treated, all conspired to enlist their sympathies with their countrymen and relatives who were engaged in hostilities. To preserve them from temptation, as well as to give assurance of his pacific intentions, Keokuk, who had removed from the eastern side of the Mississippi, which was the theatre of war, to the western side of that river, requested the agent of the American government to send to his camp a white man who could speak the Sauk language, and who might witness the sincerity with which he was endeavouring to restrain his band. A person was sent. The excitement in the tribe continued and increased—a moody, vindictive, and sensitive state of feeling pervaded the whole mass. Keokuk stood on a mine ready for explosion. He knew not at what moment he might be sacrificed. The slightest spark dropped upon materials so inflammable would have fired the train; and the chief who had restrained the passions of his people would have been denounced as the friend of the whites, and doomed to instant death. He remained calm and unawed, ruling his turbulent little state with a mild, parental, yet firm sway, and keeping peace at the daily and hourly risk of his life. One day an emissary arrived from the hostile party; whiskey was introduced into the camp, and Keokuk saw that the crisis was at hand. He warned the white man, who was his guest, of the impending danger, and directed him to seek safety by concealing himself. A scene of wild and tumultuous excitement ensued. The emissary spoke of blood that had been shed; of a little gallant band of their relatives who were at that moment chased over their own hunting grounds by an overwhelming force of well armed troops; of recent insults, and of long cherished injuries inflicted by the white man. He hinted at the ready vengeance that might be taken, at an exposed frontier, defenceless cabins, and rich booty. These exciting topics were passed and exaggerated from mouth to mouth—ardent spirits were circulated, and the long smothered rebellion began to fester in the inflamed bosoms of the savage horde. The braves assembled about the war pole to dance the war dance, and to smear their faces with the hideous symbols of revenge. Keokuk watched the rising of the storm, and appeared to mingle in its raging. He drank, listened to all that was said, and apparently assented to the inflammatory appeals made to the passions of his deluded people. At length the warriors cried aloud to be led to battle, and the chief was called upon for his opinion—he was asked to lead them. He stood forward, and addressed them with that eloquence which never failed him in the hour of need. He sympathised in their sense of wrong, their hatred of the white race, and their lust for vengeance. He won their confidence by describing and giving utterance to the passions which they felt, and echoing back their own thoughts with the skill of a master spirit. Having thus secured their attention, he considered briefly the proposition to go to war—alluded rapidly to the numbers and power of the American people, and the utter hopelessness of a contest so unequal. But he told them he was their chief, whose duty it was to be at their head in peace or war—to rule them as a father if they chose to remain at home, to lead them if they determined to go to battle. He concluded by telling them, that in the proposed war there could be no middle course; the power of the United States was such, that, unless they conquered that great nation, they must perish; that, therefore, he would lead them instantly against the whites on one condition, which was, that they would first put all their women and children to death, and then resolve, that, having crossed the Mississippi, they would never return, but perish among the graves of their fathers, rather than yield them to the white men. This proposal, however desperate it may seem, presented the true issue. It poured the oil of reflection upon the waves of passion. It held up the truth that a declaration of war against the United States must be either a mere bravado, or a measure of self destruction. The tumult of passion and intoxication subsided, subordination was restored, and the authority of Keokuk became firmly re-established.

The Black Hawk faction, always opposed to Keokuk, have regarded him with increased aversion since the disastrous termination of the war into which they madly rushed against his judgment, and in contravention of his authority; and so active have been their intrigues, that at one time they had nearly effected his downfall. Having for many years exercised the sole power of chief, a fate like that of Aristides had like to have befallen him. Some of his people became tired of the monotony of an uninterrupted rule, and longed for a change. His enemies complained of his strictness. They objected that the power of the other chiefs was swallowed up in his single voice, and they insinuated that he was exercising an usurped sway in defiance of the usages of the nation. The matter was at last brought to a formal discussion; the voice of the nation was taken, and a young chief was raised to the place of head man. In this trying crisis Keokuk discovered his usual good sense and address. He made no public opposition to the measures taken against him, but awaited the result with dignified calmness. When the choice of his successor was decided, he was the first to salute the young chief by the title of *Father;* and it was an affecting sight to behold this distinguished man, now nearly sixty years of age, extending his hand, with every appearance of cheerfulness and respect, to a youth who was to supersede him in authority. He did more. He led the newly elected chief to the agent of the United States, who was then at Rock Island, introduced him with every demonstration of profound respect as "his chief and his father," begged that he might be recognised as such, and solicited, as a personal favour, that the same regard and attention which had been paid to himself should be transferred to his successor. The sequel may be readily supposed. The people saw their error. Keokuk as a private individual was still the first man in the nation. His ready acquiescence in the decree which reduced him from the highest station to the level of the people, won their sympathy; and he rose silently but rapidly to the place from which he had been removed, while the person who had been chosen to supersede him, sunk quietly to his former insignificance.

The writer had the gratification of seeing this distinguished man at Washington, in the autumn of 1837, when the delegates from several tribes assembled in that city, at the invitation of the Secretary of War. Some of the councils held on that occasion were exceedingly interesting. One of them especially attracted our notice.

The Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett, proposing to effect a reconciliation between the Sioux and the Sauks and Foxes, caused them to be brought together in council. The meeting took place in a church, at one end of which a large stage was erected, while the spectators were permitted to occupy the pews in the remainder of the house. The Secretary, representing the President of the United States, was seated on the centre of the stage, facing the audience, the Sioux on his right hand, and the Sauks and Foxes on his left, the whole forming a semicircle. These hostile tribes presented in their appearance a remarkable contrast—the Sioux appearing tricked out in blue coats, epaulettes, fur hats, and various other articles of finery which had been presented to them, and which were now incongruously worn in conjunction with portions of their own proper costume—while the Sauks and Foxes, with a commendable pride and good taste, wore their national dress without any admixture, and were studiously painted according to their own notions of propriety. But the most striking object was Keokuk, who sat at the head of his delegation, on their extreme left, facing his mortal enemies, the Sioux, who occupied the opposite side of the stage, having the spectators upon his left side, his own people on his right, and beyond them the Secretary of War. He sat as he is represented in the picture which accompanies this sketch, grasping in his right hand a war banner, the symbol of his station as ruling chief. His person was erect, and his eye fixed calmly but steadily upon the enemies of his people. On the floor, and leaning upon the knee of the chief, sat his son, a child of nine or ten years old, whose fragile figure and innocent countenance afforded a beautiful contrast to the athletic and warlike form, and the intellectual though weatherbeaten features of Keokuk. The effect was in the highest degree picturesque and imposing.

The council was opened by smoking the pipe, which was passed from mouth to mouth. Mr. Poinsett then briefly addressed both parties in a conciliatory strain, urging them in the name of their Great Father, the President, to abandon those sanguinary wars, by means of which their race was becoming exterminated, and to cultivate the arts, the thrift, and the industry of white men. The Sioux spoke next. The orator, on rising, first stepped forward and shook hands with the Secretary, and then delivered his harangue, in his own tongue, stopping at the end of each sentence until it was rendered into English by the interpreter, who stood by his side, and into the Sauk language by the interpreter of that tribe. Another and another followed, all speaking vehemently, and with much acrimony. The burthen of their harangues was—that it was useless to address pacific language to the Sauks and Foxes, who were faithless, and in whom no confidence could be placed. "My father," said one of them, "you cannot make those people hear any good words, unless you bore their ears with sticks." "We have often made peace with them," said another speaker, an old man, who endeavoured to be witty, "but they would never observe any treaty. I would as soon think of making a treaty with that child," pointing to Keokuk's little boy, "as with a Sauk or a Musquakee." The Sioux were evidently gratified and excited by the sarcasms of their orators, while their opponents sat motionless, their dark eyes flashing, but their features as composed and stolid as if they did not understand the disparaging language that was used.

We remarked a decided want of gracefulness in all these speakers. Each of them, having shaken hands with the Secretary of War, who sat facing the audience, stood immediately before and near him, with the interpreter at his elbow, both having their backs to the spectators, and in this awkward position, speaking low and rapidly, but little of what they said could be understood, except by the persons near them. Not so Keokuk. When it came to his turn to speak, he rose deliberately, advanced to the Secretary, and having saluted him, returned to his place, which being at the front of the stage, and on one side of it, his face was not concealed from any of the several parties present. His interpreter stood beside him. The whole arrangement was judicious, and, though apparently unstudied, showed the tact of an orator. He stood erect, in an easy but martial posture, with his robe thrown over his left shoulder and arm, leaving the right arm bare, to be used in action. His voice was fine, his enunciation remarkably clear, distinct, and rapid. Those who have had the gratification of hearing a distinguished senator from South Carolina, now in Congress, whose rapidity of utterance, concentration of thought, and conciseness of language are alike peculiar to himself, may form some idea of the style of Keokuk, the latter adding, however, an attention to the graces of attitude and action, to which the former makes no pretension. He spoke with dignity, but with great animation, and some of his retorts were excellent. "They tell you," said he, "that our ears must be bored with sticks; but, my father, you could not penetrate their thick sculls in that way—it would require hot iron." "They say they would as soon think of making peace with this child as with us—but they know better; for when they made war with us they found us men." "They tell you that peace has often been made, but that we have broken it. How happens it then that so many of their braves have been slain in our country? I will tell you. They invaded us—we never invaded them—none of my braves have been killed in their country. We have their scalps, and can tell where we took them." We shall speak further of this council in some of the other sketches of the Sauks and Foxes. It produced no effect, unless that of widening the breach between these tribes.

The following letter, which was published in the Illinois newspapers about the time of its date, is said to have been sent by Keokuk to the Governor of that state. It was, of course, written by some white man, at his dictation. The village criers mentioned were the editors of newspapers, and the reports alluded to were circulated shortly after the close of the Black Hawk war.

"*Raccoon Fork of Des Moines River, November* 30, 1832.

"To the Great Chief of Illinois:

"My Father—I have been told by a trader that several of your village criers have been circulating bad news, informing the whites that the Indians were preparing for war, and that we are dissatisfied. My father, you were present when the tomahawk was buried, and assisted me to place it so deep that it will never again be raised against the white children of Illinois.

"My Father—Very few of that misguided band that entered Rock river last summer remain. You have humbled them by war, and have made them friendly by your generous conduct to them, after they were defeated. Myself, and the greater part of the Sauks and Foxes, have firmly held you by the hand. We followed your advice, and did as you told us. My father, I take pity on those of my nation that you forgave, and never mention the disasters of last summer. I wish them to be forgotten.

"I do not permit the criers of our village to proclaim any bad news against the whites, not even the truth. Last fall an old man, a Fox Indian, was hunting on an island, a short distance below Rock Island, for turkeys to carry to Fort Armstrong. He was killed by a white man. We passed it over—we have only spoken of it in whispers. Our agent has not heard of it. We wish to live in peace with the whites. If a white man comes to our camp or village, we give him a share of what we have to eat, a lodging if he wants it, and put him on the trail if he has lost it.

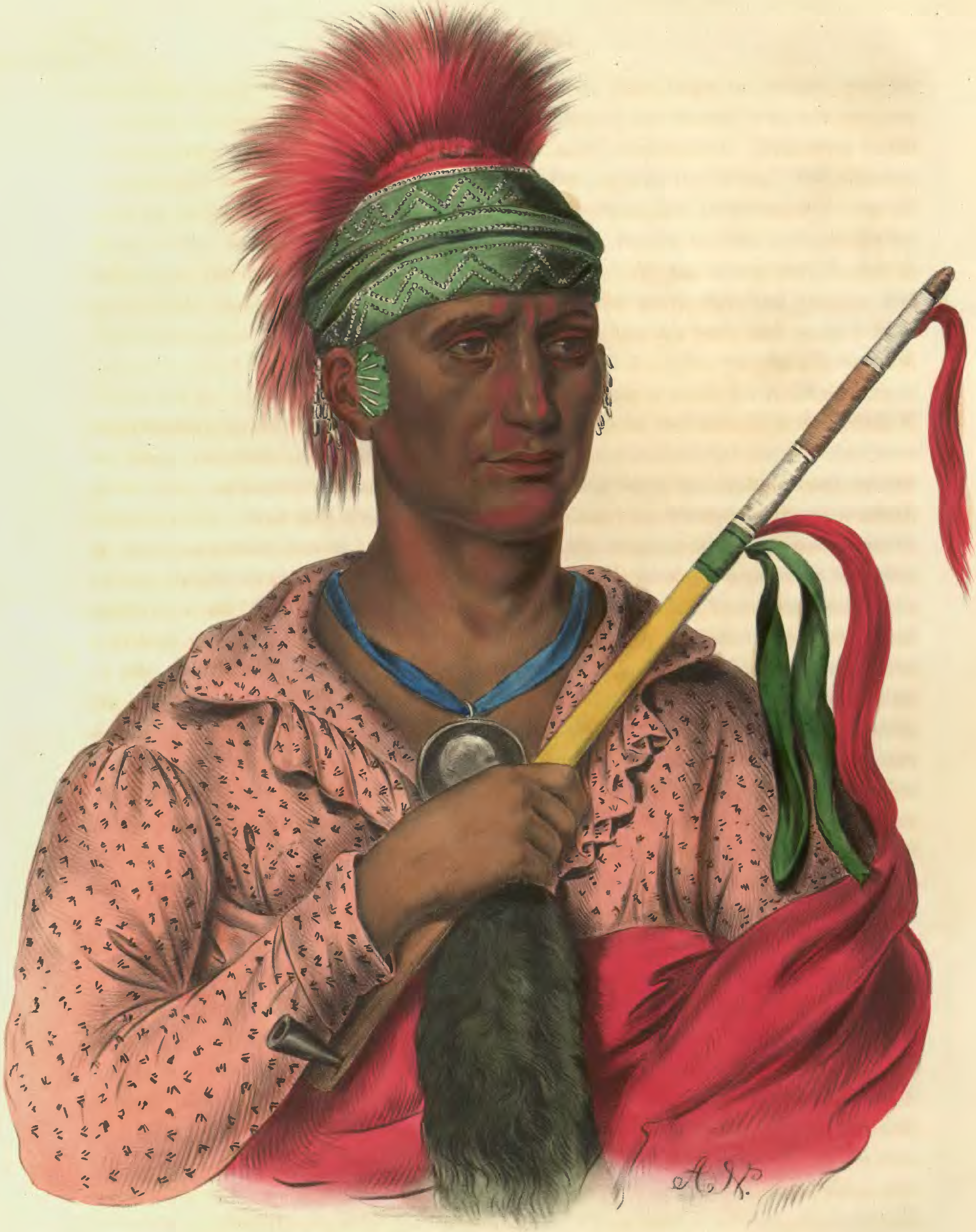
"My Father—Advise the criers of your villages to tell the truth respecting us, and assist in strengthening the chain of friendship, that your children may treat us friendly when they meet us; and be assured that we are their friends, and that we have feelings as well as they have.

"My Father—This is all I have to say at present.

"KEOKUK,
"Chief of the Sauk Nation."

Keokuk is a large and finely formed man. His manners are dignified and graceful, and his elocution, as well in conversation as in public speaking, highly energetic and animated. His flow of language and rapidity of utterance are remarkable; yet his enunciation is so clear and distinct, that it is said not a syllable is lost. His voice is powerful and agreeable, and his countenance prepossessing. It is not often that so fine a looking man is seen as this forest chieftain, or one whose deportment is so uniformly correct.

As much of the history of Keokuk is interwoven with that of Black Hawk, we have endeavoured to avoid repetition, by omitting many particulars which will be found in our sketch of the latter.



NE-O-MON-NE,

AN IOWAY CHIEF

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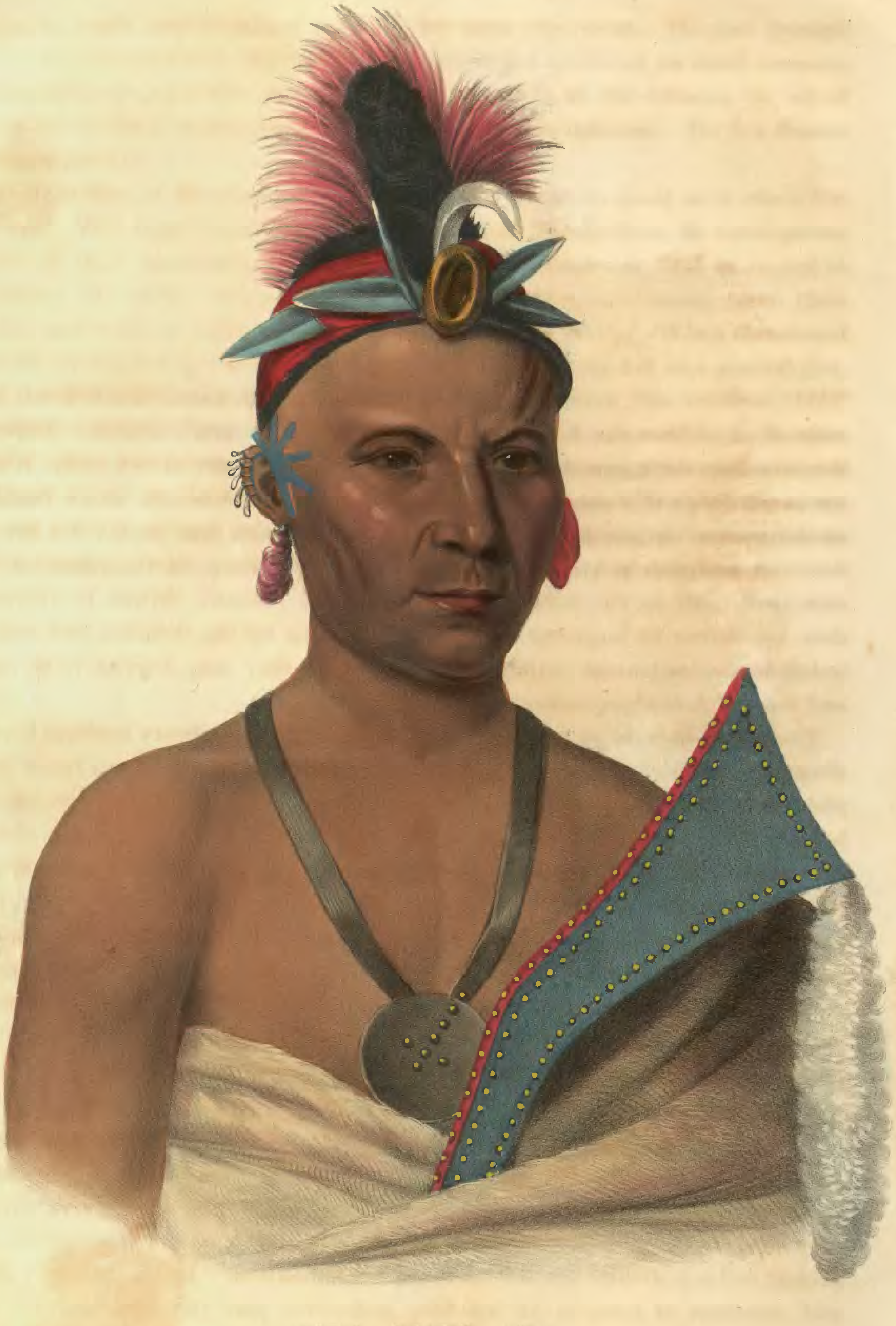
NEOMONNI.

THIS is the fifth chief, in grade, in the Ioway tribe. In attempting to describe his own age, he said that he was born when his tribe made war, the first time, upon the Osages, and that, he believed, was about forty years ago. This is as near as the Indians usually approach to accuracy in regard to their own ages. He describes himself as having had a pacific disposition in childhood, and as having no desire to kill any thing until he was ten years old. At that time a great flight of wild pigeons covered the country, and he went out with other boys to kill them. Having been employed for some days in this way, he became fond of the sport, and then killed a squirrel. After that his brothers offered him a gun, of which at first he was afraid, but being induced to receive it, he went out and shot a turkey. He remembers that, while yet a boy, being one day in the village, some warriors returned from an expedition, shouting and making a great noise. The people collected around them, while the warriors sung and danced, and exhibited the scalps they had taken. His father took him by the hand, and said to him, "Son, listen to me. Look at those scalps, and at those great warriors! This is what I like to see. Observe those braves, and learn to follow their example. Go to war and kill too, and the chiefs will look upon you as a brave man." Such teaching would not be lost upon a boy, and least of all upon the Indian lad, whose first lesson inculcates the shedding of blood, and whose innate destructiveness, practised in the beginning upon the lesser animals, is rapidly developed and improved as his strength increases, by the strongest incentives, until it attains its maximum in the great exploit of manslaughter. He was soon after permitted to accompany a war party, and, being too young to bear arms, was employed in carrying the cooking utensils and other burthens. It is thus that the Indian boys, like the pages and squires of chivalry, are trained for the business of war. He was in the rear, when an onset was made upon a camp of the Kansas, and running eagerly forward to indulge his curiosity, witnessed the killing of a woman, struck his knife into the expiring victim, and had the fortune to seize upon two children, who became his prisoners, and were afterwards given up by him to General Clark, the superintendant of Indian affairs, at St. Louis.

When about seventeen, he was at a hunting lodge with a small party, under his uncle, the Hard Heart, who left them, for a short time, to go to procure powder and lead. While lounging about the camp he espied an Omaha, who was peeping at him, and endeavouring at the same time to avoid observation. Neomonni called the stranger to him, and invited him to spend the night at the lodge. The Omaha, who probably could not readily escape, came to them, and they watched him all night. His death was resolved upon, but as the Indian seldom acts except by stratagem, the tragedy was deferred until morning. At the dawn they began to move their camp. While on the march, one of the party shot the Omaha, and Neomonni, after he had fallen, discharged an arrow into his body and scalped him. An old man of the party, whose son had been killed by the Omahas, exclaimed, "Now I'll be captain!" by which he meant, that having a cause for revenge against the Omahas, he had the best right to take the lead in the savage gratification of exulting over a fallen enemy.

As our readers would not probably be edified by a particular detail of the sanguinary deeds of this chief, we shall not pursue the minute recital with which he was good enough to favour us. However interesting such adventures might be to the spectators of a war dance, or the grave members of a council, we fear they might not be equally pleasing to civilised ears, and shall, therefore, abridge a narrative which contains but a repetition of such deeds as those already repeated.

The cloud out of which the rain comes—for such is the signification of the compound word Neomonni—is a warrior of repute. In one of his adventures he accompanied the celebrated Otto chief Ietan, to the river Platte; and when shown the portrait of that warrior, in a former number of this work, he immediately recognised his old comrade. In summing up his various exploits, he claims to have taken three scalps of the Kansas, two of the Omahas, one of the Missouris, one of the Sioux, one of the Sauks, and two of the Osages. In the reputable business of horse stealing he has been engaged thirteen times, and has taken forty horses. On four expeditions he has acted as captain; and he has presented sixty-seven horses and twenty rifles, on different occasions, to individuals or tribes other than his own. These acts of liberality are recounted with much complacency, because, while they show on the one hand a wealth gained by daring and successful stratagem, they evince on the other a generosity, public spirit, and zeal for the honour of the tribe, highly becoming the character of a great chief.



KEE. SHES. WA,

A FOX CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^A.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment Nº 94 Walnut St.
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KEESHESWA.

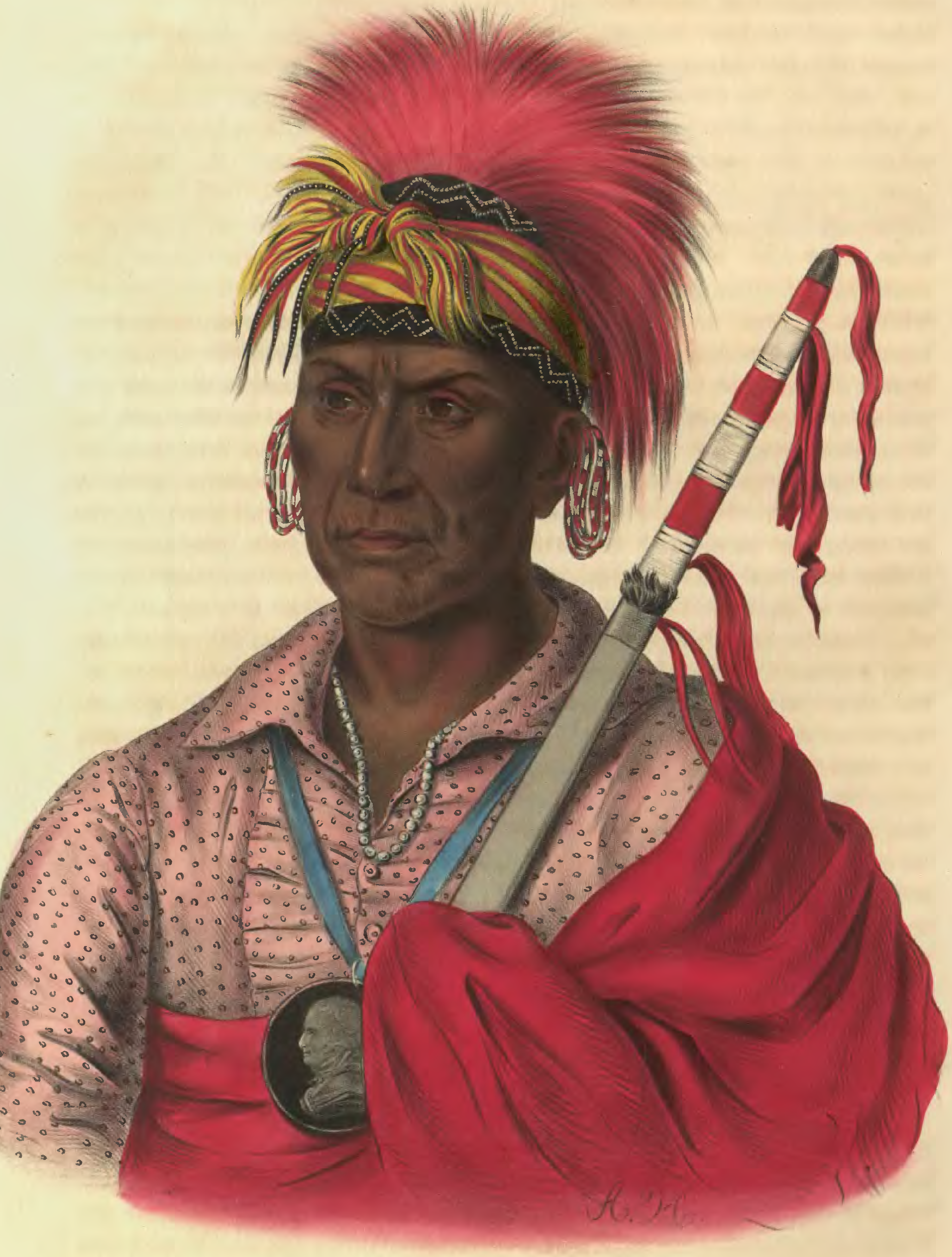
THE medicine men were formerly held in high repute among the Indians; but in some of the tribes the faith in them has lately been much shaken. Imposture, however ingenious, exercises over the human mind a precarious sway, which is constantly liable to detection; and the influence of the medicine men is based on a combination of imposture and superstition. They who practise the art are alike deceivers and deceived. To a certain extent they believe in the efficacy of their own spells; but as the fallacy of these practices becomes obvious to themselves, they are driven to ingenious contrivances to keep up the delusion, and sink into insignificance, or become artful impostors, just as they may happen to be cunning and successful, or the reverse.

There are medicine men among all the tribes. Their ordinary business is to cure diseases, and their remedies are chiefly spells, although most of them resort also, in plain cases, to their knowledge of the qualities of medicinal plants. But the latter branch of their practice is limited by the acquaintance which the Indians generally possess of simple remedies, and by their habit of using them when occasion requires. The medicine men are also dreamers, and interpreters of dreams, employing, in this part of their profession, much the same degree of intellect and cunning which are practised by the fortune-tellers who practise upon the credulity of the vulgar in more civilised communities. Sometimes they rise to a higher proficiency in their art, and assume the name of prophets, mingling in the political affairs of their tribes, and assuming rank in the councils, in virtue of their supposed favour with the gods, and prescience of events.

Keesheswa, ***The Sun***, is a medicine man of some note in the Musquakee tribe, and, so far as we can judge from appearances, is a devout believer in his science. Although in good health, and apparently a sound sleeper, he dreams very often, and very much to the purpose. He adheres firmly to all the ancient superstitions of his people, and is a stickler for the usages of his forefathers. He is especially discreet and observant of form in his smoking, and never puts the pipe into his mouth without due solemnity, nor omits any of the little proprieties which should accompany this ceremony. While he enjoys his pipe with the complacency of a true lover of the weed, no one who has witnessed the initiatory forms with which he lights it, would suspect him of smoking for mere enjoyment. He goes through it with a seriousness which shows that he considers it a matter of no small moment; and that, however agreeable may be the sedative effect of the tobacco, the act of inhaling the smoke is closely connected with his religious opinions. He is a sincere and honest smoker.

The reputation of Keesheswa, as medicine man, is not so great as it was a few years ago. The more intelligent of the Sauks and Musquakees, in consequence probably of their intercourse with the whites, have become sceptical in regard to the efficacy of spells; and, except when under strong excitement, treat their medicine men with an indifference amounting almost to levity. When threatened by danger, or blinded by passion, superstition regains its sway; but as a general fact, the juggler is less esteemed than formerly.

Keesheswa is much respected as an individual. His deportment is inoffensive, and he is believed to be sincere in his own belief of the efficacy of his spells—which we suppose to be true of but few of his class. At all events, it is a pleasure to see him smoke his pipe, and quite impossible to treat with levity an occupation in which he engages with a truly devout and edifying gravity of demeanour.



TAH. RO. HON

AN IOWAY WARRIOR.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
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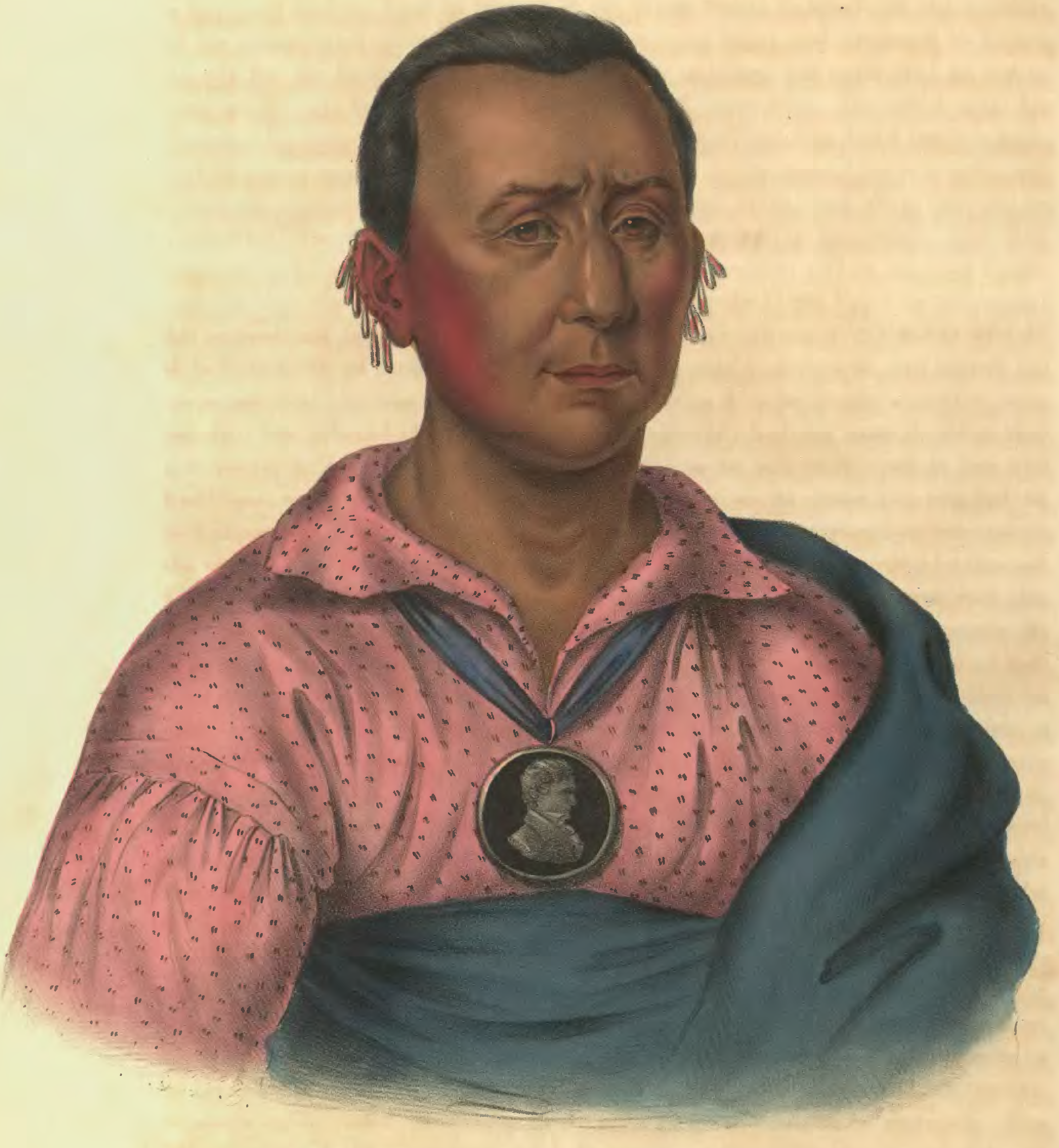
TAHROHON.

THIS is an Ioway warrior, who lives at the village on the Missouri, above Fort Leavenworth. One of his earliest adventures was in an expedition against the Osages. They arrived in the vicinity of an Osage village, situated on the bank of a river; but the latter ran between them and their enemies, and was filled with ice. They were hungry, and chilled with cold. They heard the Osage drum beat, and supposing a dance or a feast was going on, were the more anxious to partake of their good cheer. But the captain could not prevail on any of his men to go into the water, until he came to Tahrohon, the youngest of the party, who consented without hesitation, and immediately stepped into the stream. A few others followed him, and, on reaching the opposite shore, he said, "Come, let us go to the man who sings so well, and is beating the drum," when a dog barked, and they feared they were discovered, but, after a short consultation, determined to get into the village and kill an enemy. The brother of Tahrohon checked his impetuosity, thinking it imprudent to risk an attack at that time; but breaking away from his companions, he rushed to the nearest lodge, and there found an Osage woman marked all over, indicating her birth, and distinguishing her as one of a family of note, whom he shot, and, suddenly retreating, recrossed the river. Satisfied with this achievement, the party returned home, where the announcement of their exploit filled the village with joy; for the Osages, having killed an uncle and two sisters of Tahrohon, it was considered that he had taken revenge in a very happy and appropriate manner, the more especially as the feat was consummated in the midst of the enemy's camp.

The leader of the band then proclaimed that, having been so lucky in one expedition, they ought to proceed immediately upon another, while their good fortune continued to attend them, and proposed to lead a party to steal horses from the Osages. Fourteen warriors, of whom Tahrohon was one, agreed to follow him. Arriving near the Osage village, they remained concealed until night, then hid their guns, and cautiously proceeded towards the scene of action, sending Tahrohon forward as a scout, to seek their prey. Not succeeding in finding horses, they began to cast round them in search of food, for they had eaten nothing for two days, and were almost famished with hunger. But they could find no corn, and returned dispirited to the spot where they had deposited their guns. Tahrohon then proposed to go again in quest of horses, believing he should find some near a creek not far distant. Groping his way in the dark, with that sagacity which renders daylight almost superfluous to the Indian, he discovered an Osage lodge, and regretted that he had left his gun. While hesitating what course to pursue, the tall grass rustled near him, and he sat down. Presently all was still. He cautiously approached the camp, and discovered a piece of buffalo meat hanging at the opening of a lodge, barely visible in the dim light thrown upon it by an expiring camp fire. He determined to steal it, but remained for some time wistfully gazing at the spoil, and endeavouring to measure the danger to be encountered against the chances of success. Approaching nearer by degrees, he was at length in the act of reaching up to seize the spoil, when he discovered something on the ground, which he supposed to be two sacks of corn, a prize too tempting to be resisted, and stooping down he grasped—not a bag of food—but the nether limbs of an old woman, which, being wrapped in large leggins, presented, in the deceptive light of the decaying embers, the appearance which deceived the hungry prowler. When his hand rested on a human being, he sprang back terrified, and was about to run off, when he reflected that if he turned his back he would probably be shot by the warriors occupying the camp; and, drawing his knife, he boldly stepped forward to meet the danger, and slay the first who should oppose him. It turned out that the encampment comprised but one lodge, the sole occupant of which was an old squaw.

As this party returned home they discovered a trail, such as is made by dragging over the grass the kind of sled on which the Indians carry off their wounded. As the track led towards their village they followed it, and overtook a party of their own people, headed by Wahumppe, who had had a fight with the Osages and Kansas. Though surprised and surrounded by superior numbers, but one of the Ioways was killed. Hard Heart was wounded three times, and it was he who was drawn on the sled.

Ten days after another war party went out to revenge the death just mentioned; for thus in savage life one deed of violence leads to another; and whether we pursue the annals of a tribe, or the biography of an individual, the tale is but a series of assaults and reprisals. But although the Osages were the offending party in this instance, it was determined to wreak their vengeance upon the Sioux, probably because the latter were most likely to be unprepared for such a visit. When they reached the Sioux country, spies were sent out. The leader made a talk to his warriors, and concluded by inviting them to tell their dreams, upon which two individuals said they had dreamed that they had gone through a great country, and had seen many people, but no one molested them. This was considered a good dream. Presently the spies came in, and reported that they had discovered fifteen lodges of the Sioux. This intelligence made them cautious, and they concealed themselves for twenty-four hours to consult and feel their way. Then the horses were hoppled, a guard put over them, and the main body marched to the attack. To avoid being discovered, as well as to prevent any one from straying off and being taken for an enemy, they moved in a close body, each man touching his fellow. The constraint imposed by this unusual movement displeased Tahrohon, who determined, by a trick, to anticipate his companions, and strike the first blow. Accordingly he stepped aside from the main body, and threw himself on the ground, pulling down with him an Indian, who was his relative, and who, like himself, had been displeased by some neglect. These two, determining to seek honour in their own way, remained still until the war party passed, and then rushed into the village of the enemy, by the point at which it was supposed the inhabitants when alarmed would attempt to retreat. But the spies, with the true Indian craft, after communicating the truth to the leader of the band, had spread a false report among his followers, and our adventurers entered a deserted place, while the enemy was flying in an opposite direction. Thus disappointed, and placed in an equivocal position, they determined to return home, and to frame some plausible excuse for their desertion. They had not travelled far when they came suddenly upon a Sioux camp, composed of several skin lodges that were new and white, and upon which the moon was shining clearly. Here was a chance to do something. "Let us take a smoke," said one to the other; and sitting down among the tall grass, they lighted a pipe, and began to consider what act of mischief might be perpetrated upon the sleeping inmates by two desperate marauders, bent on distinguishing themselves at any hazard. After smoking and peeping awhile, they found a horse; and their spirits being raised by this success, they groped about actively and soon discovered four more, which they led to a grove in a bend of the river, where they hid them, for they were not satisfied with what they had done. But before they could return to the lodges the day dawned, and a prophet was heard singing, shaking his gourd, and praying for the relief of a sick person. A Sioux Indian came to the river for water, and our hero stepped forward to kill him, but just as he was about to fire, his companion exclaimed, "Look, there is our army!" The young men stood for a moment stupified with surprise and terror; for the danger now was that the Ioway band, rushing forward upon the Sioux lodges with loud yells, would not recognise these youths found thus in the enemy's camp; nor was it likely they could make themselves known in the noise and smoke of the onset. They sprang, therefore, down the bank of the river, and attracted the attention of the prophet, who called to his people, who had not yet discovered the advancing Ioways, to fire on them. But at that instant the Ioways raised the war whoop, and rushed forward. The two young men, in danger from both sides, attempted to mingle in the fight, but found the missiles of both parties hurled at them. At length our hero, seeing the two Sioux surrounded by several Ioways, who were pushing each other aside in their eagerness to strike a foe, rushed through the circle and shot one of the Sioux. He then mingled in the fight, and felt like one relieved from the horrors of a disagreeable dream, when he found himself fairly reinstated among his friends. In this fight twelve Sioux were killed, and four were taken prisoners.



WAT-CHE-MON-NE,

AN IOWAY CHIEF.

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WATCHEMONNE.

WATCHEMONNE, or ***The Orator***, the third chief of the Ioways, was born at the old Ioway village on Des Moines river, at this time occupied by Keokuk, and is now, in 1838, about fifty-two years of age. In recalling his earliest recollections, he tells, as the Indians mostly do, that he began in boyhood to kill small game with the bow and arrow. When he became large enough to use fire-arms, he procured a fowling piece, or, as the phrase is upon the border, a shot gun—a weapon considered of far inferior dignity to the more deadly rifle. But such was the awe inspired in his mind by the effects of gunpowder, that he was at first afraid to discharge his gun, and threw a blanket over his breast and shoulder before he ventured to level the piece. His first experiment was upon a wild turkey, which he killed, and after that he hunted without fear. This occurred before he was thirteen, for at that age he killed deer with his gun. At sixteen he went to war, killed an Osage, and took a piece of a scalp. His leader on that occasion was Wenugana, or *The man who gives his opinion.* After a long time he again went out with a war party under Notoyaukee, or *One rib.* Approaching a camp of the Missouris, some of their swiftest young men went forward, dashed into the camp, despatched three men, and returned, saying they had killed all. He was in the same affair with Notchemine, when the eleven were killed, and remembers that among the slain was a great chief. He slew none himself, but struck the dead and took three scalps, which is regarded as the greater exploit.

After these events, the Orator had the misfortune to lose a brother who was slain by the Osages, and whose death it became his duty as a warrior, and a man of spirit, to avenge. On such occasions the Indian does not act upon the principle of the civilised duellist, whose chief aim seems to be to vindicate his own courage, by making a show of resentment. His object is to appease the spirit of his deceased friend by the death of the slayer, and, if that be not practicable, by shedding the blood of some other enemy of his family or tribe; and he prepared himself for the exploit with every care and solemnity which is conceived necessary to ensure success. Every aid suggested by superstition is invoked, while a studied attention is given to every circumstance indicated by the more rational sagacity and experience of the warrior, as tending to render the meditated blow swift and fatal. He accordingly fasted and prayed a long time; then he went out and killed a deer and a bear, and made a feast in honour of the Great Spirit, to which all the warriors of his village were invited. He now became very angry, and professed to mourn greatly for his brother, whose spirit was very unhappy, and could find no rest so long as the murderer lived to boast in triumph over him. He called upon his friends who were willing to follow him, and all warriors who loved the war path, and all young men who thirsted for distinction, to gather around his war pole; and when the volunteers were collected, he sang for them, and they danced—he recounting the virtues of the deceased, and imprecating vengeance, and they responding by grunts of approbation, and yells of passion. Then he sang to the women, who also danced—and all united in hoping the Great Spirit would prosper his praiseworthy undertaking. Finally he told his party, that at the end of thirteen days he would lead them out to seek the foe—that in a dream he had seen an old man, and was told that if he succeeded in killing him he would also slay many others. He believed the vision, and accordingly they had not gone far when they met an aged Missouri, who was very bald; and as he was recognised as one who had slain many Ioways, they attributed his baldness to the numerous murders he had committed. Him they slew, but the rest of the dream was not fulfilled, though the Orator comforted himself with the belief that it would prove true in the end. He, therefore, called his young men together again; but they were dispirited by his former ill success, and only one agreed to follow him. With this companion he went to the west fork of Grand river, and having collected some of his tribe whom he met by the way, found himself at length at the head of twenty-two men. Meeting with a party of Osages they attacked them, and killed one man, which seems to have been considered satisfactory by the living, if not by the dead, for the party returned in good spirits. He states that, previous to his going out on this expedition, it was understood that if an enemy was killed he was to be considered as a general or leader, and he accordingly received his present name, Watchemonne, which signifies *war leader,* or, as we should say, general. The title of Orator, by which he is known more commonly, was given him by the whites, because he speaks well in council, and is usually appointed to receive visiters and deputations.

On one occasion, when this warrior was engaged in an expedition against the Sioux, he conceived that he should not have luck *to kill,* and quitting his companions he wandered off by himself in search of adventure. His object seems to have been to fall in with some individual of the enemy, whom he could slay either by stealth or courage, so that by shedding blood his evil destiny might be changed. The notions of the Indians on these subjects are so confused that they do not give any very distinct account of their superstitions; but we apprehend that on occasions like this they imagine there are bad spirits, who may be propitiated by bloodshed, and that it matters not how the victim is slain. The only Sioux that he met with was a little girl. Had it been a boy he would have killed him, but he captured the girl and made her a present to his captain, who in return gave him a string of wampum.

Besides these warlike incidents we are happy to record other anecdotes which we have received of this chief. The first one he calls *the beginning of his making presents.* The Sauks had killed two Ioways, and to avert the accustomed vengeance on the part of the latter, a deputation was sent to offer a compensation for the injury. The deputies, fearful that they might not be well received, halted near the Ioway village, sent for the Orator to come to them, and solicited his interposition. Having consented to become the peace maker, he made a present of seven Mackinaw blankets to the Ioway chief, and then gave the Sauks a keg of whiskey to revive their spirits, and enable them to enter the village without fear.

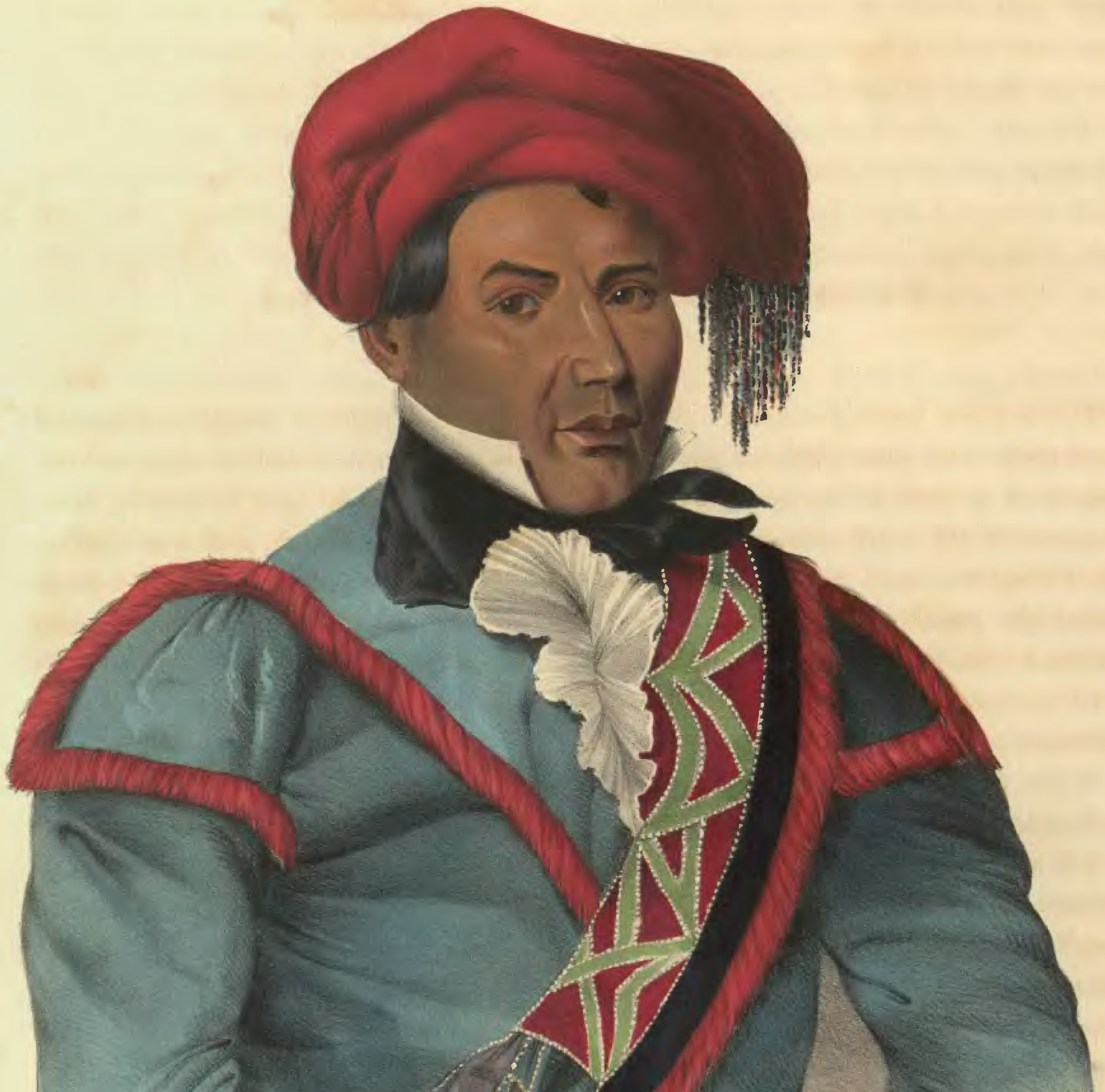
The Ioways being at war with the Osages, one of the war parties of the former nation, returning home from an unsuccessful expedition, passed an American settlement on the frontier of Missouri, and with that desperate propensity for mischief which the Indian always evinces under those circumstances, they stole four horses. The danger of such an act arose not out of the value of the property taken, but from the alarm the outrage would create, and the retribution that the men of the frontier would be sure to visit upon what they would consider the preliminary act of an Indian war. The chief, therefore, desired the young men to return the horses; but this they declined, and Watchemonne immediately bought them, and sent them back to the owners. This act gained him great credit among the people of the border, who have ever since treated him with confidence, and spoken in his praise. After that a number of the Sauks came on a visit of ceremony to the Ioways—probably on one of the occasions alluded to in the life of Keokuk—when the Orator, for the credit of his tribe, presented them with two horses. At another time, an Otto paying him a visit, he gave his guest, at his departure, a horse and a fine chief coat, such as the government distributes annually among the leading men of the tribes; and he has always, when it was in his power, displayed this kind of liberality to those who visit him.

This chief says he has no knowledge of any tradition of his tribe beyond Lake Pepin—that is, before they crossed that lake—a very expressive form of speech, indicating the migratory character of the people, and their own conviction that they are strangers in the land they inhabit. He only knows that on the shores of that water dwelt his nation before it had become divided into the Winnebagoe, the Omaha, the Missouri, and the Ioway tribes, and this he was told by his father, who derived it through eight preceding ancestors. It was the will of the Great Spirit that they should not be stationary, but travel from place to place, cultivating different ground; and they believe that they will only continue to have good crops and healthy children so long as they obey this law of their nature. They had better corn, and were more prosperous before the division of their nation than since. They have a secret among them about the Great Spirit, which it would be unlucky to tell. They have a number of medicine bags, containing the herbs and other articles used in juggling and in propitiating the Great Spirit, and other Spirits, which they keep in a lodge, that is usually shut up, and that no woman is permitted to enter. Before they go to war they engage for four days in religious ceremonies, during which time they practise entire abstinence. A deer or a bear having been provided beforehand, a feast is made, when the fasting is over, and a general invitation given to all who choose to attend. The old men are invited to pray. Those who are going out to war engage frequently in secret prayer; and they believe that those who pray insincerely will have bad luck. When any disagreement occurs in the tribe, a similar feast is made for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation, and the chief offers to the parties, between whom the quarrel exists, a pipe filled with a mixture of dried herbs, which they call the *Great Spirit's tobacco.* It is believed that death would speedily follow a refusal to smoke the pipe thus tendered. A singular example of superstition occurred in this tribe recently. A man having lost three children by sickness, thought it his duty to go to war and shed blood, in order to change his luck. The chief, White Cloud's brother, assembled the people of his band, and endeavoured to prevail on the unfortunate person to smoke the pipe of peace, by which he would be pledged to forego his sanguinary purpose. Finding him obstinate, and fearing perhaps that the tribe would be involved in a war by the infatuation of one individual, he presented the bereaved father with seven horses as a compensation for his loss. Still the pipe was refused; and a few days afterwards the poor man lost his wife, in consequence, as the tribe believed, of his noncompliance with an ancient usage; but in punishment, as he thought, of his having delayed to shed the blood of an enemy. He went out, therefore, and killed an Omaha, and was satisfied. They consider themselves authorised, and sometimes constrained, to avenge the death of friends who die a natural death.

This chief is a cousin of White Cloud, whose biography was given in a former number. He was a good man, and greatly beloved by his tribe; and Watchemonne was much struck with our picture of him, which he declared to be an excellent likeness. When a copy of that portrait was sent to the tribe, they were grieved so much that they could not bear to look at it. Even the children remember him well, although four years have elapsed since his death, and he is still mourned. They have never been accustomed to pictures of their friends, and are pained to see those they have loved thus exhibited.

Shortly after the death of a chief it is usual to hold a meeting for the purpose of consoling the surviving family. The whole company is formally seated, the chiefs in one place, the braves in another, and the relatives of the deceased in a third, while the women and children of the tribe form a circle around. Presents are then made to the family, one giving a horse, another a blanket, and so on; after which the chiefs and braves speak of the virtues of the departed, and narrate his exploits, each speaker rising in turn, and the whole auditory listening with great decorum. The one who pronounces the most satisfactory eulogy is treated to something to drink. Two or three such meetings have been held in honour of the White Cloud. Watchemonne relates that after his brother, the Crane, died, when he thought they had mourned long enough, he led the warriors to the grave, and seated them around it. He told them they had mourned long enough, and that it was time to rub the black paint off of their faces, and to resume the red paint. He then distributed red paint among them, and afterwards liquor.

This chief has but one wife, and several children. One of his sons, now about nineteen years of age, has been for six years at the Choctaw academy; and a daughter, whose Indian name signifies the Rainbow, is under the care of the missionaries, who call her Mary.



TUSTENNUGGEE EMATHLA
OR JIM BOY
A CREEK CHIEF.

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TUSTENNUGGEE EMATHLA.

THIS is a fine looking man, six feet and one inch in height, of manly and martial appearance, and great physical strength, who seems well calculated to command the respect of a band of savage warriors. Our brief sketch of him is framed from memoranda taken from his own lips. He is a full blooded Creek, and was born on the Tallapoosa river, about the year 1793, which would make him forty-five years old at the period to which we bring down his biography. He is most generally known by the familiar name of Jim Boy, but is properly entitled to that which we have placed at the head of this article, Tustennuggee, meaning *warrior*, and Emathla, which signifies *next to the warrior*.

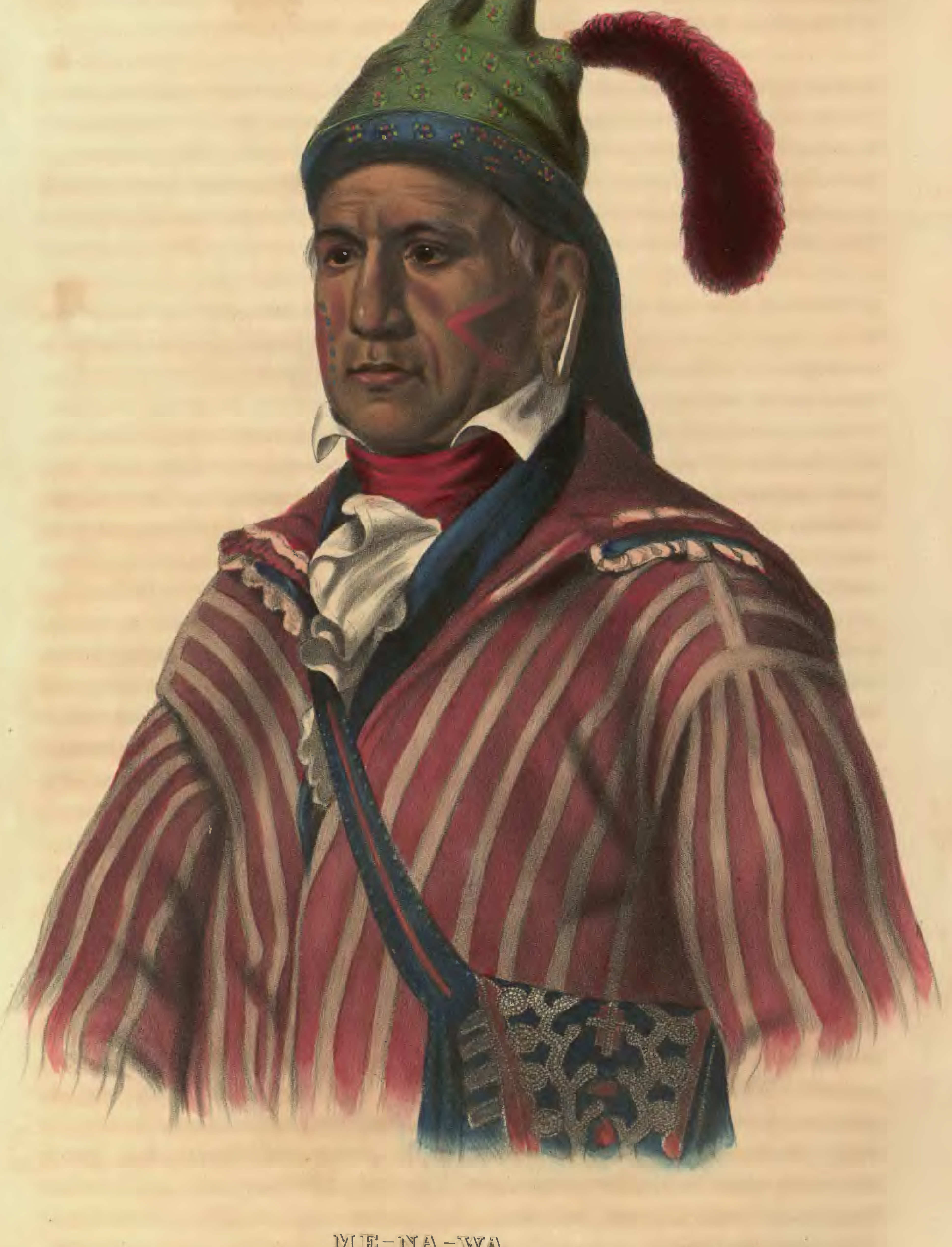
When the war broke out in 1811, between the Creeks and the American people, he was too young to wield the tomahawk, but was permitted to follow the warriors of his nation to the field; and he thus witnessed the capture of Fort Mimms, a fortress which the Indians surprised at the commencement of hostilities, and where they basely massacred all who fell into their hands without regard to age or sex He was also present at the battle of Cahawba, but took no further part in that war. He afterwards accompanied General Jackson, under the command of M'Intosh, towards Florida, but was not in any fight.

When the Creek nation became divided into two parties, one of whom were friendly to the American people and government, and disposed to yield to the settled and inevitable policy which demanded their entire separation from the white race, and the other hostile to our country and unwilling to emigrate, Tustennuggee Emathla attached himself to the former party. He has continued, since he reached the years of maturity, the undeviating friend of the Americans; and it affords us great pleasure to recognise, in the steady attachment of this individual and many others, the most intelligent and best disposed of their race, some proof that, whatever abuses may have corrupted and disgraced our intercourse with that unfortunate people, the general policy of our government towards them has been of a kind and liberal character.

In the present war in Florida, Tustennuggee Emathla seems to have rendered some service. General Jessup sought his services to lead a party against the Seminoles, and he accordingly raised a band of seven hundred and seventy-six warriors, whom he conducted to the seat of war. He descended the Chattahooche to Tampa Bay, having instructions from General Jessup not to engage in hostilities against the Seminoles until he should first have endeavoured, as a mediator, to induce them to abandon the bloody and fruitless contest in which they were unhappily engaged. In this attempt he was not successful; and we find him, soon after his arrival at Tampa, joining the camp of Colonel Lane, by whom he was sent, with two hundred of his warriors, to look after the Seminoles. He fell in with a party of the latter, and drove them into a swamp, from which they opened a fire and wounded several of his men. He was then sent to meet Governor Call, and arrived at the spot where General Gaines was surrounded, soon after that officer had been relieved. On the following day he joined Governor Call, and proceeded to Fort Drane. Thence they moved on one of Acee-Yoholo's towns, called Weecockcogee, or little river, about sixty miles from Fort Drane, where the Seminoles, though numerous, refused them battle, fled, and were pursued. The Creeks were unable to overtake them; but the Tennessee horse fell in with them on the following day, and a fight ensued, in which several were killed on each side.

Tustennuggee and his party joined the army again at Fort Dade, and the Seminoles being in a swamp hard by, an attack was planned, in which the Creeks were invited to go foremost, an honour which they promptly declined, while they cheerfully agreed to advance side by side with the white men. In this fight the Creeks lost four men, besides one who was accidentally killed by the whites; but the Seminoles were beaten. He was afterwards sent to a place towards Fort Augustine for provisions, and was in several skirmishes not worth recording.

This chief states that he joined our army under a promise made by the commanding general, that in the removal of the Creeks to the west of the Mississippi, which was about to take place, his family and property should be attended to, and that he should be indemnified for any loss that might happen in consequence of his absence. These stipulations he alleges were broken by the removal of his women and children while he was absent in the service of the government, whereby his entire property was destroyed. Nor was this the worst of his misfortunes. His family, consisting of a wife and nine children, were among the unfortunate persons who were on board the steamboat Monmouth when that vessel was sunk by the mismanagement of those to whose care it was entrusted; and two hundred and thirty-six of the Creeks, including four of the children of Tustennuggee Emathla, were drowned. Melancholy as such an occurrence would be under any circumstances, the catastrophe is infinitely the more deplorable when happening to an ignorant people while emigrating unwillingly under the charge of our public agents, and to a people whose whole intercourse with the whites has tended to render them suspicious of the faith of civilised men. The more intelligent among them will doubtless attribute the misfortune to culpable negligence, if not design, while the ignorant will see in it, with superstitious awe, another link in the chain of fatal events entailed upon the red men by their contact with the white race. So far as the chief before us has any claim upon the justice or benevolence of our country, there can be no doubt that the government will maintain its faith inviolate. Whatever may be thought of our policy towards the Indian tribes, as such, we are not chargeable, as a people, with any backwardness in the discharge of our obligations to individual claimants.



ME-NA-WA.

A CREEK WARRIOR.

PUBLISHED BY E. C. BIDDLE, PHILADELPHIA.
Printed & Coloured at J.T.Bowens Lithographic Establishment N.º 94 Walnut St.
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MENAWA.

THIS chief is a half blooded Creek, of the Oakfuskee towns, which lie on the Tallapoosa river, in Alabama. He was formerly called Hothlepoya, or *The crazy war hunter,* in consequence of his daring feats as a marauder upon the frontiers of Tennessee, at an early period in the settlement of that state. He was in the habit of passing over annually to the Cumberland river, for the purpose of stealing horses, or, as the fierce clansmen of Scotland would have phrased it, driving cattle. The great modern novelist has designated treason a gentlemanly crime, and border warriors, of whatever race, have, in like manner, considered the occupation of transferring each other's horses, either by stealth or violence, as a reputable martial employment. Hothlepoya was widely known and feared by the new settlers along the border, as a bold and successful adept in this species of warfare, which he practised with the least possible breach of the public peace—seldom shedding blood if unresisted, but fighting with desperation when opposed. Various are the adventures attributed to him while thus engaged, in some of which he is represented as pursuing his object with daring audacity, and in others obtaining it by ingenious trickery. On one occasion,

> "As bursts the levin in its wrath,
> He shot him down the winding path.
> Rock, wood, and stream, rung wildly out,
> To his loud step and savage shout;"

while again the honest farmer, bereaved of his noblest steed, suspected not the felonious deed until the *crazy war hunter* was far beyond the reach of pursuit.

The stories told of this individual are so numerous as to warrant the inference that his celebrity in the peculiar species of horse-jockeyship to which he devoted his attention, induced those who suffered injury at his hand to give him credit, not only for his own exploits, but those of his various contemporaries, as the Greeks attributed to their deified Hercules the deeds of numerous heroes who bore that name. Some of these adventures are too marvellous to be readily believed; many, that seem plausible enough, want confirmation, and but few have reached us, in detail, in such an unquestionable shape, as to be worthy of repetition. We pass them over, therefore, with the single remark, that while enough is known to establish the character of Hothlepoya as an adroit and bold taker of the horses of his civilised neighbours, we are unable to give so minute a detail of these enterprises as would be edifying to the public, or instructive to the youthful aspirant after similar honours.

One incident is well vouched for, which shows that our marauder could emulate the liberality of the famous Robin Hood. Returning once from a successful excursion, he fell in with a tired pedestrian, trudging along the trail that in those days led from Augusta to the Tombigbee. The latter was a white man, who had lost his good nag; whether like Fitz James,

> "——— touched with pity and remorse,
> He sorrowed o'er the expiring horse,"

we are not told, but we learn that he was on foot, in a cheerless wilderness, with no other companion than a hound, who,

> "With drooping tail and humbled crest,"

followed the fallen fortunes of his master. Had Hothlepoya encountered this traveller mounted upon a good horse, the probability is that he would, either by stratagem or force, have despoiled him of the animal. As it was he gave him a fine steed, worth two hundred dollars, which he had just stolen at the hazard of his life, and received in exchange the stranger's hound—not as an equivalent, for the dog was of little value, but as a something to stand in place of the horse, and to be shown as a trophy on his return home. The acquisitive propensity of so heroic a person is not excited by the value of the thing stolen, but by the glory of the capture.

When Tecumthe visited the southern Indians, about the year 1811, for the purpose of endeavouring to unite them with the northern tribes in a general conspiracy against the whites, the subject of this notice was second chief of the Oakfuskee towns, and had acquired the name of Menawa, which means, *The Great Warrior;* and the politic Shawanoe leader distinguished him as one of those whose co-operation would be necessary to the accomplishment of his purpose. He made a special visit to Menawa, and formally communicated his plan, in a set speech, artfully framed to foment the latent hatred of the Creek chief towards the whites, and to awaken the ambition which he well knew must form a prominent feature in a character so daring and restless. Menawa heard his illustrious visitor with deep attention, for he loved war, and was not unwilling to strike the pale faced enemy of his race. War is always a popular measure among the Indians, and the chiefs readily indulge their followers in a propensity that diverts their attention from domestic affairs, and keeps up the habit of subordination in these wild and factious bands, who are at all times ruled with difficulty, but more especially when peace brings its season of idleness, intemperance, and license. Another reason which, doubtless, had a powerful though secret influence upon the mind of the Oakfuskee chief, was his jealousy of the growing power of McIntosh, whom he disliked, and who was known to favour the whites. A murder had recently been committed upon some white men, in the direction of the Oakfuskee towns, in revenge for which the people of Georgia, charging the crime upon Menawa's band, had burned one of his villages. It was secretly rumoured, and believed by Menawa, that McIntosh, who feared to attack him openly, and perhaps had no plausible pretence for a public rupture with his rival, had instigated the murder, and had then caused it to be charged to the Oakfuskee band, for the express purpose of exposing the latter to the vengeance of the Georgians; and he was soured alike at the whites who had chastised his people without a cause, and at McIntosh who was the supposed author of the injury. The proposed war had, therefore, the additional recommendation, that as McIntosh would most probably join the whites, he would be converted from a secret enemy, protected by rank and position, into an open foe, leagued with the oppressors of his race.

We have already spoken of the Creek war, and we now recur to it to detail the part acted by Menawa, who engaged in it with great alacrity. Although he was the second chief of his band, his reputation for valour and military skill placed him foremost on occasions when danger threatened, or when enterprise was required. The principal chief was a medicine man, who relied more on his incantations than upon the rifle or tomahawk—a peaceable person, who probably inherited his station and owed his elevation to good blood rather than a meritorious character. He wore around his body a number of gourds, containing the herbs and other articles which constituted his medicine, and which he believed had power to repel the bullets of the enemy, to preserve his own life, and give success to his party. Menawa, though a man of vigorous intellect, was slightly infected with the superstition of his people, and from habit venerated the character of his chief; but the miracles which were said to have followed the visit of Tecumthe, and which we alluded to elsewhere, so far outshone the gourds of the Oakfuskee juggler, as to create some little contempt, and perhaps distrust towards the spells of the latter. But the faith of the principal chief only waxed stronger and stronger, and he continued to juggle without intermission, and to prophesy with confidence, while the Indians, partaking of his fanaticism, generally believed in him, and relied upon his power.

Thus incited by the blind zeal of fanaticism, added to the many existing causes of hatred against the whites, and to the belief that a general war to be waged under supernatural guidance was about to afford the opportunity for ample revenge, the Creeks proceeded in earnest to actual hostilities. We pass over a number of engagements that occurred in this war, in several of which Menawa acted a leading part, sparing our readers from the mere details of bloodshed, which could afford them but little interest, and passing on to the great battle of the Horseshoe, wherein it was the fate of this chief to act and suffer as became the military head of a gallant people. The scene of this disastrous conflict has already been described in another part of our work; and we shall only repeat here, that the Indians were posted on a small tongue of land, surrounded by the river Tallapoosa on all sides but one, where it was joined to the main land by a narrow isthmus, across which they had thrown a strong breastwork of logs. The Oakfuskee prophet, after performing certain incantations, informed his followers that the impending assault would be made in the rear of their position, which was swept by the river; and by presumptuously assuming to predict the plan which would be adopted by his enemy, unintentionally misled the Indians, who, instead of trusting to their own natural sagacity, arranged their defences in reference to an imaginary plan of assault. General Jackson, who, to an inflexible firmness of purpose united a vigorous judgment, perceived the impregnable nature of the points the Indians had prepared to defend, and conceived the bold as well as judicious step of assailing the breastwork that extended across the isthmus. The movement of the American General was so rapid, that its object was not discovered until his cannon were planted in front of the intrenchment. But when the battery was opened upon this point, when the Tennesseans were seen rushing forward with impetuous valour, and it was discovered that the main force of the American army was about to be precipitated upon the breastwork, Menawa, enraged at his chief, whose juggling had betrayed the Indians into a fatal error, flew at the unfortunate prophet, and, aided by others alike incensed, slew him upon the spot. He then placed himself at the head of the Oakfuskee braves, and those of the neighbouring towns, and uttering, with a voice of unusual compass, a tremendous war whoop, leaped the breastwork and threw himself in the midst of the assailants. A Greek or Roman leader, who had thus slain his chief, assumed the command, and abandoning the shelter of his fortifications, plunged into the thickest ranks of the enemy, to conquer or die for his people, would have been immortalised in classic story; while in the American savage such conduct will only be remembered as among the evidences of the extraordinary ferocity of his race.

The comrades of Menawa followed him into the battle, and fought at his side with desperate valour, until nearly all were slain, and he fell wounded by seven balls. The whole fight was of the most desperate character. The waters of the Tallapoosa river were red with blood. The ferocity with which the Indians fought may be attributed in part to their custom of not suffering themselves to be taken as prisoners, while their position cut them off from retreat, and still more perhaps to the fact that the ground of the Horseshoe was a consecrated spot, where they considered themselves protected by friendly spirits and were nerved to desperation by a faith like that which excites the frantic valour of the Mahometan. Of nine hundred warriors led into that sanguinary fight by Menawa, only seventy survived, and one only, who fled at the first discharge of cannon, escaped unwounded.

When the storm of the battle subsided, Menawa remained on the field, lying in a heap of the slain, devoid of consciousness. Recovering his senses, he found himself weltering in blood, with his gun firmly grasped in his hand. The battle had ceased, or swept by, but straggling shots announced that the work of death was not over. Raising himself slowly to a sitting posture, he perceived a soldier passing near him, whom, with a deliberate aim, he shot, but at the same moment received a severe wound from a bullet, which, entering his cheek near the ear, and carrying away several of his teeth, passed out on the opposite side of the face. Again he fell among the dead, retaining, however, so much of life as to feel the victors treading upon his body as they passed over it, supposing him to be slain. When night came he felt revived, and the love of life grew strong in him. He crawled cautiously to the bank of the river, and descending to its margin found a canoe, which he entered, and by shaking it from side to side loosed it from the shore. The canoe floated down the river until it reached the neighbourhood of a swamp at Elkahatchee, where the Indian women and children had been secreted previous to the battle. Some of these wretched beings, who were anxiously looking out for intelligence from the scene of action, espied the canoe, and upon going to it, discovered the mangled chief lying nearly insensible in its bottom.

Menawa was removed to a place of rendezvous which had been appointed on the Elkahatchee creek, where he was joined by the unhappy survivors of that dreadful battle. For the purpose of brooding over their grief, mourning for the dead, and deciding upon the measures necessary to be adopted in consequence of the recent disaster, a silent council was held, that lasted three days, during which time these moody warriors neither ate, nor drank, nor permitted their wounds to be dressed. At the expiration of the third day it was determined that the Indians should return to their respective homes, submit to the victors, and each man make his own peace as best he might. Their wounds were then dressed by the women, who usually officiate as surgeons, as did the ladies of Europe in the days of chivalry. The Indians are said to display under such circumstances a remarkable tenacity of life, and to recover rapidly from the effects of the most serious wounds, in consequence probably of their active and abstemious habits, rather than of the absence of physicians. They soon dispersed, and all of them surrendered formally to the American authorities, except Menawa, whose wounds prevented him from leaving his retreat until after the close of the war. As soon as he was able to travel he sought his home, at the Oakfuskee towns, but found neither shelter nor property. The desolating hand of war had swept all away. Before the breaking out of hostilities, Menawa was among the richest of the Indians of the upper towns. Like many of his nation, of the mixed blood, he had partially adopted the habits of the white man, keeping large herds of cattle, which he exchanged for merchandise, and bartering the latter with his own people for the products of the chase. He had entirely abandoned the predatory habits of his early life, was the owner of a store, and of more than a thousand head of cattle, an equal number of hogs, and several hundred horses. He carried on a brisk trade with Pensacola, and was known to load, at one time, a hundred horses with furs and peltries. Like the famous Rob Roy, he was by turns a chieftain, a drover, and a marauder, a high mettled warrior, and a crafty trader; and like him, his propensity for war was unfortunately stronger than his prudence. All his earnings were now destroyed. He found his village burned; not a vestige remained of all his property—houses, cattle, and merchandise, had alike disappeared. The Oakfuskee chief was as poor as the most abject individual of his band, and has lived in poverty ever since that fatal campaign. He could never be prevailed upon afterwards to revisit the battle ground at the Horseshoe. It is believed that he entertained a superstitious dread of the spot, at which he supposed a malign influence existed, fatally hostile to his people and himself. This is not improbable, and is entirely consistent with the Indian character. But this aversion may be attributed to a more natural cause. Men of high spirit are liable to strong prejudices, and obstinate antipathies, and Menawa may have felt an unconquerable reluctance to revisit a spot so replete with humiliating recollections—the scene of signal defeat and mortification to himself, as a man and as a chieftain. Napoleon, bereft of imperial power, would have taken no pleasure in retracing the road to Moscow.

Menawa regained his health, reassumed his authority over the remnant of the Oakfuskee band, and became an influential person in the Creek nation. In the conflict of opinion which for many years distracted this unfortunate people, he acted with those who resisted the encroachments of the whites, refused to sanction further cessions of territory, and opposed every measure which would lead to the compulsory emigration of his people. McIntosh, as we have seen, espoused the opposite side, and when that chief was sentenced to death for having signed a treaty of cession in violation of the known wishes of the majority, Menawa was selected to execute the fatal decree. Between these leaders there had never existed any friendly feeling, nor is it supposed that Menawa would have been seduced into the imprudent measure of taking up arms against the American government, but for the spirit of rivalry mutually entertained, and the belief of the one that he had been deeply injured by the other. The knowledge of these facts, as well as their confidence in the firmness and bravery of Menawa, may have led the Creeks to select him as the executioner of their sentence. He at first declined the office, and requested the council to entrust it to a more impartial hand; but that body adhering to their choice, he accepted the trust, and discharged it in the manner we have related in our sketch of McIntosh.

The subject of this notice was one of the delegation sent by the Creeks to Washington, in 1826, to remonstrate against the treaty of the Indian Springs, and to effect some compromise which should quiet the troubles that preceded and ensued the death of McIntosh. His conduct on that occasion was calm and dignified, and the force of his character was felt in all the negotiations which took place at the seat of government. He was decidedly opposed to the emigration of the entire Creek people, but was willing to sell the country, reserving certain lands to be parcelled out to such individuals as might choose to remain, to be held by them severally in fee simple. By this plan the entire sovereignty and jurisdiction of the country would have been yielded, the Creeks as a nation would have retained nothing, but any individual choosing to continue within the ceded territory, would have had a tract of land granted to him in perpetuity, which he would hold under the state government. None would have accepted these conditions but such as proposed to subsist by agriculture, or some of the kindred arts, and were willing to submit to the restraints of law. The untamed Indian who preferred his own savage mode of life, would have sought a home more congenial to his taste in the forests and prairies of the West. This plan is more consonant with justice than any other that has been suggested; whether it would have satisfied the people of Georgia, or have ultimately promoted the happiness of the Indians, we do not pretend to decide. Failing in this proposition he succeeded in getting a provision inserted in the treaty, by which it was agreed that patents should be issued after five years to such Indians as might choose to occupy land. As it turned out, eventually, this provision afforded no benefit to himself, for by an arbitrary mode adopted of making the allotment, the tract on which he had resided—his *home*—was given to another, and the land offered to himself not being acceptable, he sold it and purchased other land in Alabama.

Menawa was not only brave and skilful, but was a gentleman in appearance and manners. Although he was a savage in the field, or in the revel, he could at any moment assume the dignity and courtesy proper to his high station. Not long after his return from Washington, a gentleman to whom we are indebted for some of the incidents related in this memoir, called upon this chief. He found him surrounded by his braves, engaged in a deep carouse; but Menawa had too much tact to receive his visitor under such circumstances. As the gentleman approached the house in which the Indians were carousing, he was met by an aid of the chief, who directed him to another house, where he was requested to remain until the next morning. The hint was taken. In the morning early Menawa was seen approaching well mounted, and in the full uniform of a general officer, from chapeau to spurs—being the dress presented to him at Washington at the conclusion of the treaty. At the door of the house at which his visitor was lodged he reined up his steed, and gracefully dismounted. Advancing with his chapeau under his arm, and bowing to the stranger, he desired to know the business of the latter which had induced his call. Being informed, he said promptly, "I am now engaged with my people in a frolic. I must return to them, but will see you to-morrow, and attend to your business." Whereupon he remounted, bowed, and galloped off. Punctual to his promise, he returned on the following morning, and adjusted the matter of business.

Notwithstanding the hostility of Menawa towards the whites, and the injuries he had received, he remained inviolably faithful to the treaty he had made, and the pacific policy to which he was pledged. He said that when at Washington he had smoked the pipe of peace with his Great Father, and had buried the tomahawk so deep that he never again could dig it up. When, therefore, in 1836, the temporary successes of the Seminoles kindled a contagious spirit of insurrection among the

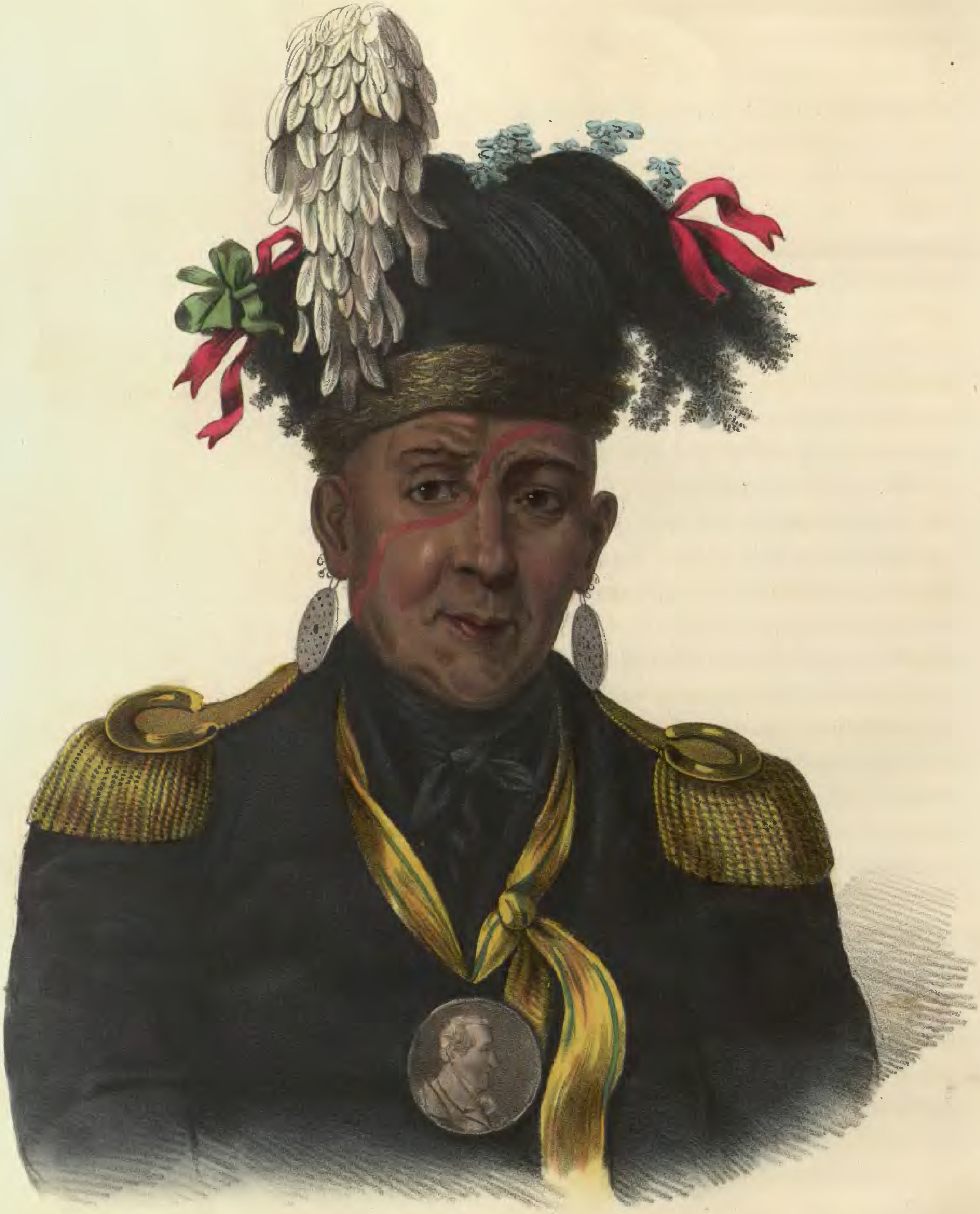
Creeks, Menawa was among the first to tender his services to the authorities of Alabama; and his offer being accepted, he collected his braves and led them to the field, in combination with those of Opothle Yoholo. On this occasion he was dressed in a full suit of American uniform, and affected the conduct of a civilised leader, whose sole object was to prevent the effusion of blood. In addition to his own services, he sent his oldest son to Florida to aid in the defence of the country against the Seminoles. Under these circumstances he had reason to expect that he should be gratified in his ardent wish to spend the remnant of his days in his native land, and lay his bones with those of his forefathers. He paid a visit to the Catawba Indians, in North Carolina, to see how they prospered under the laws of that state; and having satisfied himself that there was no insurmountable objection to such a mode of life, used every exertion to be excluded from the emigrating party. He was at last, in consideration of his recent services, gratified with the promise of being permitted to remain. But this act of justice had scarcely been conceded to him when, by some strange inadvertence, or want of faith, he was ordered to join the emigrating camp. We hope and believe that this, with many other wanton acts of injustice towards the Indians, are not chargeable to our government. The complicated relations with the tribes are necessarily entrusted to numerous agents, acting far from the seat of government, and vested with discretionary powers, which are not always discharged in good faith; nor is it easy for the executive to arrive at the truth in reference to such transactions, where some of the parties are interested, some unprincipled, and the majority both lawless and illiterate.

On the eve of his departure, this veteran chief said, to a highly reputable gentleman, who is our informant, presenting him at the same time with his portrait —a copy of the one which accompanies this sketch—"I am going away. I have brought you this picture—I wish you to take it and hang it up in your house, that when your children look at it you can tell them what I have been. I have always found you true to me, but great as my regard for you is I never wish to see you in that new country to which I am going—for when I cross the great river my desire is that I may never again see the face of a white man!"

When it was suggested to him that many supposed his repugnance against emigrating arose from the apprehension that he would meet in Arkansas the hostility of the McIntosh party, who had preceded him, he shook his head and said, "They do not know me who suppose I can be influenced by fear. I desire peace, but would not turn my back on danger. I know there will be blood shed, but I am not afraid. I have been a man of blood all my life; now I am old and wish for peace."

Before he took a final leave of the land of his fathers, he requested permission to revisit the Oakfuskee town, which had been his favourite residence. He remained there one night. The next morning he commenced the long dreaded journey towards the place of exile. After crossing the Tallapoosa he seemed for some time abstracted and uneasy. His conduct was that of one who had forgotten something, and under this supposition it was proposed to him to return for the purpose of correcting the omission. But he said, "No! Last evening I saw the sun set for the last time, and its light shine upon the tree tops, and the land, and the water, that I am never to look upon again. No other evening will come, bringing to Menawa's eyes the rays of the setting sun upon the home he has left *forever!*"

The portrait of this distinguished chief, in the gallery of the War Department, which we copy, was taken in 1826, when he was supposed to be about sixty years of age. It is one of the most spirited of the works of that gifted artist, King, and has been often recognised by Menawa's countrymen, who, on seeing it, have exclaimed, "Menawa!" and then, fired by the remembrance of the deeds which gained him the name of the *Great Warrior,* they have gone on to recount them. If this extraordinary person be yet living, he is far from his native land and all the scenes of a long and most eventful career, and is forming new associations at a period of life beyond the three score and ten allotted to man.



WA-BAUN-SEE,

A POTTAWATOMIE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^A.
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WABAUNSEE.

IN the portrait which accompanies this sketch we are happy to have it in our power to exhibit an excellent likeness of a very distinguished man. It is to be regretted that so few anecdotes of him have been preserved; but his general character, which is well known, is that of a warrior of uncommon daring and enterprise, and a chief of great intelligence and influence. His tribe take pride in recounting his numerous feats in war; and the agents of our government, who have met him in council, speak in high terms of his capacity for business. Though cool and sagacious, he was a bold orator, who maintained the interests of his people with untiring zeal and firmness. He was the principal war chief of the Pottawatimies of the Prairie, residing on the Kankakee river, in Illinois.

The following anecdote, while it marks the daring spirit of this chief, is more especially characteristic of his race, and is one of the numerous instances of individual exploit with which the traditionary lore of the frontier abounds. Some years ago a small hunting party of Pottawatimies, having wandered far to the west, were discovered by a band of Osages, who surprised them and slew two or three of their number. It seems almost marvellous that such transactions should so frequently occur in the story of Indian life—that in a country of such immense breadth, with a savage population so comparatively small, and with the melancholy proofs before their eyes of a decrease in numbers so rapid as to threaten a speedy extermination of the race, the individuals of different tribes seldom meet without bloodshed. The propensity for carnage seems to be an innate and overmastering passion, which no reflection can chasten, nor the saddest experience eradicate. Even their dread and hatred of the white man, and the conviction of the common fate which impends over the whole race, in consequence of the superior numbers of those who are daily usurping their places, has no restraining effect upon their wanton prodigality of blood. Although it is obvious, even to themselves, that the most fruitful source of their rapid decay is to be found in their own unhappy dissensions, their destructive habits continue unrestrained; and so many are their feuds, so keen their appetite for blood, so slight the pretence upon which the tomahawk may be lifted, that two hunting parties from opposite directions can scarcely meet in the wilderness without suggesting a stratagem, and leading to the spilling of blood.

But common as such deeds are they do not pass off without important consequences. Although murder is an every day occurrence in savage life, the Indian resents it as a crime, and claims the right to avenge the death of his friend. On the occasion alluded to, one of the slain was the friend of Wabaunsee, and he determined to revenge the violence. It was long, however, before an opportunity offered, the distance between the lands of the Pottawatimies and Osages being so great, that the individuals of the respective tribes seldom came in collision. But no interval of time or distance cools the passion of revenge in the Indian bosom. At length, while on one of his hunting expeditions, Wabaunsee heard that some Osages were expected to visit one of the American military posts not far distant, and thither he bent his steps, intent upon the completion of his purpose. On his arrival, he found the Osages there, and they met coldly, as strangers, without friendship, and without feud. But smothered fires burned under that exterior apathy. Wabaunsee was determined to imbrue his hand in the blood of the tribe in whose lodges the scalp of his friend was hung; and the Osages no sooner learned the name of the newly arrived visitor than they guessed his purpose, and took counsel with each other how they might avert or anticipate the blow. Wabaunsee pitched his camp without the fort, while the Osages thought to secure their safety by sleeping within the fortress. But neither breastworks nor sentinels afford security from the hand of the savage, who is trained to stratagem, who finds no impediment in the obscurity of the thickest darkness, and can tread the forest with a step so stealthy as not to alarm the most vigilant listener. In the night Wabaunsee crept towards the fort, and evading the sentries, scaled the ramparts, and found admission through an embrasure. Alone, within a military post, surrounded by men sleeping on their arms, he glided swiftly and noiselessly about, until he found his victim. In an instant he despatched one of the sleeping Osages, tore the scalp from his head, and made good his escape before the alarm was given. As he leaped from the wall a trusty companion led up his horse, and the triumphant chief mounted and dashed off, followed by his little band; and before the sun rose they had ridden many miles over the prairie, and shouted often in exultation and derision over this bold but impudent exploit.

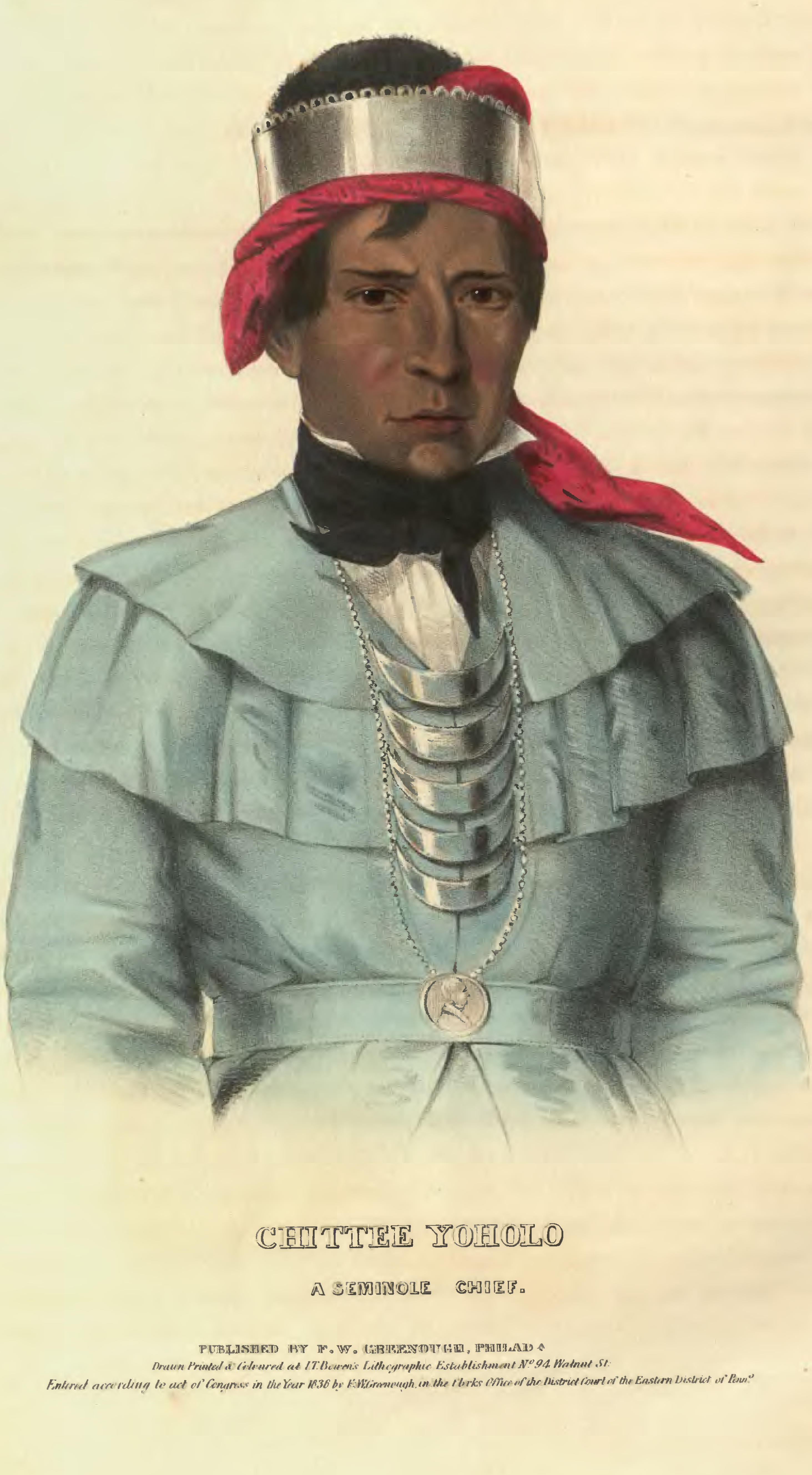
In the war of 1812 this chief and his tribe were among the allies of Great Britain, and were engaged in active hostilities against the United States. But at the treaty held at Greenville, in 1814, he was one of those who, in the Indian phrase, took the Seventeen Fires by the hand, and buried the tomahawk. He has ever since been an undeviating friend of the American government and people.

He was one of the chiefs who negotiated the treaty of the Wabash, in 1826. At the close of the treaty, while encamped on the bank of the river, near the spot where the town of Huntingdon now stands, he engaged in a frolic, and indulged too freely in ardent spirits. A mad scene ensued, such as usually attends a savage revel, in the course of which a warrior, who held the station of friend, or aid, to Wabaunsee, accidentally plunged his knife deep in the side of the chief. The wound was dangerous, and confined him all winter; but General Tipton, the agent of our government in that quarter, having kindly attended to him, he was carefully nursed, and survived. His sometime friend, fearing that he might be considered as having forfeited that character, had fled as soon as he was sober enough to be conscious of his own unlucky agency in the tragic scene. Early in the spring General Tipton was surprised by a visit from Wabaunsee, who came to announce his own recovery, and to thank the agent for his kindness. The latter seized the occasion to effect a reconciliation between the chief and his fugitive friend, urging upon the former the accidental nature of the injury, and the sorrow and alarm of the offender. Wabaunsee replied instantly, "You may send to him, and tell him to come back. A man that will run off like a dog with his tail down for fear of death, is not worth killing. I will not hurt him." We are pleased to be able to say that he kept his word.

At the treaty held in 1828, at which he assisted, one of the chiefs of his tribe, who was thought to be under the influence of a trader, after the treaty had been agreed upon by the chiefs and braves, refused to sign it unless the commissioners would give him a large sum of money. Wabaunsee was very indignant when he heard of this circumstance. "An Indian," said he, "who will lie, is not worthy to be called a brave. He is not fit to live. If he refuses to sanction what we agreed to in council, I'll cut his heart out." It was with some difficulty that he was prevented from putting his threat in execution.

In 1832, when the faction of Black Hawk disturbed the repose of the frontier, it was feared that the Winnebagoes and Pottawatimies would also be induced to take up the hatchet, and it is supposed that they were tampered with for that purpose. They were too sagacious to listen to such rash counsels; and Wabaunsee relieved his own conduct from doubt by joining the American army with his warriors.

In 1833 the Pottawatimies sold their lands in Illinois and Indiana, to the United States, and accepted other territory west of the Mississippi, to which they agreed to remove; and in 1835 he visited the city of Washington for the purpose, as he said, of taking his Great Father by the hand. The next year he led his people to their new home, near the Council Bluff on the Missouri, where he is now living.



CHITTEE YOHOLO

A SEMINOLE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADª
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Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F.W. Greenough, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennª

CHITTEE YOHOLO.

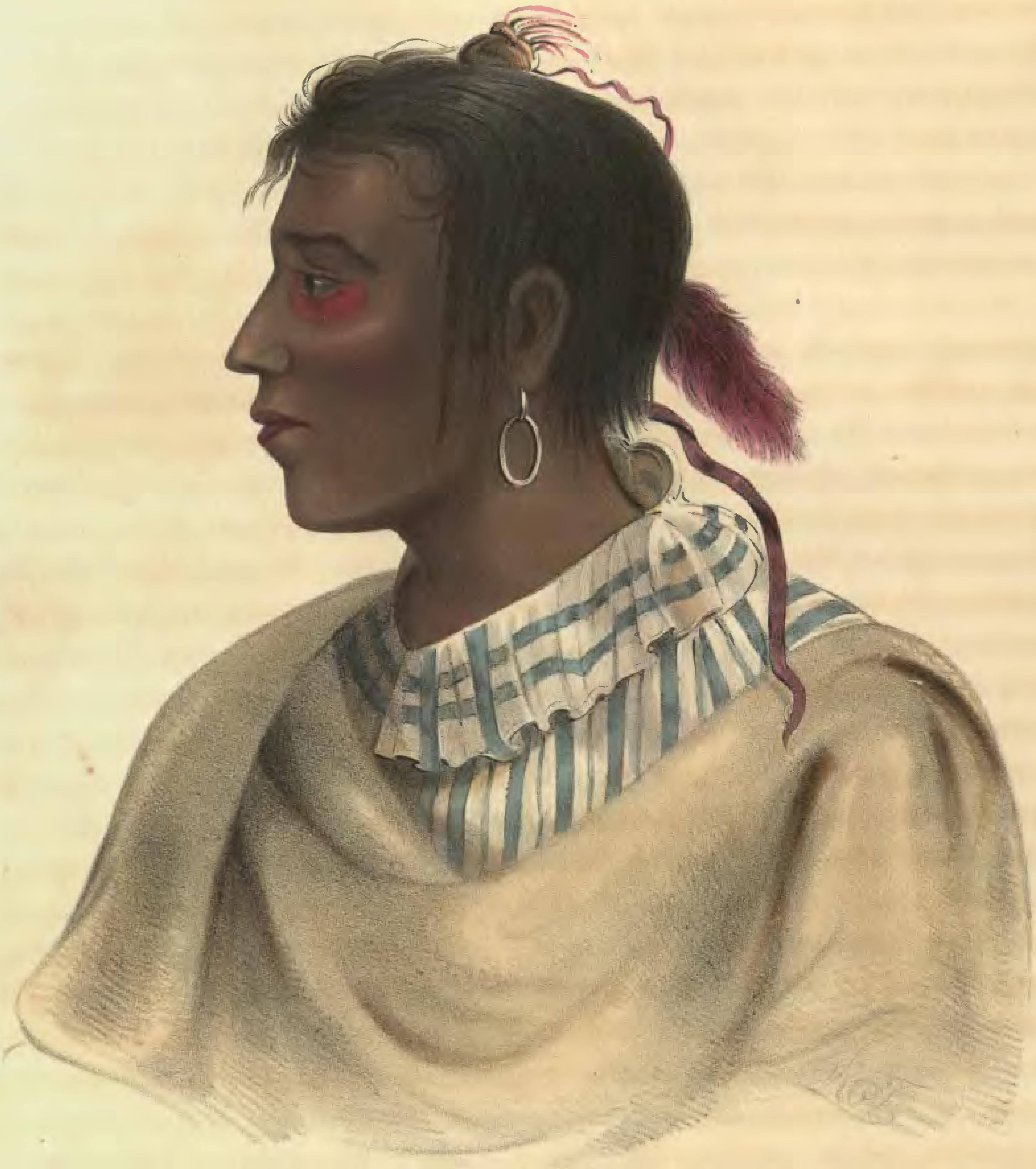
CHITTEE YOHOLO, or *The snake that makes a noise*, is a Seminole of some note, although but twenty-eight years of age. He was born in Florida, in that region of inaccessible swamps, which our gallant troops have found to be anything but a land of flowers. His complexion, which is of a darker hue than that of our other Indians, marks his descent; and there is an expression of fierceness in the countenance indicative of a race living in perpetual hostility. Such has been the history of the Seminoles, who are, as their name indicates, wanderers, or outcasts, from other tribes. A few restless individuals, who separated themselves from the southern nations, either from dislike against the modified habits introduced into those communities by their contact with the whites, or from impatience of the restraints even of savage life, strayed off to the wilds of Florida, and connected themselves with some feeble remnants of the ancient population, who lingered in that remote region. While that province remained in possession of the Spaniards, the jealousy of that government, as well as the peculiar character of the country, and the savage nature of the people, rendered it comparatively inaccessible to American curiosity or enterprise; and we knew little of the savage tribes within its limits, except from their occasional depredations upon our frontier, and from the protection afforded by them to runaway slaves from the southern states. These evils became enhanced during the late war with Great Britain, and one of the chief inducements to the purchase of Florida, by our government, was the hope of either taming or driving away such troublesome neighbours. We merely touch the subject in this place for the purpose of showing what we suppose to be the main cause of the ferocious and obstinate character of the hostilities that have recently rendered that region a scene of wide spread desolation. In the history of wars of aggravated malevolence, it will generally be found that some ancient grudge, festering in the passions of the frontier population, gives a secret rancour to the dispute which it could scarcely have attained from the political differences that are alone apparent to the public eye.

The first occasion on which Chittee Yoholo was engaged, was when General Gaines was surrounded by the Seminoles; he was one of the hostile party, and declares that he fought hard, and tried his best to kill the white men. Soon after he was engaged in another fight, in which he killed a white man, and taking the scalp, he carried it to the council house of his tribe and threw it at the feet of an aged warrior—thus invoking the approbation of one who was experienced in the wiles and dangers of warfare. The men of the village assembled, danced all night, recounted their recent adventures, especially that which they were now celebrating, and, instead of honouring the lion of the occasion with a toast, and requiring a speech in return, as we should have done, they gave him a new name, Chewasti Emathla—Emathla meaning, *next to the warrior*, and Chewasti being a kind of surname, thrown in for euphony. After that he killed and scalped another white man, carried in the bloody trophy, and again the warriors danced in honour of his success; and now they called him Olocta Tuscane Hadja, which means, *The blue crazy warrior;* and again, on bringing in another scalp, they danced round it all night, and called him Olocta Tustennugge, *The Blue Warrior*. All these were stealthy feats performed in the night. The Indians regard such with peculiar gratification, from the high estimate which they place on achievements conducted with cunning and won without exposure. He was constantly out, and usually without companions, stealing upon the sleeping inmates of the cabin, or waylaying the straggler in the forest; so that we may infer that the *Snake that makes a noise,* like the reptile whose name he bears, crouched in silence until the moment when he was about to spring upon his prey.

He was lying in the coverts around Fort Mellon, while Paddy Carr was there with the friendly Indians, of whom he counted one hundred and twenty, as he gazed at them from his lurking place. After he had watched a whole night, he joined an assailing party of his people, who fired upon the fort in the morning, and of whom ten were killed; he received a spent ball in his hand, and being unable to manage his gun, retired. He was in a battle with the Tennessee volunteers, in which three Seminoles were killed, whose bodies were dragged to the nearest bushes and hidden, as there was not time to bury or to carry them off. He participated in the battle of Wahoo swamp, where the Indians lost two warriors and killed several of the whites. The next day the whites came again, and a skirmish ensued. Acee Yoholo was present in all these fights. On one occasion Chittee Yoholo drove off a hundred cattle from the settlements of the white people; and he tells of various other battles that he was engaged in, in addition to those we have mentioned.

Having stated that he had seen and recognised Jim Boy at the head of the Indians friendly to the whites, he was asked why he had not killed that chief, whose unusual height made him a conspicuous object. He replied that it was not the will of the Great Spirit; and added that he had been in many battles, and not having lost his life, he concluded he should die of sickness, and he supposed that Jim Boy would die in the same way. The allusion to the latter was made in consequence of his being present at this conversation.

After the adventures related, and many others, this chief listened to the overtures of the Creek Indians, who invited him to a council, and gave him, as he expresses it, a good talk. He accompanied them to St. Augustine, and gave himself up to the commanding officer, by whom he was kindly treated. He has a wife and two children in Arkansas.



ME - TE - A,

A POTTAWATOMIE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD.A
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METEA.

THE strongly marked features of this individual are indicative of his decisive character, and the original cast of his mind. Metea was distinguishsd as an orator and as a warrior. He was a Pottawatimie of unbounded influence in his tribe, and was esteemed by all who knew him as a man of commanding talents. He resided on the little St. Joseph's river, about twelve miles from Fort Wayne, in Indiana.

We know little of Metea previous to the unfortunate war between Great Britain and the United States, which commenced in 1812, when his name was prominently connected with one of the most tragic scenes of that conflict. The employment of savages, in the hostilities against our frontier settlements, led to many outrages, but to none more afflicting than the massacre at Chicago. At this solitary spot, far in the wilderness, and entirely detached from any of the populous parts of our country, a small fort had been established, and a few families, supported chiefly by the Indian trade, formed a little village in its vicinity. Captain Heald, the commander, having received orders from General Hull to abandon the post, and retire to Detroit, left the property which could not be moved under charge of a few friendly Indians, and marched out with the garrison, consisting of about fifty regulars. In his train were some females and children, belonging to the garrison, and several families of the village, who were unwilling to remain at this solitary and exposed point, after the withdrawal of the military. They had scarcely left their fortress when a band of Indians, who had been watching the motions of this ill fated party, rushed upon them and commenced the work of extermination. Twenty-five of the regulars, and nearly all of the defenceless persons under their charge, were slain. A few of the soldiers were made prisoners, and a few escaped by means of some of those miraculous chances so common in border warfare. Captain Heald and his wife, who accompanied him, were both wounded. We have seen an accomplished lady, at that time, though married, in the prime of her youth, who was a participator in the horrors of that dreadful scene. She concealed herself for a time by plunging into the lake, on whose borders the bloody tragedy was acted, and at last escaped by placing herself under the protection of a young Indian, whom she knew, and who with some difficulty extricated her from the scene of slaughter, and conducted her, after many days of perilous and toilsome wandering in the wilderness, in safety to Detroit. Metea was a conspicuous leader in this affair.

When General Harrison marched to Fort Wayne, in the autumn of 1812, for the purpose of raising the siege of that post, Metea led a party of his tribe to meet and obstruct the advance of the American army. Having posted his men advantageously in a swamp, five miles east of the fort, through which the army of Harrison must pass, he advanced some distance in front of them for the purpose of reconnoitering, and concealed himself behind a tree. General Harrison, who was well skilled in the stratagems of Indian warfare, had thrown his scouts out in front and on the flanks of his line of march; and as one of these was silently picking his way through the bushes, the right arm of Metea, exposed from behind the trunk of a large tree, caught his eye. To throw his rifle to his shoulder, to aim with unerring precision at the only part of his enemy which was visible, and to fire, required but an instant; and the Pottawatimie chief, with his arm broken, retreated, closely pursued, to his men, who, being discovered, raised their ambuscade and retired. When narrating this anecdote, afterwards, to the gentleman from whom we received it, Metea remarked that he found great difficulty in escaping his pursuers, and saving his gun. He was asked why he did not throw away his gun, to which he replied, "I would rather have lost my life. Had I returned from the battle without my gun, I should have been disgraced, but if I had fallen with my face towards the enemy, my young men would have said that Metea died like a brave."

Metea was a prominent speaker at the council held at Chicago, in 1821, and afterwards at the treaty of the Wabash, in 1826, and on both occasions gave decisive evidence of talent as a debater. Our informant, who was for many years a member of congress, and who saw this individual on these and various other public occasions, remarked that he had heard many bursts of eloquence from him, such as were seldom exceeded by any public speaker.

There is an interesting account of this chief in the Narrative of Long's Second Expedition, performed in 1823, from which we extract the following paragraphs, descriptive of an interview with him at Fort Wayne, where the party halted to collect information in regard to the Pottawatimies.

"In order to afford the party an opportunity of obtaining the best information, General Tipton sent for one of the principal chiefs in that vicinity, with whom they conversed two days. The name of this man was Metea, which signifies in the Pottawatimie language, *Kiss me.* He was represented to us as being the greatest chief of the nation; we had, however, an opportunity of ascertaining afterwards that he was not the principal chief, but that he had, by his talents as a warrior, and his eloquence as an orator, obtained considerable influence in the councils of his nation. He may be considered as a partizan, who, by his military achievements, has secured to himself the command of an independent tribe. He resides on the St. Joseph, about nine miles from Fort Wayne, at an Indian village called Muskwawasepeotan, *The town of the old red wood creek.* Being a chief of distinction, he came accompanied by his brother, as his rank required that he should be assisted by some one to light his pipe, and perform such other duties as always devolve upon attendants. Metea appears to be a man of about forty or forty-five years of age.

He is a full blooded Pottawatimie; his stature is about six feet; he has a forbidding aspect, by no means deficient in dignity. His features are strongly marked, and expressive of a haughty and tyrannical disposition; his complexion is dark. Like most of the Pottawatimies, whom we met with, he is characterised by a low aquiline and well shaped nose. His eyes are small, elongated, and black; they are not set widely apart. His forehead is low and receding; the facial angle amounts to about eighty. His hair is black, and indicates a slight tendency to curl. His cheek bones are remarkably high and prominent, even for those of an Indian; they are not, however, angular, but present very distinctly the rounded appearance which distinguishes the aboriginal American from the Asiatic. His mouth is large, the upper lip prominent. There is something unpleasant in his looks, owing to his opening one of his eyes wider than the other, and to a scar which he has upon the wing of his nostril. On first inspection his countenance would be considered as expressive of defiance and impetuous daring, but upon closer scrutiny it is found rather to announce obstinate constancy of purpose and sullen fortitude. We behold in him all the characteristics of the Indian warrior to perfection. If ever an expression of pity or of the kinder affections belonged to his countenance, it has been driven away by the scenes of bloodshed and cruelty through which he has passed. His dress was old and somewhat dirty, but appeared to have been arranged upon his person with no small degree of care. It consisted of leather leggins, buttoned on the outside, a breechcloth of blue broadcloth, and a short chequered shirt over it; the whole was covered with a blanket, which was secured round his waist by a belt, and hung not ungracefully from his shoulders, generally concealing his right arm, which is rendered useless and somewhat withered from a wound received during the late war, when he attacked, with a small party of Indians, the force that was advancing to the relief of Fort Wayne. His face was carefully painted with vermillion round his left eye. Four feathers, coloured without taste, hung behind, secured to a string which was tied to a lock of his hair. In our second interview with him he wore a red and white feather in his head, that was covered with other ornaments equally deficient in taste. Mr. Seymour took a likeness of him, which was considered a very striking one by all who knew Metea.

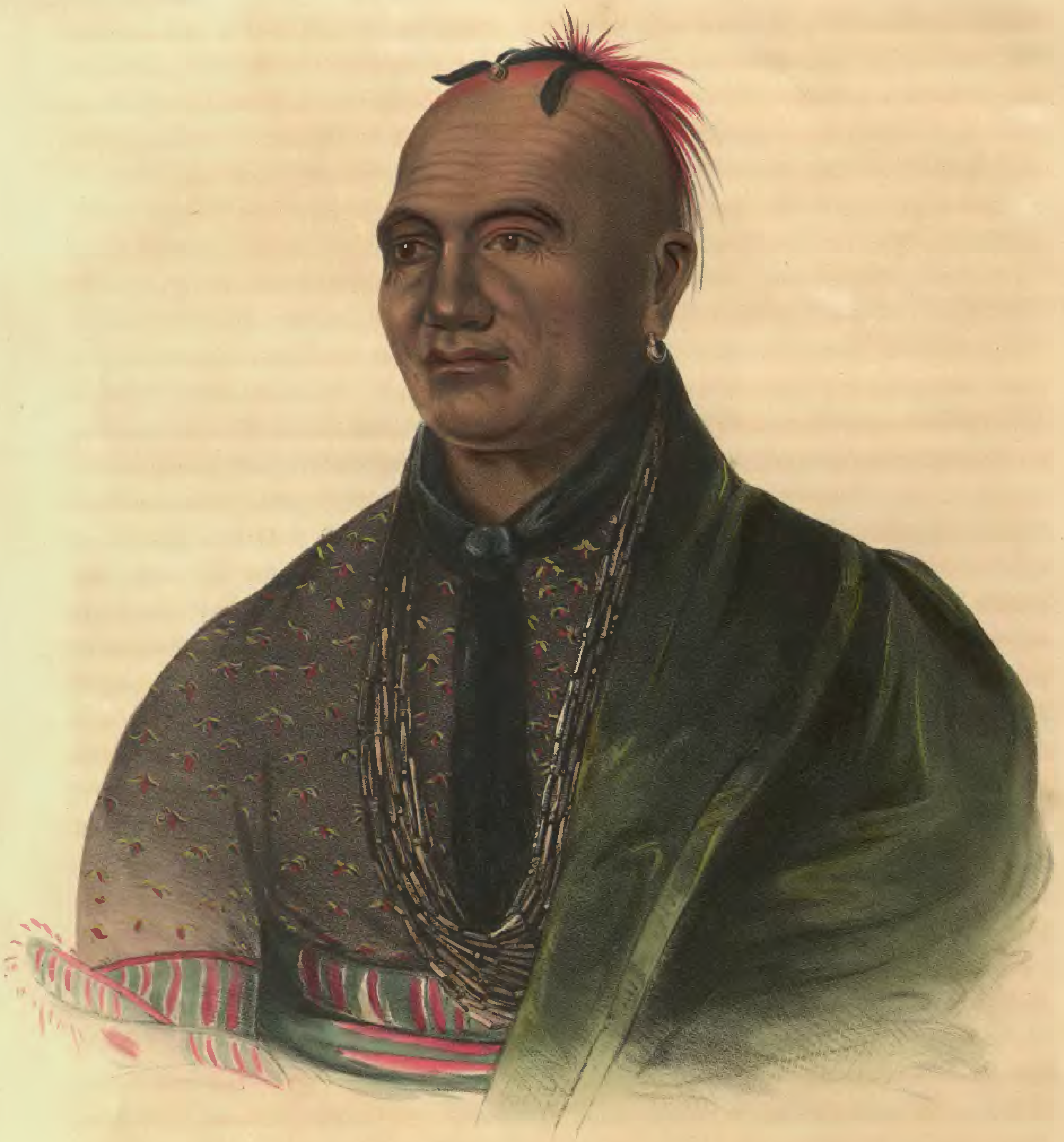
"The chief was accompanied by his brother, who is much younger, and resembles him, but whose features indicate a more amiable and interesting disposition. We observed that during the interview the latter treated Metea with much respect, always preparing and lighting his pipe, and never interfering in the conversation unless when addressed by the chief. On entering the room where the gentlemen of the party were, Metea shook hands with the agent, but took no notice of the rest of the company, until General Tipton had explained to him, through his interpreter, the nature of the expedition, the object of his Great Father, the President, in sending it among the Indians, and the information which would be expected from him. He informed him likewise that his time and trouble would be suitably rewarded. The chief then arose from his seat, shook hands with all who were present, told them that he would very willingly reply to all their questions, but that, according to usage, he was bound to repeat to his nation all the questions that should be asked and the replies that he would make; that there were certain points, however, on which he could give no information without having first obtained the formal consent of his community; that on these subjects he would remain silent, while to all others he would reply with cheerfulness; and that after they should have concluded their inquiries, he would likewise ask them some questions upon points which he thought concerned his nation, and to which he trusted they would in like manner reply. He then resumed his seat, and answered with much intelligence, and with a remarkable degree of patience, all the questions that were asked of him."

This minute narrative is not only graphic in relation to the appearance and deportment of Metea, but is highly descriptive of the decorum, the caution, and the gravity of the Indian character.

After the war Metea was in the habit of visiting Malden annually to receive pay, as he expressed it, for his arm, from his British Father. It is probable that he received presents whenever he visited the British posts.

In the latter part of his life Metea became a warm advocate for educating the youth of his tribe; and in 1827, having collected a number of boys, he took them to the agent at Fort Wayne, who sent them to the Choctaw academy in Kentucky.

General Tipton, formerly an agent in the Indian Department, and now a Senator in Congress, to whom we are indebted for the greater part of this sketch, describes Metea as possessing many noble traits of character. He was ambitious and fond of power, but he was brave and generous, giving freely to his friends, and never betraying the littleness of any selfish propensity. He devoted much of his time, and all his care, to the interests of his nation, and was an able and faithful chieftain. With all these good qualities he was the victim of that fatal passion for ardent spirits which has brought such swift destruction upon his race. The last council he attended was at Fort Wayne, in 1827, when several days were spent in a difficult negotiation, during which he attracted attention by the dignity and propriety of his bearing. When the business was concluded he remarked that he must have a frolic, and the agent permitted him to receive a small bottle of spirits; by some secret means he procured more, and unhappily became intoxicated. In a state of phrenzy he roamed through the village, demanding liquor; and at last is supposed to have taken a bottle of aqua fortis from the window of a shop, and swallowed the contents, which, in about half an hour, caused his death.



THAYENDANEGEA
THE GREAT CAPTAIN OF THE SIX NATIONS

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^{A}
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T.Bowen's Lithographic Establishment N^{o}. 94. Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1838 by F. W. Greenough, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^{a}.

THAYENDANEGEA.

THERE are few names in Indian history so conspicuous as that of Thayendanegea, or, as he was more commonly called, Joseph Brant. He was for many years the scourge of the frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania, whose inhabitants associated with him, in their excited imaginations, all that was fierce and relentless in the savage character. That they had ample reasons for the dread and hatred connected with his name, is but too well attested by the many deeds of rapine and slaughter which stand inseparably united with it upon the pages of history; and notwithstanding the able and benevolent attempt which has recently been made to erase those stains from his memory, it will be difficult for any American ever to look back upon the sanguinary catalogue of his military achievements without a shudder. In the hasty sketch that we shall give, we shall avail ourselves freely of the valuable labours of Mr. Stone, whose voluminous life of that chief, recently published, contains all the facts which are necessary for our purpose, and to whose kindness we are indebted for the use of the admirable portrait from which our engraving was taken. But while we compile the facts from that authentic source, and make the due acknowledgment, candour requires us to say, that, differing materially from that ingenious writer, in our estimate of the character of his hero, we must be held solely responsible for so much of this sketch as is merely matter of opinion.

The parents of Brant were Mohawks, residing at the Canajoharie castle, in New York; but he is said to have been born on the banks of the Ohio, in 1742, during an excursion of his parents to that region. He was not a chief by birth, although his family seems to have been one of some consideration; and it is affirmed that he was the grandson of one of the five chiefs who visited England in 1710, during the reign of Queen Anne.

In his youth, Brant became a favourite and protege of Sir William Johnson, the most celebrated of all the agents employed by the British government in the management of their Indian affairs; and who, by his talents, his conciliatory manners, and his liberality, enjoyed an unbounded popularity among the native tribes. A well known circumstance in the history of this gentleman, is thus related by Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, in her very agreeable "Memoirs of an American Lady."

"Becoming a widower in the prime of life, he connected himself with an Indian maiden, daughter to a sachem, who possessed an uncommonly agreeable person, and good understanding; and whether ever formally married to him according to our usage or not, continued to live with him in great union and affection all his life." Mary Brant, or, as she was called, ***Miss Molly***, was the person here alluded to. She was the sister of the subject of this notice, and to that union he owed the patronage of Sir William Johnson, and the favour of the British government, which placed him in the road to promotion. The successful manner in which he availed himself of these advantages, is attributable to his own abilities.

At the age of thirteen he is said to have been present with Sir William Johnson, at the battle of Lake George, in which the French were defeated, and their commander, the Baron Dieskau, mortally wounded. He served under Sir William in 1756, and again in 1759, when that commander gained a high reputation by a brilliant campaign.

Among the facts most honourable to the memory of Sir William Johnson, was the attention which at that early day he paid to the moral improvement of the Mohawks. The political agents of European governments have seldom concerned themselves further in the affairs of the Indians than to use them in war, or make them a source of profit. Sir William selected a number of Mohawk youths and sent them to an Indian missionary school, which was established at Lebanon, in Connecticut, under the direction of the Rev. Doctor E. Wheelock, afterwards President of Dartmouth college, which grew out of this small foundation. Thayendanegea, the promising brother of ***Miss Molly***, was one of the lads thus selected, and the only one who is known to have derived any benefit from the discipline of the school room, except Sampson Occum, who became a preacher and an author. The date of this transaction is not known, but it is supposed with reason to have immediately ensued the campaign of 1759. One of these lads, being directed by Doctor Wheelock's son to saddle his horse, refused, on the ground that he was a gentleman's son, and not obliged to do a menial office. "Do you know what a gentleman is?" inquired young Wheelock. "I do," replied the aboriginal youngster; "a gentleman is a person who keeps race horses, and drinks Madeira wine, which neither you nor your father do—therefore saddle the horse yourself."

The education of Brant must have been quite limited, for in 1762, we find him employed as an interpreter, in the service of Mr. Smith, a missionary, who visited the Mohawks in that year; and a war breaking out shortly after, he engaged eagerly in a pursuit more consonant with his taste and early habits. He probably served one campaign, and returned in 1764. In the following year, he was living at Canajoharie, having previously married the daughter of an Oneida chief, and here he remained peaceably for three years. "He now lives in a decent manner," said a writer of that day, "and endeavours to teach his poor brethren the things of God, in which his own heart seems much engaged. His house is an asylum for the missionaries in that wilderness." Being frequently engaged as an interpreter by the missionaries, his opportunities for acquiring religious instruction were considerable, and he is supposed to have assisted Dr. Barclay, in 1769, in revising the Mohawk Prayer Book. About the year 1771, he was frequently employed by Sir William Johnson, both at home and upon various distant missions. He also assisted Doctor Stewart in translating the Acts of the Apostles into the Mohawk tongue.

In 1772 or 3, Thayendanegea became the subject of serious religious impressions. He attached himself to the church, and was a regular communicant; and from his serious deportment, and the great anxiety he manifested for the introduction of Christianity among his people, hopes were entertained that he would become a powerful auxiliary in that cause. In a brief space, those impressions were erased, and Brant resumed the trade of war, with all its savage horrors, with the same avidity with which the half tamed wolf returns to his banquet of blood.

Sir William Johnson died in 1774, when the storm of the American Revolution was lowering in the political horizon, and on the eve of bursting. He was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, Sir John Johnson, and in his official authority as superintendant of the Indian department, by his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, neither of whom inherited his talents, his virtues, or his popularity. They continued, however, with the aid of Brant, and "Miss Molly," who was a woman of decided abilities, to sway a considerable influence over the Six Nations, and in connection with Colonel John Butler, and his son, Colonel Walter N. Butler, became leaders in some of the darkest scenes of that memorable epoch.

We are not permitted to enter minutely upon the complicated intrigues of these individuals, nor to detail the atrocities committed under their auspices. Through their active agency the Indians, within the sphere of their influence, were not only alienated from the American people, but brought forward as active parties in the war. The American Congress and the authorities of New York, endeavoured in vain to dissuade the Johnsons from enlisting the Indians in this unhappy contest; but they persisted, with a full knowledge of the horrors attendant on the warfare of savages; and it is now ascertained that Sir Guy Carleton gave the sanction of his great and worthy name to this unnatural and dishonourable form of hostility. The consequence was that the Indians were turned loose upon the frontiers, and that a war of the most cruel and exterminating character ensued between those who had once been neighbours.

These outrages were the more to be deplored, as they might, to a great degree, have been prevented. The American Revolution was not a sudden ebullition of popular fury, nor were the leaders mere adventurers reckless of consequences. It resulted from the deliberate resolves of a whole people, seeking the redress of grievances, and who desired to purchase political freedom with the smallest possible expenditure of human life. It was directed throughout by men of the highest character for talents and moral worth—men who risked every thing in the contest, and who had too much reputation at stake to be careless of public opinion. They knew that a civil war, under the best auspices, is usually fruitful of scenes of private revenge and vindictive outrage; and from the first they endeavoured, by their counsels and example, to exclude from this conflict all unnecessary violence, and to give it a tone of magnanimity and forbearance. Especially did they deprecate the employment of the savage tribes, whose known rule of warfare is extermination without regard to age or sex—who acknowledge none of those humane regulations which, in modern times, have disarmed war of many of its horrors; and who, having no interest in the event of this contest, would only increase the effusion of blood without strengthening the hands or gaining the friendship of either party. While, therefore, they declined the assistance of the Indians, they earnestly besought the British authorities to pursue a similar policy. It is greatly to be deplored that other counsels prevailed. The British officers, in the zeal of their loyalty, and from contempt for those whom they considered as traitors, were by no means choice in the measures they adopted to suppress the rebellion; and not being inhabitants of the colonies, having neither property nor families exposed to violence, they did not feel the same personal interest which the colonists felt, in the prevention of lawless outrage.

About the year 1776, Thayendanegea became the principal war chief of the confederacy of the Six Nations—it being an ancient usage to confer that station upon a Mohawk. He had not at that time greatly distinguished himself as a warrior, and we are at a loss to account for his sudden elevation, unless we suppose that he owed it, in some degree at least, to the patronage of the Johnsons, and the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. It was deemed important by the British to secure the alliance of the Six Nations. Little Abraham, the chief of the Mohawks, was friendly to the colonists; other of the older warriors may have felt the same predilection, while Brant, whose ambition was equal to his ability and address, may have been less scrupulous in regard to the service that would be expected from the partisan who should lead the Indian forces. With the office of leader he acquired the title of "Captain Brant," by which he was afterwards known.

Mr. Stone, in his Life of Brant, remarks, in reference to this appointment: "For the prosecution of a border warfare, the officers of the crown could scarcely have engaged a more valuable auxiliary. Distinguished alike for his address, his activity, and his courage; possessing, in point of stature and symmetry of person, the advantage of most men even among his own well formed race—tall, erect, and majestic, with the air and mien of one born to command—having, as it were, been a man of war from his boyhood—his name was a tower of strength among the warriors of the wilderness. Still more extensive was his influence rendered, by the circumstance that he had been much employed in the civil service of the Indian department, under Sir William Johnson, by whom he was often deputed upon embassies among the tribes of the confederacy, and to those yet more distant, upon the great lakes and rivers of the northwest, by reason of which his knowledge of the whole country and people was accurate and extensive."

Immediately after receiving this appointment, Brant made his first voyage to England, and his biographer suggests that this visit may have resulted from a hesitation on the part of the chief, in regard to committing himself in the war with the colonies. A portion of the confederacy inclined to the colonial side of the controversy, others were disposed to be neutral. Brant and some of his friends favoured the British, while some brilliant successes recently gained by the Americans, "presented another view of the case, which was certainly entitled to grave consideration." By making the voyage he gained time, and was enabled to observe for himself the evidences of the power and resources of the King, and to judge how far it would be wise to embark his own fortunes on the side of his ancient ally. He was well received in England, and admitted to the best society. Having associated with educated men all his life, and having naturally an easy and graceful carriage, it is probable that his manners and conversation entitled him to be thus received, and as he was an "Indian King," he was too valuable an ally to be neglected. Among those who took a fancy to him was Boswell, "and an intimacy seems to have existed between him and the Mohawk chief, since the latter sat for his picture at the request of this most amiable of egotists." We can imagine that a shrewd Indian chief would have been a rare lion for Boswell. He also sat to Romney for a portrait for the Earl of Warwick.

After a short visit, during which he received the hospitality of many of the nobility and gentry, and was much caressed at court, he returned to America, confirmed in his predilection for the royal cause, and determined to take up the hatchet against the Americans, agreeably to the stipulations of a treaty which he had made with Sir Guy Carleton. He landed privately, somewhere in the neighbourhood of New York, and pursued his journey alone and secretly through the woods to Canada, crossing the whole breadth of the state of New York, by a route which could not have embraced a shorter distance than three hundred miles.

The determination of the Mohawk chief to take up arms caused great regret in the neighbouring colonies, where every exertion had been made to induce the Six Nations to remain neutral; and many influential individuals continued to the last to use their personal efforts to effect that desirable object. Among others, President Wheelock interfered, and wrote a long epistle to his former pupil, in which he urged upon him as a man and a Christian, the various considerations that should induce him to stand aloof from this contest between the King and his subjects. "Brant,"—we quote again from Mr. Stone,—"replied very ingeniously. Among other things he referred to his former residence with the doctor—recalled the happy hours he had spent under his roof—and referred especially to his prayers, and the family devotions to which he had listened. He said he could never forget those prayers; and one passage in particular was so often repeated, that it could never be effaced from his mind. It was among other of his good preceptor's petitions, "that they might be able to live as *good subjects*—to fear God and *honour the King*."

The first occasion on which we find Brant conspicuously mentioned as a commander, is at "the Cedars," a post held by Colonel Bedell, with three hundred and ninety provincials, which was assailed by Captain Forster, with six hundred British troops and Indians, the latter led by Brant. The American commander could easily have defended his position, but was intimidated by a threat from the enemy, "that should the siege continue, and any of the Indians be slain, it would be impossible, in the event of a surrender, for the British commander to prevent a general massacre;" and were induced, by "these deceptive and unjustifiable means," as they are correctly termed by General Washington, to surrender. Brant is praised by his biographer for having exerted himself, after the surrender, to prevent the massacre of the prisoners, and particularly for rescuing from torture Captain John McKinstry, whom the Indians were preparing to burn. We confess that we see nothing to approve in the whole transaction. The British and Indian commanders were both bound by the capitulation to protect the prisoners—they were bound by the plainest dictates of humanity, as well as by the code of military honour—and we cannot afford to praise men for doing merely a duty, the neglect of which would have covered them with infamy. The allegation that the Indians could not be controlled, which we find repeated on many occasions, was well characterised by the pure and high minded Washington, as "deceptive," for there are no troops whose leaders exercise over them a more absolute control. But there can be no apology offered for the employment of savages who could not be restrained from the murder of prisoners; and Sir Guy Carleton, in using this species of force, has left an indelible blot on his name. Nor can we excuse Brant for deliberately engaging in such a warfare. He had received the education of a civilised man, had read the Scriptures, and professed to be a disciple of Christ, and he knew that the atrocities practised by the Indians were unjustifiable. The Mohawks had no interest in this quarrel: it was wholly indifferent to them whether the government should be royal or republican; and they engaged in it as mercenaries, employed by a distant government to fight against their own neighbours. The principle involved was beyond their comprehension: Brant might have had some idea of it, but if he had any actual knowledge on the subject, he must have known that neither party acknowledged the Indians as having any rights at stake. They could have had no inducement to take either side but the lust for blood and plunder. We must clearly, therefore, draw a broad line of distinction between such men as Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumthe, who fought in defence of their native soil, animated by a high toned patriotism, and Thayendanegea, who was hired to fight in a quarrel in which he had no interest.

Among the various efforts made to induce the Indians to remain neutral, and to soften the horrors of this war, by excluding the dreadful agency of the tomahawk and fire brand, was a conference with Brant, sought by General Herkimer. The latter was a substantial citizen, residing on the Mohawk river, near the Little Falls, and in that part of the country most exposed to the incursions of the Six Nations. He was a man of sagacity and courage, whose abilities had recommended him to his countrymen as a leader in their border wars; and having taken up arms in the sacred cause of liberty, and in defence of the firesides of his neighbours, he was chosen a general officer. He had been the friend and neighbour of Brant, and now sought a meeting with that chief for the purpose of using his personal influence to detach him from the war; or perhaps to drive him from the equivocal position he then occupied, by bringing out his real views, so that he might be trusted as a friend or treated as an enemy.

They met near Unadilla. The parties were encamped two miles apart, and about midway between them a temporary shed was erected, sufficiently large to shelter two hundred persons. It was stipulated that their arms were to be left at their respective encampments. Here they met, each attended by a few followers, and a long conversation ensued, in the course of which Brant became offended at some remark that was made, "and by a signal to the warriors attending him at a short distance, they ran back to their encampment, and soon afterwards appeared again with their rifles, several of which were discharged, while the shrill war whoop rang through the forest." What means were used by Herkimer to counteract this treachery, we are not told, but it appears that the parties separated without bloodshed.

A singular version is given of the meeting between these leaders, which occurred on the following morning, by appointment. General Herkimer, we are told, selected a person named Waggoner, with three associates, to perform "a high and important duty." "His design, the General said, was to take the lives of Brant and his three attendants, on the renewal of their visit that morning. For this purpose he should rely on Waggoner and his three associates, on the arrival of the chief and his friends within the circle, as on the preceding day, each to select his man, and at a concerted signal to shoot them down on the spot. There is something so revolting—so rank and foul—in this project of meditated treachery, that it is difficult to reconcile it with the well known character of General Herkimer." Had the author from whom we quote narrated the simple facts, without the comment so injurious to the memory of a venerated patriot of the Revolution, there would have been no difficulty in reconciling them with the character of a brave soldier; for in the sequel no attempt was made on the life of Brant, and the orders of Herkimer—if such orders were ever given—were doubtless precautionary, and intended only to be executed in defence of himself and his companions. Herkimer sought the friendship of Brant, not his life. His mission was peaceful: he sought to conciliate the Indians, not to irritate them by an act of rash violence. He was met in an overbearing spirit by the savage chief, who, having already hired out his tribe to the officers of the King, had not the candour to admit that he was no longer free to treat with the King's enemies, but endeavoured, like the wolf in the fable, to fix a quarrel on his proposed victim. He came to the meeting on the second day, as on the first, followed by his warriors, in violation of the express terms of the conference. "I have five hundred warriors with me," said he, "armed and ready for battle.

You are in my power, but as we have been friends and neighbours, I will not take advantage of you." "Saying which," continues his biographer, "a host of his armed warriors darted forth from the contiguous forest, all painted and ready for the onslaught, as the well known war whoop but too clearly proclaimed." The interview ended without bloodshed. We are wholly at a loss to find any evidence upon which to throw the slightest blame upon Herkimer, or to palliate the conduct of Brant, who evidently sought to provoke a quarrel which might afford a pretence for bloodshed.

From this time we contemplate with less pleasure the character of the highly gifted Mohawk, who, from the lofty and noble eminence on which he had placed himself, as an example and teacher of civilisation, descended suddenly into a common marauder. Throwing aside all profession of neutrality, he now attended a council held by British commissioners, and pledged himself and his people to take up the hatchet in his Majesty's service.

"From that day," says his biographer, Mr. Stone, "Thayendanegea was the acknowledged chief of the Six Nations, and he soon became one of the master spirits of the motley forces employed by Great Britain in her attempts to recover the Mohawk Valley, and to annoy the other settlements of what then constituted the northwestern frontier. Whether in the conduct of a campaign, or of a scouting party, in the pitched battle or the foray, this crafty and dauntless chieftain was sure to be one of the most efficient, as he was one of the bravest, of those engaged. Combining with the native hardihood and sagacity of his race, the advantages of education and civilised life—in acquiring which he had lost nothing of his activity and power of endurance—he became the most powerful border foe with whom the provincials had to contend, and his name was a terror to the land. His movements were at once so secret and so rapid, that he seemed almost to be clothed with the power of ubiquity."

One of his earliest military movements was a descent upon the defenceless settlement of Cherry Valley, undertaken for the purpose of killing and capturing the inhabitants, and devastating their property. An accident saved them, for that time, from the blow. It happened, that as Brant and his warriors were about to issue from a wood in which they lurked, to attack a private house, the residence of Colonel Campbell, some children, who had formed themselves into a military corps, were seen parading with their wooden guns in front of the mansion, and the Indians mistaking them for real soldiers, retired. Balked of their prey they slunk into the wood, and lay concealed, brooding over their schemes of malevolent mischief. Unhappily at this moment a promising young American officer, Lieut. Wormwood, travelling on horseback, with one attendant, reached the spot, and was shot down by the Indians, and *scalped by Brant's own hand.* His biographer adds, that the chief "lamented the death of this young man. They were not only acquaintances, but friends." Yet he took the scalp with his own hand.

A most melancholy illustration of the wickedness of employing savages in war is afforded in the tragic fate of Miss McCrea—a lovely young woman, engaged to a British officer, and on her way to meet and be united with him, when she was captured, murdered, and mangled in the most shocking manner, by the Indians attached to the British army. This occurred on the northern frontier, and at about the period to which we have brought this sketch. About the same time an Indian secretly entered the house of the American General Schuyler, for the purpose of assassinating that illustrious person, whose life was saved by the fidelity of his servants.

We notice these events merely to show the character of the war which was waged upon the frontiers, and in which Brant was a conspicuous man—an unsparing warfare against private individuals and private property. But we cannot in a brief outline like this, enter upon a minute narrative of the exploits of that chieftain, who was constantly in the field, sometimes with the British forces, but more frequently leading parties of Indians and Tories against the settlements. His most important service about this period was at the battle of Oriskany, where General Herkimer, with a small body of provincials, came into conflict with an Indian force led by Brant. The latter had selected a position with admirable skill, and formed an ambuscade in a defile, through which the Americans were to pass, and fell suddenly upon the troops while they were crossing a ravine. The Americans were thrown into irretrievable disorder, but fought with courage. General Herkimer was desperately wounded early in the engagement, but caused himself to be seated on his saddle, at the foot of a tree, against which he leaned for support, and in this position continued to direct the battle, with unabated coolness and judgment. The conflict was fierce and the slaughter great. The tories and savages, superior in numbers, closed around the Americans, fighting hand to hand, and the gallant little army of Herkimer seemed doomed to destruction, when a violent storm bursting suddenly upon them, separated the combatants for about an hour. The Americans availed themselves of this respite to prepare to renew the action, and in the event effected a masterly retreat, under the orders of their intrepid commander, who was brought off on a rudely constructed litter. Of this brave and excellent man it is told, that during the hottest period of the battle, while sitting wounded upon his saddle, and propped against a tree, he deliberately took a tinder box from his pocket, lighted his pipe, and smoked with perfect composure; and when his men, seeing him exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, proposed to remove him to a place where there would be less danger, he said, "No, I will face the enemy." He did not long survive the battle. Both parties claimed the victory. It was a well fought field, in which Brant showed himself a consummate leader.

At the opening of the campaign, in 1778, Mr. Stone relates that "Thayendanegea returned to his former haunts on the Susquehanna, Oghkwaga, and Unadilla. He soon proved himself an active and dreaded partisan. No matter for the difficulties or the distance, whenever a blow could be struck to any advantage, Joseph Brant was sure to be there. Frequent moreover were the instances in which individuals, and even whole families disappeared, without any knowledge on the part of those who were left, that an enemy had been there. The smoking ruins of the cabins, the charred bones of the dead, and the slaughtered carcasses of domestic animals, were the only testimonials of the cause of the catastrophe, until the return of a captive, or the disclosure of some prisoner taken from the foe, furnished more definite information. But there is no good evidence that Brant was himself a participator in secret murders, or attacks upon isolated individuals or families; and there is much reason to believe that the bad feelings of many of the loyalists induced them to perpetrate greater enormities themselves, and prompt the parties of Indians whom they often led, to commit greater barbarities than the savages would have done had they been left to themselves."

We have given the whole of the above paragraph—fact and inference—in order that the character of Brant may have the full benefit of the defence set up by his biographer. Negative proof is, at best, unsatisfactory; and it would not be strange if there were in fact no evidence of the participation of the leader in deeds so secret as those alluded to. That he was the master spirit of the predatory warfare waged against the frontier settlements of New York, is distinctly asserted in the commencement of the paragraph, and that warfare consisted almost entirely of "secret murders, and attacks upon private individuals or families." And we see no reason for drawing a distinction between himself and the Johnsons and Butlers, who directed the measures of the loyalist inhabitants of that region. The sin and the shame of these men consisted in warring at all upon the homes of the peasantry —in carrying the atrocities of murder and arson to the firesides of the inhabitants— in turning loose bands of savages, whether red or white, to burn houses, devastate fields, and slaughter women and children. There can be no apology for such inhuman deeds; and it is in vain to attempt by nice distinctions, to discriminate between the heads that planned, and the brutal hands that perpetrated, schemes so fraught with horror—unless it be to pronounce the heavier malediction on the former—upon those who originated the plan with a full knowledge of the fearful outrages which must attend its execution, and who persevered in such a warfare after having witnessed, even in one instance, its direful effects.

We have not room to enter into a detailed account of the murders and burnings of this energetic marauder; a general statement from the pages of the biographer already quoted, will be sufficient for our purpose. "The inhabitants around the whole border, from Saratoga north of Johnstown, and west to the German Flats, thence south stretching down to Unadilla, and thence eastwardly crossing the Susquehanna, along Charlotte river to Harpersfield, and thence back to Albany— were necessarily an armed yeomanry, watching for themselves, and standing sentinels for each other, in turn; harassed daily by conflicting rumors; now admonished of the approach of the foe in the night by the glaring flames of a neighbour's house; or compelled suddenly to escape from his approach, at a time and in a direction the least expected. Such was the tenure of human existence around the confines of this whole district of country, from the spring of 1777 to the end of the contest in 1782."

The destruction of the settlement of Wyoming, by a British force under Colonel John Butler, of three hundred regulars and tories, and five hundred Indians, has been recorded in the histories of the Revolution, and rendered immortal in the verse of Campbell. It was signalised by cruelty and perfidy, such as have never been excelled; and although it now appears that many exaggerations were published in relation to it, the melancholy truths that remain uncontradicted are sufficient to stamp this dark transaction with everlasting infamy.

The participation of Brant in this expedition is denied by Mr. Stone, who says, "Whether Captain Brant was at any time in company with this expedition is doubtful; but it is certain, in the face of every historical authority, British and American, that so far from being engaged in the battle, he was many miles distant at the time of its occurrence. Such has been the uniform testimony of the British officers engaged in that expedition, and such was always the word of Thayendanegea himself." He also alludes to a letter written after the death of Brant, by his son, to the poet Campbell, in which the younger Brant is said to have "successfully vindicated his father's memory from calumny," and to one received by himself from a Mr. Frey, the son of a loyalist, who was engaged in that atrocious affair.

We do not think the point placed in issue by this denial of sufficient importance to induce us to spend much time in its examination. The character of Brant would not be materially affected by settling it one way or the other, for the massacre at Wyoming differs in no essential particular from a number of sanguinary deeds in which that chief was the acknowledged leader; and it was part of a system which unavoidably led to such cruelties. It is not improbable that Brant himself took this view of the question, for although he lived thirty years after that affair, during the whole of which time he was mentioned by British and American writers as one of its leaders, and the chief instigator of the cruelties committed, he does not appear to have ever publicly disclaimed the connection with it imputed to him. "Gertrude of Wyoming," one of the noblest monuments of British genius, was familiarly known wherever the English language was spoken, and the American people were soothed by the circumstance that the "Monster Brant" and his deeds were denounced by an English bard of the highest standing. Campbell undertook to spurn from the national character the foul stain of those dastardly and wicked murders, and to place the opprobrium on the heads of certain individuals—and none denied the justice of the decree. Brant was an educated man, who mingled in the best provincial society, and corresponded with many gentlemen in Europe and America. He certainly knew the position in regard to public opinion which he occupied, and had the means to rectify the wrong, if any existed. It would be a singular fact, too, if "*every* historical authority, British and American," concurred in a statement which the "*uniform* testimony of the British officers engaged in the battle" contradicted, and "that such was always the word of Thayendanegea himself," and yet that no formal refutation should have been attempted in the lifetime of the chief, nor until forty-five years after the event. The testimony of the British officers would have been satisfactory; but we apprehend that the mere hearsay evidence of two of the sons of the actors in these events, will hardly be received now in opposition to the unanimous and uncontradicted statements of contemporary writers.

The destruction of the delightful settlement of the German Flats, in 1778, was the admitted exploit of Brant. The inhabitants, providentially advised of his secret march upon them, were hastily gathered together—men, women, and children—into two little forts, Herkimer and Dayton. The chief crept upon them with his usually stealthy pace, "unconscious that his approach had been notified to the people in season to enable them to escape the blow of his uplifted arm. Before the dawn he was on foot, and his warriors sweeping through the settlement, so that the torch might be almost simultaneously applied to every building it contained. Just as the day was breaking in the east, the fires were kindled, and the whole section of the valley was speedily illuminated by the flames of houses and barns, and all things else combustible." Such is the account of the writer who contends "that there is no good evidence that Brant was himself a participator" in such transactions. There were burned on this occasion sixty-three dwelling houses, fifty-seven barns, three grist mills, and two saw mills. What the fate of the inhabitants would have been had they remained in their houses, as Brant supposed them to be when he ordered the fire brands to be applied, our readers may readily imagine. It does not appear that the forts were molested, nor does Brant seem on this occasion to have sought collision with armed men. The marauders retired, chagrined, "that neither scalps nor prisoners were to grace their triumph;" "and the settlement, which but the day before, for ten miles had smiled in plenty and beauty, was now houseless and destitute."

In the same year Cherry Valley was again ravaged, and those enormities repeated, of which we have perhaps already related too many. Among the numerous murders perpetrated on this occasion were those of the whole family of Mr. Wells, except a boy who was at school, at Albany, and who afterwards became a distinguished member of the bar. "The destruction of the family of Mr. Wells was marked by circumstances of peculiar barbarity. It was boasted by one of the tories that he had killed Mr. Wells while engaged in prayer—certainly a happy moment for a soul to wing its flight to another state of existence; but what the degree of hardihood that could boast of compassing the death of an unarmed man at such a moment! His sister Jane was distinguished alike for her beauty, her accomplishments, and her virtues. As the savages rushed into the house, she fled to a pile of wood on the premises, and endeavoured to conceal herself. She was pursued and arrested by an Indian, who, with perfect composure, wiped and sheathed his dripping knife, and took his tomahawk from his girdle. At this instant a tory, who had formerly been a domestic in the family, sprang forward and interposed in her behalf, claiming her as a sister. The maiden too, who understood somewhat of the

Indian language, implored for mercy—but in vain. With one hand the Indian pushed the tory from him, and with the other planted his hatchet deep in her temple!"

In the valley where these atrocities were committed, there was a small fort, defended by a few men, but the Indians, "being received by a brisk fire of grape and musquetry from the garrison, avoided the fort, and directed their attention chiefly to plundering and laying waste the village, having sated themselves in the outset with blood." Such is the warfare of the Indian—cool, patient, and brave, when compelled to face danger; but always, when acting from choice, shunning the contest with armed men, and seeking out the weak and unprepared.

In the biography of Brant, from which we select these facts, we find an attempt to vindicate his conduct on this occasion. It is said that he was "not the commander of this expedition, and if he had been it is not certain he could have compelled a different result. But it is certain that his conduct on that fatal day was neither barbarous nor ungenerous. On the contrary he did all in his power to prevent the shedding of innocent blood." We are at a loss to know what blood was shed on that occasion that was not *innocent* blood. The expedition was not directed against any military post, nor any body of armed men, but against the homes of peaceful farmers, whose houses and barns were burnt, and whose wives and children were slaughtered. "The torch was applied *indiscriminately to every dwelling house*, and in fact, to every building in the village." The country was desolated for miles around; and human life was extinguished without regard to the form in which it existed, however reverend, or beautiful, or innocent. Those of the inhabitants who were not slain, were driven away like a herd of beasts. At night they were huddled together, under the charge of sentinels, and forced to lie half naked on the ground, with no cover but the heavens. Of two of these unfortunate beings, the following heart rending anecdote is told. "Mrs. Cannon, an aged lady, and the mother of Mrs. Campbell, being unfitted for travelling by reason of her years, the Indian having both in charge despatched the mother with his hatchet, by the side of her daughter. Mrs. Campbell was driven along by the uplifted hatchet, having a child in her arms eighteen months old, with barbarous rapidity, until the next day, when she was favoured with a more humane master."

These are but a few of a long list of similar atrocities which, in our apprehension, were both barbarous and ungenerous. Butler and Brant each endeavoured subsequently to cast the stigma of these cruelties on each other, the one alleging that he was not the commander in the enterprise, and the other that the crafty Mohawk had secretly instigated his people to these excesses to advance his own ends; but impartial history will not attempt to trace the imaginary line of distinction between the leader in such an inroad and the second in command—in a case, too, where both were volunteers, and neither had any legal or actual control over the other. Neither of them were natives of Great Britain—both were mercenaries, serving occasionally for the emolument, or the gratification to be earned in that service.

The murder of women and the devastation of fields formed their chosen path of honour—the smoking ruins of cottages, and the charred bones of infants were the monuments of their warlike deeds. Nor can we admit the validity of the often repeated apology for Brant—that he could not control his warriors. There are no troops in the world that are more completely under the command of their leaders than the Indians. Their discipline is exact and uncompromising. From infancy the Indian is taught self control, and obedience to his superiors; and death on the spot, by the hand of the leader, is the usual punishment of contumacy. But Brant and Butler knew when they set out on these enterprises, that the sole object was to burn dwellings, to fire barns, to slaughter unarmed men, women, and children; and if it was true, that having turned loose their savages to the work of blood they could no longer control them, we do not see what they gain by this excuse. The savages did the work which had been planned for them; and we fancy there is little room for casuistry to scan nicely the degrees of barbarity which marked the conduct of the different actors.

In an action near Minnisink, in 1779, in which his opponents were armed men, Brant deserved the credit of having adroitly planned, and boldly executed an attack. The usual cruelties, however, were perpetrated, and seventeen wounded men, who were under charge of a surgeon, perished by the tomahawk.

Brant fought again at the battle of the Chemung in the same year, where fifteen hundred tories and Indians, commanded by himself, the Butlers, and the Johnsons, were beaten by the Americans under General Sullivan.

It was during the campaign of Sullivan that Red Jacket first made his appearance as a conspicuous man among the Indians, and a feud commenced between him and Brant, which continued throughout their lives. Brant accused Red Jacket, not merely of cowardice, but also of treachery, and asserted that he had discovered a secret correspondence between the latter and the American General. Red Jacket, it was said, was in the habit of holding secret councils with a number of young warriors, and with some timid and disaffected leaders, and at length sent a runner with a flag to General Sullivan, to advise him that a spirit of discontent prevailed among the Indians. Brant, who was confidentially informed of these proceedings, privately despatched two warriors to waylay and assassinate the runner, which being effected, put an end to the intrigue.

In 1780, Brant led a party of forty-three Indians and seven tories against the settlement of Harpersfield, which was surprised and destroyed; and he then bent his steps towards Scoharie, which he supposed to be undefended. On his way he encountered Captain Harper and fourteen men, who were making sugar in the woods, of whom three were killed, and the remainder taken. Harper, a brave man, famed for more than one hardy exploit, determined to save the settlement of Scoharie from the dreadful calamity of a visit from Brant, and on being questioned as to its defences, coolly stated that three hundred continental troops had just been stationed there, and persisted in this story until the Indians were induced to retrace their steps to Niagara. On their way they fell in with an old man and his two youthful grandsons, who were also captured; but finding the old man unable to keep pace with the party, he was put to death, and his scalp added to the trophies of the expedition. It was intended that on the arrival of the party at Niagara the prisoners should be subjected to the barbarous torture of running the gauntlet, but Brant frustrated this plan by sending a message secretly to the commander of the fort at that place, in consequence of which they were received, on their arrival at the outposts, by a party of regulars, who took possession of them. We cheerfully accord the praise due to this act of humanity.

We shall not pursue the Mohawk chief through all the windings of his crafty and sanguinary career. He continued until the close of the war in 1782 to harass the settlements by such incursions as we have described. Those who delight in recitals of tragic interest, may find a series of such events well told in Mr. Stone's work. They are too numerous to be related at length in such a sketch as this, and too much alike in their general outlines to be abridged with advantage. In perusing this history the heart sickens at the oft repeated tale of domestic agony—the tearing of husbands, wives, and children, from each other's embrace—the captivity of delicate females—the driving of half clad and bare footed women and children through the wilderness, exposed to all the vicissitudes of climate—the torture of prisoners—the thousand varieties of savage cruelty. All these deeds, which we contemplate with comparative composure, when told of untaught savages stung to rage by the invasion of their hunting grounds, awaken a lively sensation of horror when we behold them deliberately planned and executed under the flag of a great nation, by persons of European descent, and by a sagacious chief who had felt and acknowledged the advantages of civilisation, who had reaped honour and advantage through an intercourse with the whites, which, previous to this unhappy war, had been characterised by mutual confidence and kindness. Brant had no wrongs to avenge upon the American people—he had nothing to gain by the part he acted but the pay of a mercenary and the plunder of a marauder, while the effect of these hostilities upon his tribe was demoralising and destructive of that reform which he professed to be endeavouring to introduce among them.

It is not to be denied that this dark picture is occasionally relieved by acts of mercy on the part of the Mohawk chief. But we are not inclined to accord much praise to isolated acts of generosity, that glimmer at distant intervals through a long career of brutal violence. The miser who devotes all his life to the hoarding of gold, gains no applause for an occasional freak of generosity; nor does the savage who pauses in the midst of a prolonged series of murders to spare a woman, or a trembling child, deserve the laurel of the hero. We estimate the character of a man by his general conduct, and while we forgive the little errors of a good man, we must on the same principle pass over the accidental departures of a depraved mind from its habitual wrong doing. It is a common but sound objection against fictitious writings, that characters essentially bad are tricked out in a few redeeming virtues which recommend them to the thoughtless reader; and with still stronger reason should this grave argument of the moralist be applied to the personages of history, whose habitual crimes should not be lost sight of amid the lustre of a few bright actions.

In 1785, the war being over, Brant made another visit to England, where he was well received. On being presented to the King he declined kissing his majesty's hand, but observed that he would gladly kiss the hand of the Queen. The Bishop of London, Fox, Boswell, Earl Percy, Earl Moira, and other distinguished persons admitted him to their society; and it is no small proof of his talent and address that he sustained himself well in the best circles of the British metropolis. The Prince of Wales is said to have taken delight in his company, and sometimes took him, as the chief afterwards remarked, "to places very queer for a prince to go to." It is also asserted that the scenes of coarse dissipation which he witnessed at the Prince's table, and the freedom with which the leading whigs spoke of the King, had the effect of greatly weakening his respect for royalty, as well as his regard for the King's person.

The ostensible object of Brant's visit was to obtain for his tribe some remuneration for their services during the war; but as the Canadian authorities had already made them a large grant of land in Upper Canada, to which they removed, and where they still reside, it is probable that his mission had relation chiefly to another subject. After the war, Great Britain retained possession for several years of certain military posts, south of the lakes, and within the limits of the United States. The tribes at war with the United States made these posts their rallying points, and received from them constant supplies. The British ministry, who had never formed any adequate judgment of the extent of this country, or of the enterprise and energy of the people, vainly supposed that Great Britain, by uniting with the savage tribes, might restrain the Americans from extending their settlements beyond the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and by possessing herself of that region and ultimately of the whole Mississippi plain, acquire an ascendancy on the continent which would enable her to recover her lost colonies. The crafty and intriguing character of Brant rendered him a willing and an able actor in these schemes; and he passed frequently from Canada to the Northwestern Territory, to hold councils with the Indians. But as the British government did not avow these proceedings, and the Indians might have been doubtful how far the agents who tampered with them were authorised, it was desirable that some more direct communication should be had with the ministry; and the chief purpose of Brant's visit was to ascertain whether, in case of a general war between the Indians and the United States, the former might rely upon the support of Great Britain. Such is the clear import of numerous letters collected in Mr. Stone's work, some of which are published for the first time, and which throw light upon points of this history which have been obscure. The British government, however, would not commit itself on so delicate a matter, and Brant was referred to the governor of Canada, with general assurances of his Majesty's friendship.

While in London Captain Brant attended a masquerade, at which many of the nobility and gentry were present—appearing in the costume of his tribe, with one side of his face painted. A Turk who was of the company, was so much struck with the grotesque figure of the chief, and especially with his visage, which he supposed to be formed by a mask, that he ventured to indulge his curiosity by touching the Mohawk's nose; but no sooner did he make this attempt, than the chief, much amused, but affecting great rage, uttered the terrific war whoop, and drawing his tomahawk flourished it round the head of the astonished Turk, creating a panic which sent the ladies screaming for protection in all directions.

He translated the Gospel of Mark into the Mohawk language during this visit; and as the Prayer Books given to the Indians had mostly been lost or destroyed during the war, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, chose the opportunity to bring out a new edition under his supervision, including the Gospel of Mark as translated by him. The book was elegantly printed in large octavo, under the patronage of the King, and embellished with a number of scriptural scenes engraved in the best style of that day. The date of his return is not exactly known, but his visit was not prolonged beyond a few months, as he was at home in July 1786.

Brant was now placed in a position which required the exercise of all his address. The Mohawks had withdrawn into Canada, and were under the jurisdiction of Great Britain; the other five of the Six Nations resided in the United States; yet the confederacy remained unbroken, and Thayendanegea continued at its head. The Mohawks were embittered against the American people, to whom their recent cruelties had rendered them justly odious, while some of the other tribes were decidedly friendly. It required all his attention to keep together a confederacy thus divided. He is supposed, and with little doubt, to have been at the same time engaged in extensive conspiracies against the peace of the American frontiers, and is known to have been frequently in council with the hostile Indians. But while thus engaged he sought every opportunity of professing his love of peace, his friendship towards the United States, and his desire to heal the existing differences. The mantle of Christianity, which had been thrown aside during the war, was again assumed; and the chief was now engaged in correspondence on religious and benevolent subjects with several distinguished Americans. He affected an earnest desire to civilise his own tribe, and to teach them the Gospel; but there is too much reason to believe that his real sentiments accorded with those of his friend the Duke of Northumberland, who had served in America as Lord Percy, and having been admitted as a warrior into the Mohawk tribe, wrote to Brant, in 1806, as follows: "There are a number of well meaning persons here, who are very desirous of forming a society to better (as they call it) the condition of our nation, by converting us from warriors and hunters into husbandmen. Let me strongly recommend it to you, and the rest of our chiefs, not to listen to such a proposition. Let our young men never exchange their liberty and manly exercises to become hewers of wood and drawers of water. If they will teach our women to spin and weave, this would be of use, but to endeavour to enervate our young men by doing nothing but tilling the earth, would be the greatest injury they could do the Five Nations."

But such was the reputation of Brant for abilities, and such the confidence in his professed desire "to accomplish the desirable end of civilisation and peace making," that the government of the United States earnestly sought his mediation with the hostile tribes. A correspondence was opened in which he was appealed to as a man of high-toned benevolence, and as a friend of the red race, to save them from the inevitable destruction to which their perseverance in unnecessary wars must bring them. His replies show that his judgment approved these sentiments, and in them he repeatedly promised to do all in his power to make peace. The war, however, continued for several years longer, the Indians becoming more and more audacious in their hostilities, and unreasonable in their demands.

Besides a number of lesser engagements, several battles were fought, the most disastrous of which was the defeat of St. Clair, by a large Indian force, aided by several hundred Canadians. "Their leader, according to the received opinion," says Mr. Stone, "was Meshecunnaqua, or *Little Turtle*, a distinguished chief of the Miamis. He was also the leader of the Indians against General Harmer, the year before. It is believed, however, that though nominally the commander-in-chief of the Indians on this occasion, he was greatly indebted both to the counsels and the prowess of another and an older chief. One hundred and fifty of the Mohawk warriors were engaged in this battle; and General St. Clair probably died in ignorance of the fact, that one of the master spirits against whom he contended, and by whom he was so signally defeated, was none other than *Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea.* How it happened that this distinguished chief, from whom so much had been expected as a peace maker, thus suddenly and efficiently threw himself into a position of active hostility, unless he thought he saw an opening for reviving his project of a great northwestern confederacy, is a mystery which he is believed to have carried in his own bosom to the grave."

We do not doubt that Mohawk braves were engaged in this battle, nor that Brant, during the whole of this unhappy war, so distressing to the frontier settlements, and so ruinous to the deluded savages, was secretly engaged in fomenting discord, while affecting the character of a peace maker. But we cannot suppress our scepticism as to his alleged participation in the battle of November 4, 1791, now first announced upon the authority of his family. We do not undertake to prove a negative, but we aver that the whole weight of the evidence contradicts this novel assumption. It is barely possible that he was there, and if so his counsels would doubtless have had great influence. But we think it altogether improbable that a leader of such distinction could take part in a general engagement, so important and so decisive, and the fact remain concealed for nearly half a century—especially under the circumstances connected with that disastrous event. The defeat of St. Clair caused great excitement, and led to keen inquiry, and its circumstances were investigated by a military court. Subsequently the scene of the battle, and the lands inhabited by most of the tribes engaged in it, have become settled by Americans. Treaties have been made with those tribes. They have become dependent on the American government, whose agents have been planted among them constantly, from a period immediately succeeding the battle of Wayne in 1794. There has been constant intercourse between our people and all the tribes of that region, during the entire period that has elapsed since that war; and many Americans who were prisoners among those Indians, at the time of the battle, as well as before and since, have, on their return home, communicated a variety of minute information touching an affair which caused even a greater excitement among the Indians than among us. It was a great and an unexpected triumph, the honour and spoils of which were divided among many tribes, who would each discuss all the circumstances, and claim their portion of the glory. It is hardly possible that if Brant was present his name could have been concealed, or that all the individuals of all the tribes engaged should have concurred in yielding to Little Turtle the laurels that belonged to Thayendanegea. No one but himself could have been interested in keeping such a secret, while the fact, if it existed, must have been known to many—to Canadians, British officers, and the chiefs and warriors of various tribes, besides the one hundred and fifty of his own people who were in the engagement. We deem it an act of justice to the memory of Brant to suggest these objections, for although we, as Americans, have little reason to admire his military career, we are aware that much might be said, and indeed much has been said, in defence of his conduct while at open war with us, which could not avail in regard to hostilities committed by him while professing to be at peace.

He continued, after the events just related, to correspond with the officers of the American government, in the character of a mediator, keeping up without interruption the intercourse commenced before St. Clair's campaign, and still professing his ardent desire "to accomplish the desirable end of civilisation and peace making." These sentiments accorded so well with the pacific views of the President, and were received with such confidence, that he was several times invited, in urgent and complimentary terms, to visit the government at Philadelphia; and after declining more than once, he at last, in June 1792, commenced a journey to the metropolis of the United States. It is creditable to the moral character of our people that, although he passed through the Mohawk Valley, whose inhabitants had been so severely scourged by his hand, and although threats of vengeance were thrown out by indiscreet individuals, he was unmolested. He was kindly and respectfully received at Philadelphia. The true causes of the war with the western Indians were explained to him; and great pains were taken, by the President and Secretary of War, to impress upon his mind the sincere desire of the United States to cultivate the most amicable relations with all the Indian tribes, and to spare no exertions to promote their welfare. In the end he was induced to undertake a mission of peace to some of the tribes, and was furnished with full powers for that purpose. But however sincere were his intentions they were changed on his return home; and the auspicious results anticipated from his mediation were never realised. The United States, wearied out by ineffectual attempts to make peace, were at last compelled to prosecute the war with vigour, and found in General Wayne a negotiator who soon brought the enemy to terms.

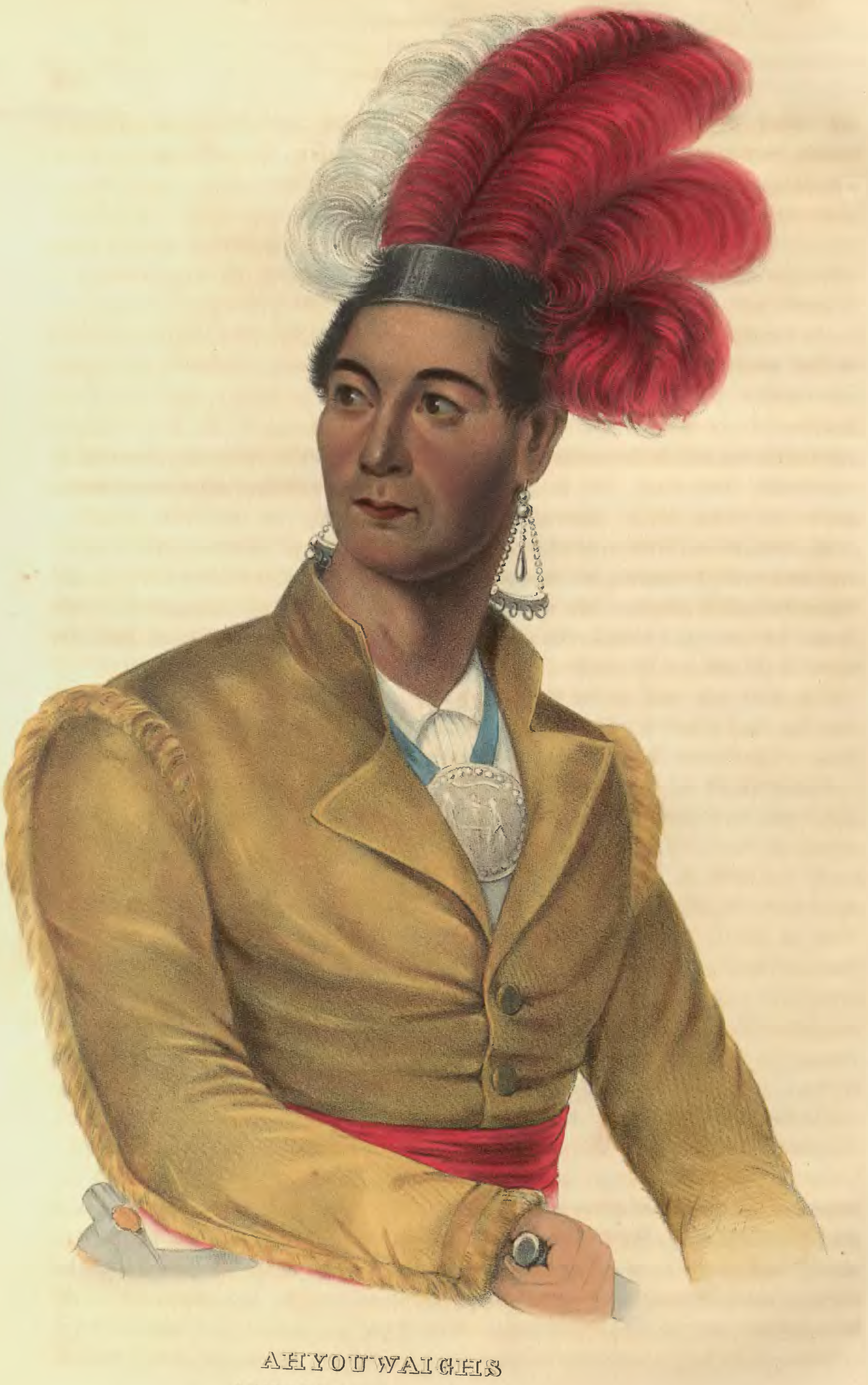
We turn with pleasure to a more agreeable part of the life of this remarkable person. After the campaign of 1794 he was not again engaged in war, and devoted his attention to the interests and moral improvement of his tribe. He was not in the slightest degree tinctured with the habitual indolence of his race, and did not sink into mere apathy when sated with bloodshed. He laboured for years to get a confirmation of the title of his tribe to the land granted them on Grand River, which proved a source of vexation to him during the remainder of his life. He claimed for his tribe a complete right to the land, with power to sell and grant titles in fee simple; while the government alleged the title to be imperfect, giving to the Indians only the right of occupancy, and reserving the pre-emption. "Council after council was holden upon the subject, and conference after conference; while quires of manuscript speeches and arguments, in Brant's own hand, yet remain to attest the sleepless vigilance with which he watched over the interests of his people, and the zeal and ability with which he asserted and vindicated their rights." Two deeds were successively framed and offered to the Mohawks, and rejected, and the land continued to be held by the same tenure by which the Indians in the United States occupy their territory.

Before their removal from the Mohawk Valley some of the tribe had turned their attention to agriculture. Brant himself cultivated a large farm near the residence of General Herkimer. No man ever estimated more truly the advantages of civilisation, and had he been sincere in his professions upon that subject, and avoided all connection with the wars of England and America, his tribe would probably have afforded the earliest and most complete example of Indian civilisation. His own attainments were considerable; he spoke and wrote the English language correctly, and his compositions are highly respectable in point of thought and style. He was a close observer, and had made himself well acquainted with the arts and customs of the whites.

In his own house Brant was a hospitable and convivial man, and those who visited him were kindly received. He erected a spacious dwelling in Upper Canada, where he lived in handsome style, and his children were all well educated, two of them under the charge of President Wheelock, son of the preceptor of Brant. One son, Isaac, fell a victim to the besetting vice of his race; in a fit of intoxication he assaulted his father, and the stern chief, drawing a dirk, inflicted a wound upon his own son which proved mortal.

A mutual dislike existed between this chief and Red Jacket. They were rival politicians; each was the leading man among his own people, and as the Senecas and Mohawks were the principal tribes of the confederacy, each sought the first place in the nation. Their claims were nearly balanced, and they appeared to have gained the superiority in turn. In the year 1803 Red Jacket succeeded in procuring the deposition of Brant from the chieftainship of the confederacy, in consequence of some alleged speculations in land, by which it was thought the chief had advanced his own personal interest at the expense of his nation, but at a subsequent council Brant procured the reversal of this sentence. Both were artful and eloquent men; but Brant had the advantages of education and travel, while Red Jacket was superior in genius and in devotion to his people. Neither of them was scrupulous as to the means employed to compass his ends; but the one was selfish, while the other was ambitious. Brant sought to advance himself by means of his people, and was ever regardful of his private interests, while Red Jacket, though he claimed the first place among the Senecas, neglected his private interests and laboured incessantly for his tribe. Brant was an able warrior; he was cool, sagacious, and bold, but he was also cruel, vindictive, and rapacious; Red Jacket, though not a coward, disliked war, and abhorred bloodshed. They differed as much in policy as in character. Brant delighted in the society of civilised and even refined persons. Red Jacket sternly adhered to the language and customs of his own people, and shunned and discountenanced any familiar intercourse with the whites. The latter considered that the Indians could only be free so long as they remained savages—that every art and custom of civilisation which they adopted weakened the line of separation, while it introduced a new want to be supplied by the labour or the charity of white men, and increased the dependency of the Indians. Brant maintained through life a friendly intercourse with the English, and favoured the introduction of agriculture and the useful arts. He professed in early life to be converted to the Christian faith, and though he afterwards departed widely in practice from the meek and merciful deportment of a true believer, he always favoured the teaching of the Word, and an outward support to religion in his public capacity. Red Jacket opposed the missionaries, the Christian religion, and every thing that emanated from the oppressors of his race. On the whole Brant was one of the most remarkable men of his time; a person of brilliant parts, of great vigour and strength of intellect, full of energy and perseverance, and exceedingly subtle in compassing any object he had in view.

He died in November 1807, at the age of nearly sixty-five years, at his own house, near Burlington, on Lake Ontario, and was buried at the Mohawk village on Grand River, by the side of the church he had built there. His last words to his adopted nephew were, "Have pity on the poor Indians: if you can get any influence with the great, endeavour to do them all the good you can."



AHYOUWAIGHS

CHIEF OF THE SIX NATIONS.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^A.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I. T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment N^o. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1838 by F. W. Greenough in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^a.

AHYOUWAIGHS.

THAYENDANEGEA, chief of the Mohawks, and head of the Iroquois confederacy, was married three times. By his first wife he had two children, by his second none, and by the third seven. His widow, Catharine Brant, was the eldest daughter of the head of the Turtle family—the first in rank in the Mohawk nation; and, according to their customs, the honours of her house descended to either of her sons whom she might choose. By her nomination, her fourth and youngest son, John Brant, Ahyouwaighs, became the chief of the Mohawks, and virtually succeeded his father in the office, now nominal, of chief of the Iroquois or Six Nations.

This chief was born on the 27th September, 1794; he received a good English education, and is said to have improved his mind by reading. In the war of 1812-15 between the United States and Great Britain, he espoused the cause of the latter, and participated in the dangers of the earlier part of the contest, but had not the opportunity to acquire distinction.

After the war, John Brant and his sister Elizabeth took up their abode at the family residence, at the head of Lake Ontario, where they lived in the English style; their mother having, after the death of Thayendanegea, returned to the Mohawk village, and resumed the customs of her fathers. Lieutenant Francis Hall, of the British service, who travelled in the United States and Canada, in 1816, visited "Brant House," and described John Brant as a "fine young man, of gentlemanlike appearance, who used the English language correctly and agreeably, dressing in the English fashion, excepting only the moccasins of his Indian habit." He says, in reference to Thayendanegea, "Brant, like Clovis, and many of the early Anglo-Saxons and Danish Christians, contrived to unite much religious zeal with the practices of natural ferocity. His grave is seen under the walls of his church. I have mentioned one of his sons; he has also a daughter living, who would not disgrace the circles of European fashion. Her face and person are fine and graceful: she speaks English not only correctly, but elegantly, and has, both in her speech and manners, a softness approaching to oriental languor. She retains so much of her native dress as to identify her with her people, over whom she affects no superiority, but seems pleased to preserve all the ties and duties of relationship."

This family is also favourably mentioned by James Buchanan, Esq., British consul for the port of New York, who made a tour through Canada in 1819. He describes the same young lady as "a charming, noble looking Indian girl, dressed partly in the native, and partly in the Indian costume;" and adds, "the grace and dignity of her movements, the style of her dress and manner, so new, so unexpected, filled us with astonishment."

In 1821, John Brant visited England for the purpose of settling the controversy in regard to the title of the Mohawks to their land, which had cost his father so much vexation. The Duke of Northumberland, son to him who was the friend of the elder Brant, espoused his cause, as did other persons of influence, and he received assurances that the government would grant all that was asked. Instructions, favourable to the demands of the Mohawks, were transmitted to the colonial government; but difficulties were thrown in the way by the provincial authorities, and no redress has yet been granted.

During this visit the young Brant addressed a letter to the poet Campbell, in which he remonstrated against the injustice alleged to have been done to his father's character, in "Gertrude of Wyoming." The stanzas complained of, purport to form a part of a speech uttered by an Oneida chief, who came to warn a family that the forces of Brant and Butler were at hand.

"But this is not the time,"—he started up
And smote his heart with woe-denouncing hand—
"This is no time to fill the joyous cup,
The mammoth comes—the foe—the monster Brant—
With all his howling desolating band;—
These eyes have seen their blade and burning pine,
Awake at once, and silence half your land—
Red is the cup they drink, but not with wine:
Awake and watch to-night, or see no morning shine.

"Scorning to wield the hatchet for his tribe,
'Gainst Brant himself I went to battle forth.
Accursed Brant! he left of all my tribe
Nor man nor child, nor thing of living birth—
No! not the dog that watched my household hearth
Escaped that night of blood upon our plains!
All perished—I alone am left on earth,
To whom nor relative, nor blood remains,
No! not a kindred drop that runs in human veins!"

The appeal made to Campbell, by a son who was probably sincere in the belief that his father had been misrepresented, touched his feelings, and induced him to write an apologetic reply, which is more honourable to his heart than his judgment. The only objection to the stanzas, in our opinion, is the bad taste of the plagiarism upon the speech of Logan, contained in the last three lines. No one who has read the melancholy fate of the Wells family, can hesitate to acquit Campbell of injustice;

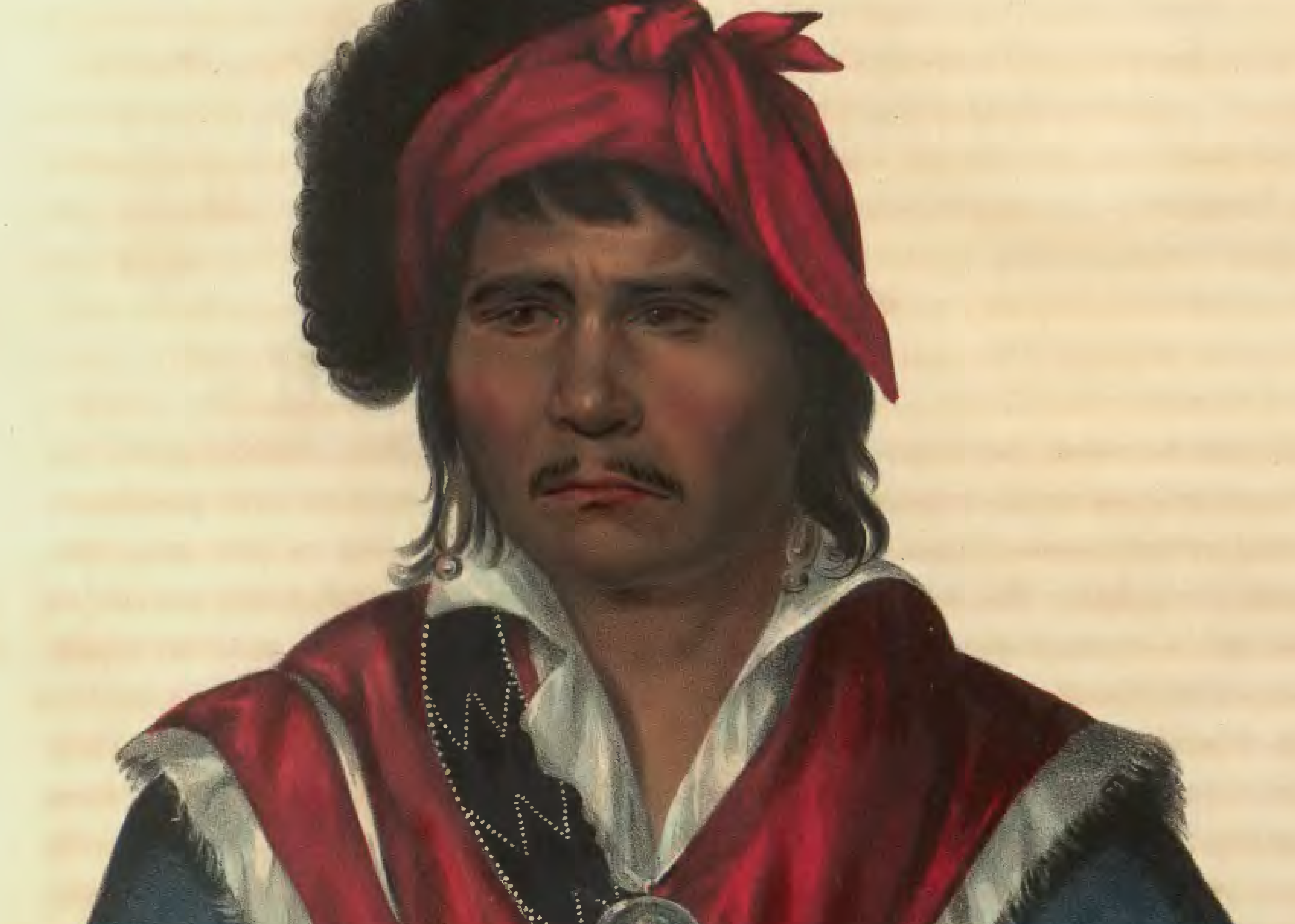
nor is there the slightest doubt that the same language would be true of numerous scenes in the life of that bold desolator of the fireside, Thayendanegea. Chief Justice Marshall, who is above all reproach as a historian, and as a gentleman of pure and elevated sentiments, was not convinced by the letter of John Brant, but in his second edition of the Life of Washington, which was published several years after the appearance of that letter, reiterates the account of the massacre at Wyoming, in which Brant is stated to be the leader of the Indians.

On his return from England, the Mohawk chief seems to have given his attention to the moral condition of the tribe, which had been greatly neglected during the war between Great Britain and the United States; and in the year 1829, the "New England Corporation," established in London, by charter, A. D. 1662, for the civilisation of the Indians, presented him with a splendid silver cup, bearing an inscription, purporting that it was given, "In acknowledgment of his eminent services in promoting the objects of the incorporation."

In 1832, John Brant was returned a member of the Provincial parliament for the county of Haldimand, which includes a portion of the territory granted to the Mohawks. The election was contested upon the ground that the laws of Upper Canada require a freehold qualification in the voters, and that many of those who voted for Brant held no other titles to real estate than such as were derived from the Indians, who had no legal fee; and the seat of John Brant was vacated. It was not long after this decision that Brant and his competitor, Colonel Warren, both fell victims to the cholera.

Elizabeth Brant, the youngest daughter of Thayendanegea, was married, some years ago, to William Johnson Kerr, Esq., a grandson of Sir William Johnson, and resides at the family mansion at the head of Lake Ontario.

The widow of Thayendanegea, upon the death of her favourite son, John, conferred the title of chief upon the infant son of her daughter, Mrs. Kerr, and died on the 24th of November, 1837, thirty years, to a day, after the death of her husband, at the good old age of seventy-eight years.



NEA-MATH-LA,

A SEMINOLE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
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NEAMATHLA.

THE war between the United States and the Florida Indians, having given an increased interest to the history of those tribes, we propose to treat that portion of our subject with some degree of minuteness should we succeed in procuring the requisite materials. Our information in regard to them is not sufficiently precise to enable us to attempt this at present, and in presenting the valuable portrait which accompanies this sketch, we shall confine ourselves to a few general remarks.

The Spanish conquerors and discoverers, if we may place any confidence in their reports, encountered numerous and warlike tribes in the region which they were pleased to describe as the land of flowers; but they may have indulged in the poetic license as greatly in regard to the number of inhabitants as in reference to the luxuries of the soil and climate. It is certain that but few of the ancient inhabitants remain; and these are divided into small hordes, who neither exhibit the appearance nor retain the recollection of any former greatness. A new people has been added to them, who now form the great majority of the savage population of that country, and whose character has become impressed upon the whole mass.

The Seminoles, or Runaways, are descended from the Creeks and Cherokees, and perhaps from other of the southern tribes, and derive their name from the manner of their separation from the original stocks. While Florida belonged to Spain it afforded a place of refuge for the discontented individuals belonging to the tribes within the United States, as well as for fugitive Negro slaves; and of this mixed population were formed the various tribes now known under the common name of Seminoles. From the swamps and hammocks of Florida, they have been in the habit of annoying the frontiers of the adjacent states, and these injuries have been rendered the more galling by the protection afforded by those savages to runaway slaves, and by the ferocities practised by the latter under the influence of revenge and the fear of recapture. It is not to be denied, nor is it surprising, that these Indians have, under such circumstances, suffered much injustice, for the spirit of retaliation is never limited by moderation; and it was a wise as well as a humane policy of the government which decreed the separation of the exasperated parties, by the removal of the Seminoles to a territory more distant from the white settlements. Nor could the former, with any propriety, plead the territorial rights and local attachments so strongly urged by their parent nations; for they were mere intruders, or at best but recent inhabitants, of the lands from which it was proposed to eject them.

Neamathla, who has been one of the most distinguished of the Seminoles, and was at one time their head man, or principal chief, was by birth a Creek. At what time he emigrated to Florida, or by what gradations he rose to authority, we are not well informed, and as we propose to make these sketches strictly authentic as far as they go, we pass over those details that have reached us with no better evidence than mere rumour. Mr. Duval, Governor of Florida, in a despatch to the government at Washington, dated in March 1824, describes him as a man of uncommon abilities, of great influence with his nation, and as one of the most eloquent men he ever heard. At a subsequent date in the same year, he writes thus: "Neamathla is a most uncommon man, and ought to be induced to remove with his people. This chief you will find perhaps the greatest man you have ever seen among the Indians: he can control his warriors with as much ease as a Colonel could a regiment of regular soldiers." Again, we find the hospitality and manly feelings of this chief, and his great energy of character, spoken of in terms of high respect. When these opinions were expressed, hopes were entertained that Neamathla could be induced to second the views of the American government in regard to the removal of the Seminoles to the land appropriated to them west of Arkansas; but in the summer of that year it was found that instead of promoting that desirable measure, he was exerting his influence to defeat it, and Governor Duval deposed him from the chieftaincy. This is a curious instance of the anomalous character of the relation existing between our government and the Indians; for while the latter are for many purposes considered as independent nations and are treated with as such, they are in all essential respects regarded and governed as subjects, and the government has on several occasions sanctioned the creation and removal of chiefs.

There is some reason to believe that the reluctance of Neamathla to remove from Florida, was the result of a natural attention to his own interest. By a previous treaty, the United States with a view to conciliate this respectable chief, now advanced in years, set apart for his private use a tract of land, remote from the residence of the main body of the nation. The tenure of such reservations is that of occupancy only, and as Neamathla could not sell the land, he of course desired to enjoy its use, and was unwilling to remove to a distant wilderness. In another view of the subject, the liberality of the government to this chief proved injurious, as it gave him a home remote from the villages of his people, among whom his influence was unbounded, and left them exposed to the intrigues of the mercenary individuals whose interest it was to promote dissension. That Neamathla desired to be at peace with the United States was apparent from the whole tenor of his conduct, since the war which closed in 1815. He had maintained a strict discipline in his tribe, punishing the offences of his people, especially those committed against the whites, with uncompromising severity. His people feared, while they loved and respected him. The removal of such a man from among them was injudicious. It was proposed, therefore, to permit him to sell his reservation, under the expectation that he would convert the proceeds into cattle and horses, and be willing to remove with his people to the fertile lands provided for them. The arrangement was, however, not effected; and the influence of Neamathla being used in opposition to the views of the government, and of that which was esteemed the best interests of the Seminoles, he was deposed, upon which he abandoned the Seminoles and returned to the Creek nation. That he was well received by the Creeks, and recognised as a person of consideration, appears from the fact that he sat in council with their principal men, assembled to treat with the United States in 1827.

We have received from an authentic source an anecdote of this chief, which is highly characteristic of his race, and exhibits a remarkable coincidence in the opinions of Neamathla with those of other distinguished Indians. Pontiac, Red Jacket, Little Turtle, Tecumthe, and a few other of the master spirits among the red men, uniformly opposed all attempts to introduce the civilisation and arts of the European race among the Indians, under the plausible argument that the Great Spirit had created the several races for different purposes, and had given to each the arts proper to its destination. These sagacious men saw that as the Indians adopted the habits of white men, they acquired new wants, which could only be supplied by an intercourse with civilised people, upon whom they thus became dependent. They felt that they were the weaker party in number, and the inferior in ingenuity; and as they knew of no contact between nations but that in which one must gain at the expense of the other, they believed that all intercourse between the white and red races must tend to the disadvantage of the latter. There can be no question as to the correctness of this reasoning, nor any doubt that every advance made by the Indians towards civilisation, contributes to destroy their independence. We may think that they would be better off without such savage freedom, and in the enjoyment of the comforts that we possess; but they reason differently, and while they admit the advantages of our condition, they are not willing to purchase them at the expense of their national integrity. Their most sagacious men have, therefore, always viewed with jealousy our attempts to introduce our religion and our arts among them, and have considered the arms of the white man far less dangerous to their existence as a separate people than the education by which we would win them over to our customs.

By the sixth article of the treaty of Moultrie Creek, in the territory of Florida, concluded September 18th, 1823, it was provided, among other things, that the sum of one thousand dollars per annum, for twenty years, should be applied by the United States to the support of a school at the Florida agency, for the education of the children of the Indians. In carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect, the commissioner for Indian affairs at Washington received no information for some time touching that one for the establishment of the school, and supposed it to have been overlooked, when on inquiry it was found that the Indians declined receiving it. The delicate office of communicating this decision to the Governor of Florida was confided to Neamathla, or assumed by him as the head man of the Seminoles. The Indians are ceremonious in the mode of conducting their public affairs, and in refusing to receive the proffered liberality of the government, the chief delivered his reasons at length in a speech, of which the following is a translation.

"My father, we have listened to the message of our Great Father at Washington, who has taken pity on his red children, and would teach us to speak on paper like the children of the white men. It is very good to know all those things which the white people know, and it is right for them to teach them to their children. We also instruct ours in our own way: we teach them to procure food by hunting, and to kill their enemies. But we want no schools, such as you offer us. We wish our children to remain as the Great Spirit made them, and as their fathers are, Indians. The Great Spirit has made different kinds of men, and given them separate countries to live in; and he has given to each the arts that are suited to his condition. It is not for us to change the designs of the Great Master of Life. If you establish a school, and teach our children the knowledge of the white people, they will cease to be Indians. The Great Spirit wishes no change in his red children. They are very good as he made them; if the white man attempts to improve, he will spoil them.

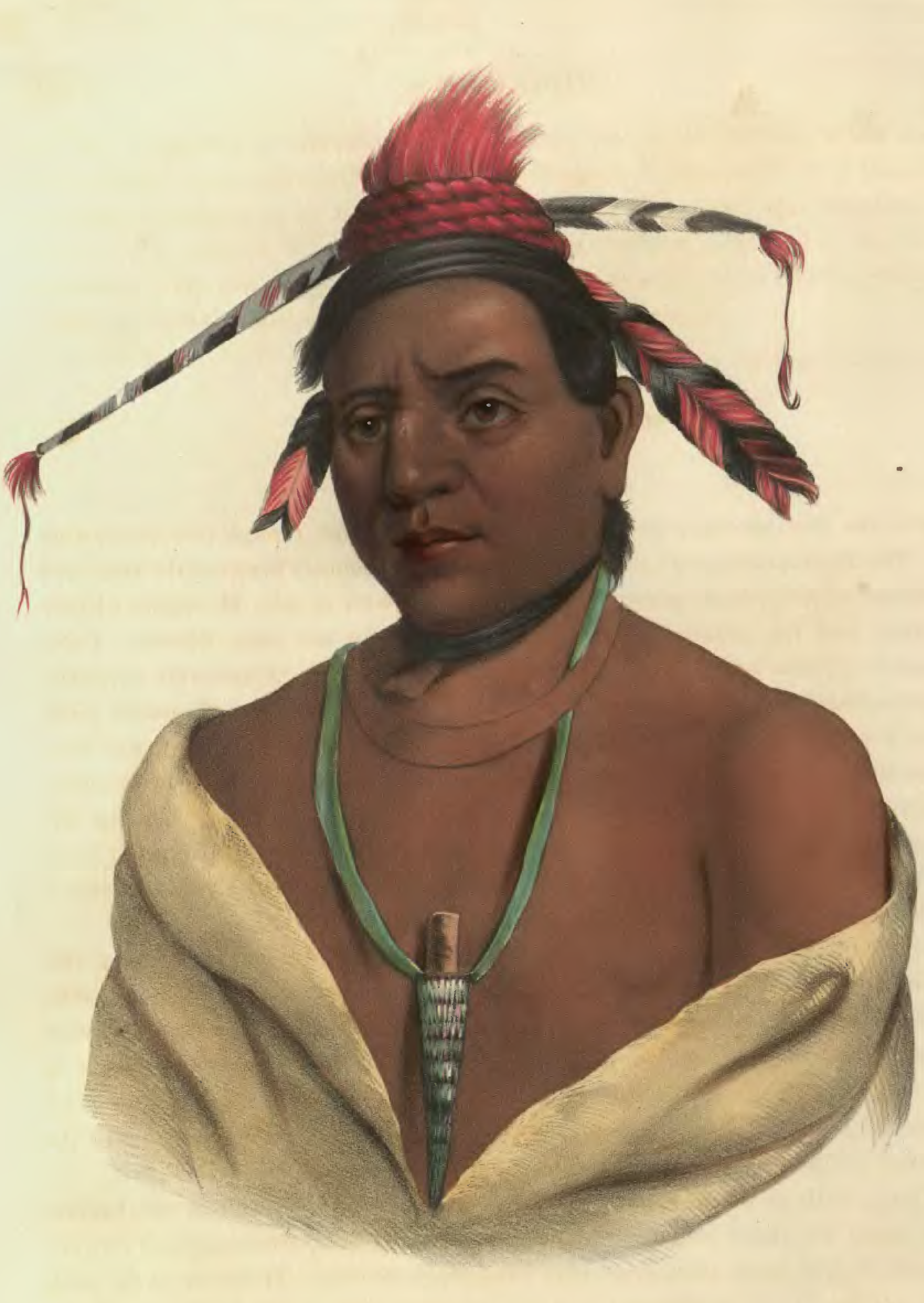
"Father, we thank you for your offer; but we do not wish our children to be taught the ways of your people.

"Listen, father, and I will tell you how the Great Spirit made man, and how he gave to men of different colours the different employments that we find them engaged in. After the world was made it was solitary. It was very beautiful; the forests abounded in game and fruit: the great plains were covered with deer and elk, and buffalo, and the rivers were full of fish; there were many bears and beaver, and other fat animals, but there was no being to enjoy these good things. Then the Master of Life said, we will make man. Man was made, but when he stood up before his maker, he was *white!* The Great Spirit was sorry: he saw that the being he had made was pale and weak; he took pity on him, and therefore did not unmake him, but let him live. He tried again, for he was determined to make a perfect man, but in his endeavour to avoid making another white man, he went into the opposite extreme, and when the second being rose up, and stood before him, he was *black!* The Great Spirit liked the black man less than the white, and he shoved him aside to make room for another trial. Then it was that he made the *red man;* and the red man pleased him.

"My father, listen—I have not told you all. In this way the Great Spirit made the white, the black, and the red man, when he put them upon the earth. Here they were—but they were very poor. They had no lodges nor horses, no tools to work with, no traps, nor any thing with which to kill game. All at once, these three men, looking up, saw three large boxes coming down from the sky. They descended very slowly, but at last reached the ground; while these three poor men stood and looked at them not knowing what to do. Then the Great Spirit spoke and said, 'White man you are pale and weak, but I made you first, and will give you the first choice; go to the boxes, open them and look in, and choose which you will take for your portion.' The white man opened the boxes, looked in, and said, 'I will take this.' It was filled with pens, and ink, and paper, and compasses, and such things as your people now use. The Great Spirit spoke again, and said, 'Black man, I made you next, but I do not like you. You may stand aside. The Red man is my favourite, he shall come forward and take the next choice; Red man, choose your portion of the things of this world.' The red man stepped boldly up and chose a box filled with tomahawks, knives, war clubs, traps, and such things as are useful in war and hunting. The Great Spirit laughed when he saw how well his red son knew how to choose. Then he said to the negro, 'You may have what is left, the third box is for you.' That was filled with axes and hoes, with buckets to carry water in, and long whips for driving oxen, which meant that the negro must work for both the red and white man, and it has been so ever since."

"Father, we want no change; we desire no school, and none of the teaching of the white people. The Master of Life knew what was best for all his children. We are satisfied. Let us alone."

This is a happy instance of the mode of illustration by parable, which, being the most simple and natural method of explanation, seems to have been adopted by all rude nations. The leading idea in the harangue of Neamathla was not original with him, but was the commonly received notion among the Indians, from the earliest times of which we have any account. The vast difference between them and the Europeans, both physical and moral, naturally suggested the idea that they were distinct races, created for different purposes; and the unhappy results of the intercourse between them, and of every attempt to unite them, gave additional strength to the opinion. The chiefs, who like all other politicians knew how to avail themselves of a popular prejudice, saw at once the great advantage of encouraging a belief which perpetuated their own authority, by excluding the foreign influences, that would have destroyed alike the national character of the savages, and their existing forms of subordination. The wealth, the arts, and the numbers of the invading race alarmed their jealousy; for they had the sagacity to perceive that if amicable relations and an unrestricted familiar intercourse, should be established with a people possessing such ample means of conquest, the latter must inevitably, either by force or ingenuity, obtain the complete ascendency. The fiction employed by Neamathla, to convey the ideas entertained by his people, is of his own invention, and is creditable to his ingenuity. It is a fair specimen of the Indian style of eloquence. They do not attempt what we would call argument; mere abstract reasoning is beyond their comprehension. But they are expert in the employment of figures, by which the familiar objects around them are made to represent their ideas. They have no theories nor traditions, in regard to the creation, which seem to have been derived from any respectable source, or to be venerated for their antiquity, nor any, indeed, which have much authority among themselves. Every tribe has its legends, fabricated by the chiefs or prophets to serve some temporary purpose; the most of which are of a puerile and monstrous character. Few of them are of much antiquity; and, being destitute alike of historical and poetic merit, they are soon forgotten.



MAR-KO-ME-TE,

A MENOMENE BRAVE.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^{A}
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment N^{o} 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F. W. Greenough, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^{a}

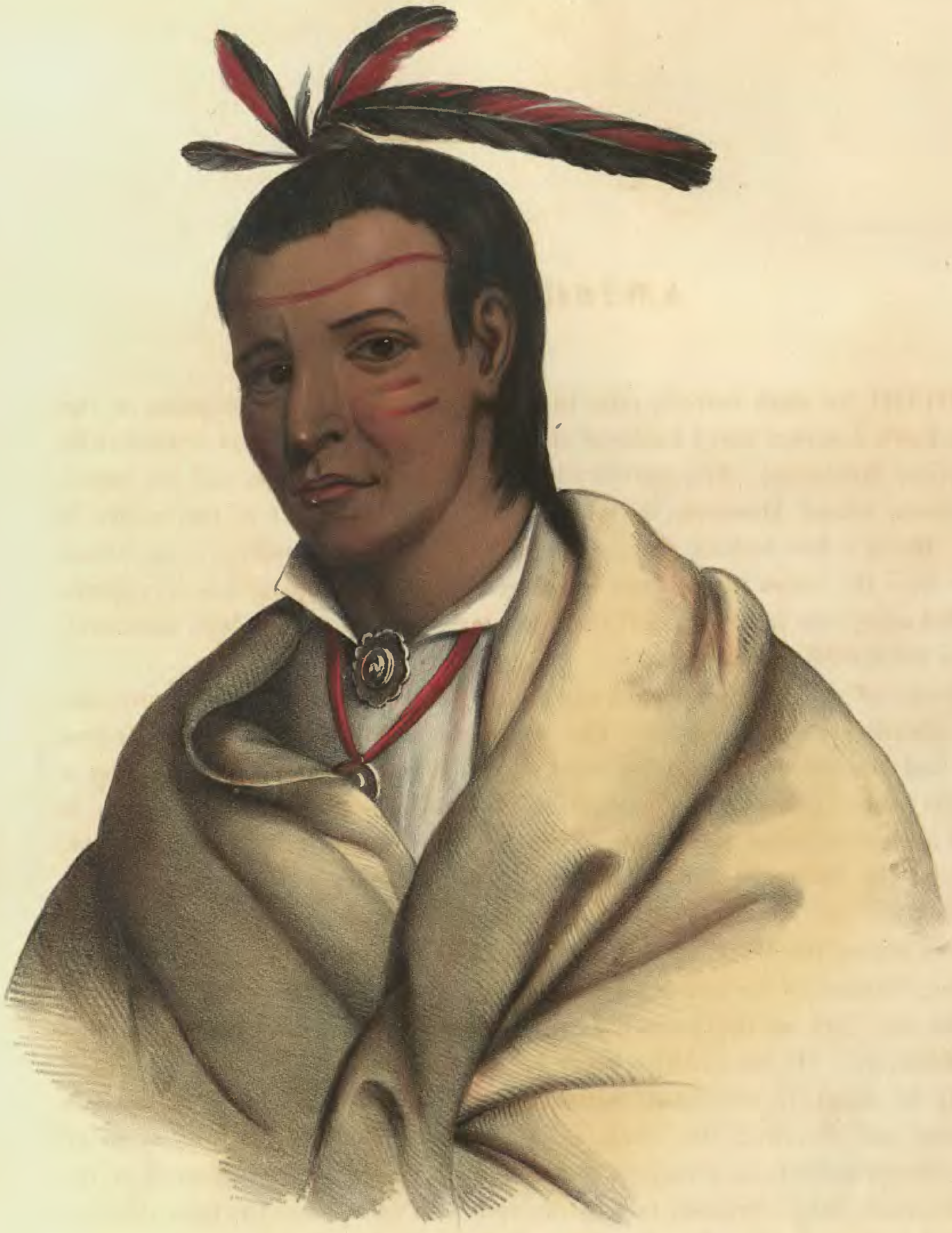
MARKOMETE.

THIS is the first specimen we have presented of a small though very interesting tribe. The Menominies, or Folles Avoines, inhabit the country between the lakes and the Mississippi river, their principal residence being west of lake Michigan, whence they stray into the country of the Winnebagoes, who are their friends. Their language is peculiar and difficult to be learned by white men. Charlevoix says they were not numerous in his time, and they are now reduced to a few thousand souls. The early writers all speak of them in favourable terms, not only as "very fine men, the best shaped of all Canada," but as possessing an agreeable personal appearance, indicative of more neatness, and of a greater taste for ornament than that of any other of our northwestern Indians. But they are now greatly degenerated, as we have remarked in our historical introduction, in consequence of their intercourse with the whites, and their fatal propensity for ardent spirits.

They are of a lighter complexion than the Indians around them, from whom also they differ in being less fierce and warlike. Though brave, they are peaceable, subsisting chiefly on the wild rice or *false oats*, from which they derive their French designation, and avoiding, either from indolence or a dislike of war, the quarrels in which their neighbours are continually engaged. The women are patient, obedient, and laborious, and when introduced into the families of the traders residing in the wilderness, are preferred as domestics to those of the other Indian tribes.

We know little of the history of this people. The whites as well as the Indians respect them for theiri noffensive habits, but all admit that, when engaged in war, they have always borne themselves with exemplary courage. However their pride may be subdued by circumstances, it is not less than that of the kindred tribes of their race; and evinces itself in the same contempt of danger which marks the conduct of all the aborigines. It is the singular boast of this tribe, that no other nation holds a Menominie as a slave or prisoner. Their invariable rule has been to prefer death to captivity, and when accidentally taken alive, to provoke their captors by the grossest insults to despatch them on the spot.

Markomete, if still alive, is about seventy years of age. His name, which signifies "Bear's Oil," may not seem, to our ears, to be appropriate or in good taste; but as the fat of the bear is esteemed a great delicacy among the Indians, when used as food, besides being valuable for other purposes, the designation may be as honourable in their estimation as to us are those of Cæsar or Napoleon. He has been well known as a warrior of excellent repute, a successful hunter, and a man of fair character. He was one of a deputation of his people who visited Washington a few years ago, and though not a chief was a person of influence.



A-MIS-QUAM,

A WINNEBAGO BRAVE.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
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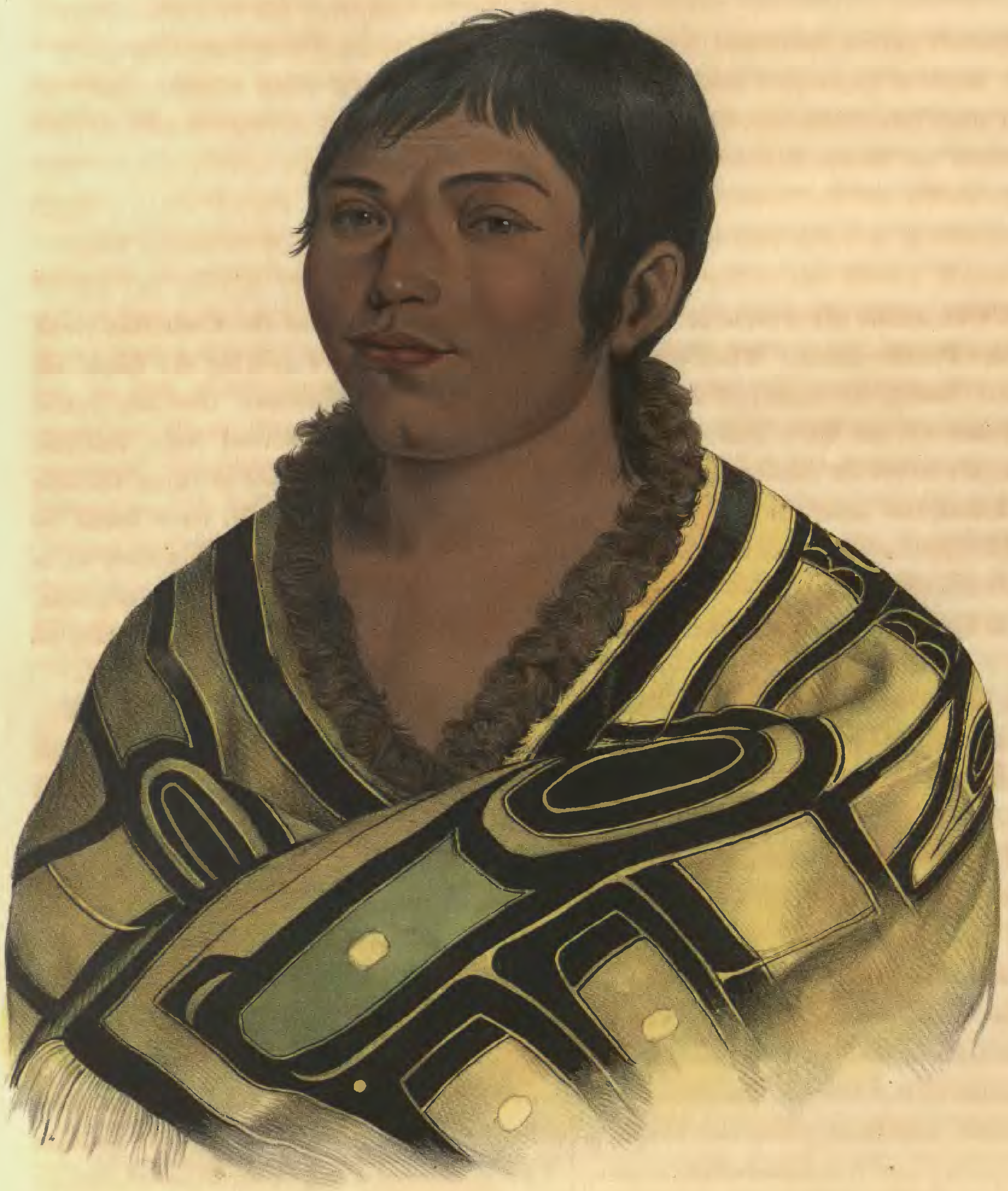
AMISQUAM.

ALTHOUGH we shall scarcely infer the fact from his name, Amisquam, or the *Wooden Ladle*, is a very noted leader of the Winnebagoes, a fierce and restless tribe of the Upper Mississippi. His mother was a woman of that nation, and his father a Frenchman named Descarrie, by which name also the subject of this notice is known. He is a fine looking man, of large stature and commanding mien, whose influence over the entire mass of the warriors of this numerous tribe is very great. He has led many war parties against the Chippewas, and has always been successful, returning laden with spoil and scalps.

The leader of such parties seldom engages in the fight as a common brave, nor does he usually even carry a gun. The systematic and cautious tactics of Indian warfare, and the inevitable disgrace which results from defeat, imposes upon him a responsible office; and like the general in the army of a civilised people, he is expected rather to direct the efforts of others, than to fight with his own hand. The plan of the enterprise is often the subject of a council, in which all who are of sufficient age may speak, and the decision is usually unanimous; for we know of no instance among the Indians in which questions are decided by majorities. When the leading features of the scheme are agreed upon, the execution is left to the war chief, who may rely on the secrecy, as well as the implicit obedience of his well trained followers. On the eve of a battle he gives his orders to his captains, or, if the party be small, to the whole band; and during the fight he is engaged in overlooking and directing the whole operation. Occasions may occur, as in all military enterprises, where it may be proper for the leader to place himself at the head of his men, and go foremost into battle; and in all cases when the fight thickens so that the braves meet hand to hand, the leader is thrown into personal contact with the enemy; but the general practice is as we have stated.

The Wooden Ladle was a general, or war chief, who led large parties of his people, and gained reputation by the sagacity with which he directed these military enterprises. He usually assembled his braves at Praric du Chien; and before going out always adorned himself with a string of beads which he wore round his neck. This was to be the prize of the first warrior who should kill an enemy, and bring his head to the leader, and the trophy was always given on the spot.



STUM-MA-NU,

A FLAT-HEAD BOY.

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STUMANU.

THE Chinnooks are a tribe of Indians inhabiting the shores of the Columbia river, near the Pacific ocean. They practise the savage custom of flattening the foreheads of their infants by means of a board applied to that part, whence they are called Flatheads by the whites, as others are called Nez Perces, Pierced Nose Indians, although neither of these terms are used among themselves. Most of those Indians who flatten the head also pierce the nose. These singular customs were found by the first discoverers, among the savages on the shores of the Atlantic; but they seem to have become extinct in our country, except in the distant region of the Columbia. The name Flathead, having been arbitrarily given, some explanation is necessary to avoid confusion.

The term Flathead was formerly applied, vaguely, to all the Indians inhabiting the unexplored regions about the Rocky Mountains, except the Blackfeet; but as the country became better known, the name was confined to a small nation, who still bear it, and are not recognised among us by any other, and who live chiefly in the gorges of the mountains, and on the plains on either side. They do not however flatten the head, nor have they any term in their language to express this idea. Beyond them on the Columbia river, are numerous tribes who pierce the nose and flatten the forehead, who are mostly included under the name of Nez Perces—but the name Flathead is not commonly used in reference to them.

The nation, to which our hunters and trappers apply the name of Flathead—the Flatheads of the Rocky Mountains—are a very interesting people. They are honest, hospitable, and kindly disposed towards the whites. They excel most other Indians in simplicity and frankness of character. The Blackfeet a numerous tribe inhabiting the same region, a treacherous, vindictive, and warlike people, are the implacable enemies of the Flatheads, and harass them continually. This war is of the most uncompromising character; the Blackfeet pursue their enemies with unceasing hostility, driving them from place to place, hunting them down with untiring vigilance, and allowing them no rest. But though forced to fly from their foes, in consequence of their vastly inferior numbers, the Flatheads singly are more than a match for their enemies in boldness and physical strength; and as they never receive any quarters from their cruel oppressors, they fight with the most desperate courage when forced into action. Exposed to the greatest extremes and hardships to which the savage state is incident, and chased continually by their enemies, who use every artifice to decoy and surprise them, they are as wild, as watchful, and almost as fleet as the antelope of the prairies.

They are admirable horsemen. Without any fixed residence, roving throughout the year, engaged often in hunting the buffalo, and more frequently in rapid flight from imminent danger, the Flathead and his horse are inseparable; and such is the skill acquired by constant practice, that one of this tribe will mount an unbroken horse without saddle or bridle, and retain his seat, in spite of all the efforts of the enraged animal to dislodge him. A friend of the writer saw this feat performed by Incilla, the present chief of the tribe, on the plains east of the Rocky Mountains. The chief threw himself upon the back of a wild horse recently taken, holding in one hand a small flag, and in the other a hoop covered with a skin, after the fashion of a tamborine. On being turned loose, the animal dashed off, rearing and pitching, and using the most violent exertions to disengage himself from his fearless rider, who clinging with his heels maintained his seat, in spite of the efforts of the horse to throw him. When he wished to check the speed of the animal, he blinded him by throwing the flag across his face; while he guided him, by striking him with the tamborine, on the one side or the other of the head. This exercise he continued, scouring the plain at full speed, and directing the course of the furious steed at will, until the latter was wearied out and subdued.

Westward of the Flatheads, a number of small tribes are found scattered along the shores of the Columbia, to the Pacific Ocean, all of whom belong to the Nez Perces nation, by which we mean only, that they acknowledge the tie of kindred, and speak a common language, for they do not appear to be united by any other bond, and have no national organisation. They are on friendly terms with the Flatheads, but have not the bold and manly character of that tribe; on the contrary they are ignorant and timid. They subsist by hunting and fishing, but chiefly by the latter; are miserably poor, inoffensive, and peaceable. They pierce the dividing cartilage of the nose, and thrust a bone several inches in length through the orifice, to remain until the wounded part is completely healed; and they flatten the head by confining it between boards, one of which passes across the forehead, flattening that part, so that the ascent from the nose to the top of the head is almost without a curve. The effect produced is said to be extremely disgusting.

The Indians in the vicinity of the mountains excel in horsemanship, those on the Columbia are expert in the management of their canoes, in which they embark fearlessly on the waves of the Pacific in the roughest weather; and such is their skill that they keep afloat amid the angry billows, when it would seem impossible that such frail vessels could live. The upsetting of a canoe, in such circumstances, is of little consequence, for these Indians are such admirable swimmers, that they right their canoes when overturned, bail out the water, and resume their seats; or if necessary abandon them, and swim to the shore.

The women are admitted to a greater degree of equality with the men, than among the other American tribes, because in fishing and in managing the canoe, they are equally expert, and as they share all the toils and dangers of the other sex, they naturally become the companions and equals, and in virtue of their superior industry, the *better* halves, of their lords and masters. In the savage state, where the employments of the men are confined to war and hunting, a certain degree of contempt attaches to the weaker sex, who are unfit for such rude toils, and a timid or imbecile man is, in derision, compared to a woman. But a different relation exists between the sexes, where the employments are such that both engage in them alike, and where both contribute equally to the support of their families.

The Columbia river was discovered by Captain Grey of Boston, in the ship Columbia, from which it received its name. Afterwards, Captains Lewis and Clark, of the army of the United States, with a small escort, performed a journey over land to the mouth of that river, under the auspices of the government, and for the purpose of exploration. This was one of the most remarkable journeys of which we have any account; the extent of the territory explored, the dangers and privations encountered, the great number of the savage tribes visited, and the successful prosecution of the enterprise, display a degree of courage and perseverance, never excelled by any scientific travellers. A well digested account of the expedition was published, written, from the notes of Lewis and Clark, by a gentleman, who in that work gave to his country the first fruits of a genius, which in its riper brilliancy has since become the pride and admiration of his countrymen. The discoveries made by these tourists, turned the attention of the mercantile world to this wild and unfrequented region, which now became the scene of an animated competition. John Jacob Astor, of New York, a German by birth, who came in early life an indigent adventurer to our shores, and had by his unwearied industry and unrivalled talents for business, amassed a princely fortune, matured a plan for securing to his adopted country the fur trade of that coast. The government, to whom he communicated his project, was too weak at that time, to give any aid to an uncertain enterprise, which might involve a heavy expenditure, and by possibility endanger its relations with foreign powers; and could only encourage the scheme by its approbation. A fine ship was equipped for the voyage by Mr. Astor, and placed under the charge of Captain Thorn, an intelligent officer bred in the American navy, and who had been but a short time previous, enrolled in the gallant band that gained so much glory in the Tripolitan war; while a party of hardy men under Mr. Theodore Hunt, set out from St. Louis, to cross the continent, and meet the vessel at the mouth of the Columbia. After a prosperous voyage round Cape Horn, the ship reached her destination; but an unfortunate affray occurring with the natives, captain Thorn suffered himself to be surprised, the whole crew were massacred and the vessel destroyed. Mr. Hunt was more successful. After a protracted journey, attended by toils and perils, the most incredible and discouraging, this dauntless party found themselves on the shores of the Columbia river, but in a condition too exhausted to enable them to carry out the plan proposed. They had accomplished much in overcoming the difficulties of the journey, and inspecting that vast field for commercial enterprise, of which scarcely any thing had been known but its existence. Mr. Astor persevered in his design; a trading post, called Astoria, was established on the Columbia, a few miles from its mouth, and hunters were employed who scattered themselves over the whole region watered by the tributaries of that river. The British fur traders, who had already pervaded the whole of the vast territory lying north of the great lakes, as well as the wilderness country lying within the north-western boundaries of the United States, penetrated also into these solitudes, and established a strong post called Fort Vancouver, in honour of the navigator, for whom, without any sufficient evidence, the discovery of the Columbia was claimed, and another called Fort Colville. When the war of 1812, between the United States and Great Britain, was declared, the Americans were compelled to abandon this country, to which their government could not extend its protection; but when, by the treaty of peace negotiated at Ghent, it was provided that the belligerent parties should mutually surrender the places taken during the war from each other, Astoria was formally delivered up by the British government, which, by this act distinctly recognised the territorial rights of the American people. Subsequently, however, the question of jurisdiction was opened, and to prevent collision, it was agreed, that for a period of ten years, the subjects and citizens of both governments might occupy the disputed territory for the purposes of hunting and traffic, without prejudice to the claims of either country. Since then, the whole region west of the Rocky Mountains, has been traversed by numerous bands of British and American trappers. A few wealthy and enterprising individuals residing chiefly at St. Louis, in the state of Missouri, have organised regular companies, for the purpose of carrying on this trade, which has been prosecuted with an admirable degree of efficiency and success. Large parties, composed of hunters, well mounted and armed, annually leave St. Louis, attended by pack horses, and on some occasions by wagons, carrying merchandise and stores for the expedition. The leaders are men of talent and courage, and the discipline that of a rigid military police. After passing the settlements of the United States, and the hunting grounds of the Indian tribes with whom pacific relations have been established by treaty, they have to traverse immense wilds inhabited by the Blackfeet, and other roving bands, who live in perpetual war, and among whom safety can be secured only by unceasing vigilance. The march is conducted with the greatest precaution, and the camp is always guarded by sentinels. All this is beautifully told in Washington Irving's Astoria, a work which is not more commendable for the gracefulness of its style, than for the fidelity with which it describes the adventures of the trappers in the wilderness. The subject is one with which we are familiar, and we therefore refer to Mr. Irving's delightful work with confidence; and forbear from repeating what has been narrated with an ease of style which would render dull the recital of any other pen, upon the same topic.

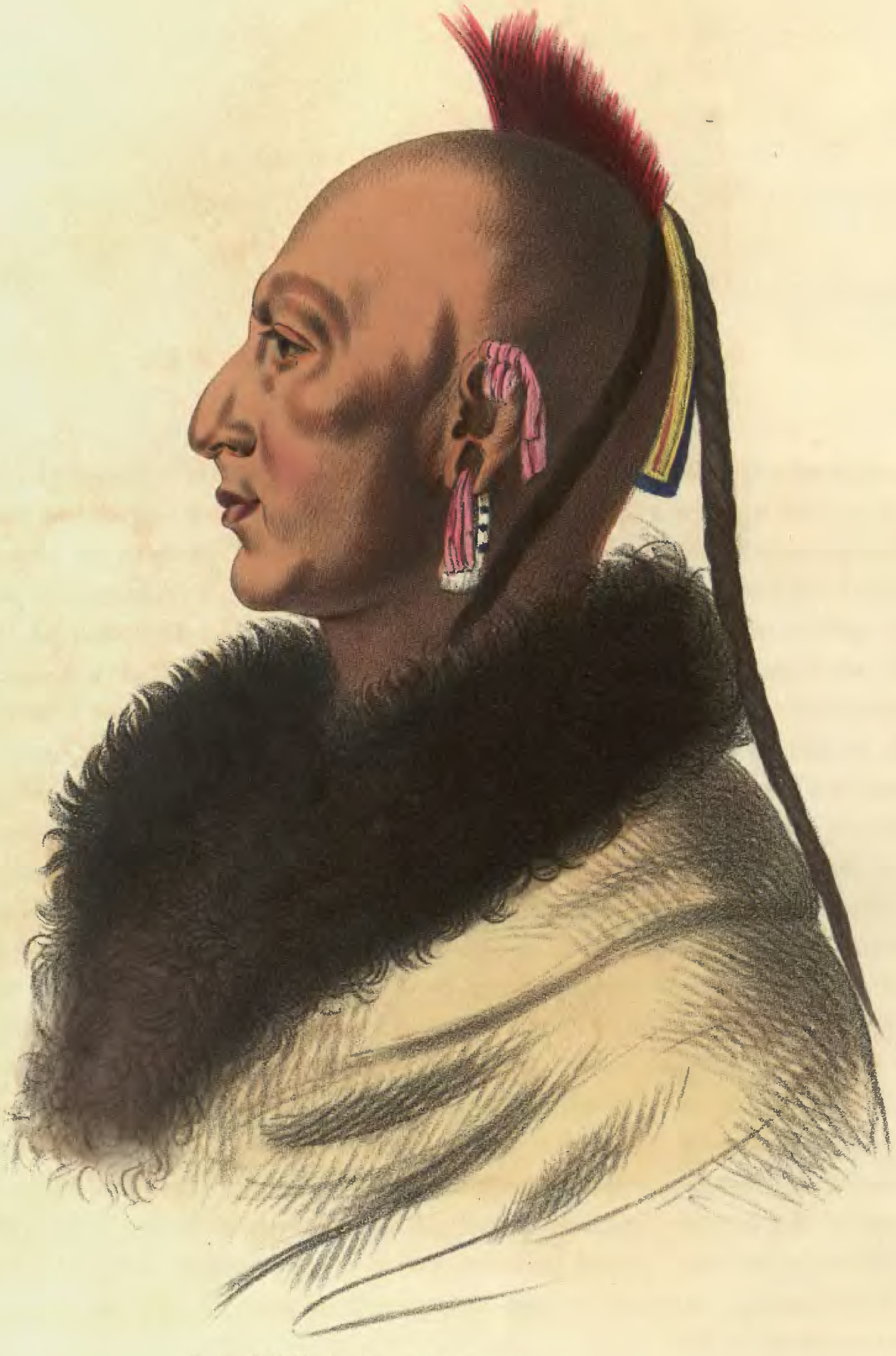
Those who have seen those wild and hardy trappers, and who know any thing of the severe privations and fearful dangers, encountered by them in the wilderness, would scarcely expect to find science or religion marching in such rude companionship. But danger itself is alluring to the ardent temperament, while true piety, and the genuine love of science are unappalled by its terrors. Many gentlemen have been induced by curiosity alone, to accompany these parties, and a valuable family of missionaries, under the charge of the Rev. Jason Lee, of the Methodist Episcopal church, has already settled on the Wallamette river, a branch of the Columbia. Although missions have not heretofore been successful, among the Indians, we think that, considering the pacific character of the people, and the favourable auspices under which this attempt has been commenced, much good from it may be confidently expected.

The portrait which accompanies this article, represents an interesting individual. He is one of that distant tribe inhabiting the most western extremity of our continent—a Chinnook, belonging to a band of the great family of Nez Perces. The name, Stumanu, has no particular meaning that we have been able to discover; the only account he could give of it himself, is that he was called by it after his grandfather, who is still living. He was born at a Chinnook village on the Columbia river, about seven miles from its mouth; and having lost his father, when he was but two years old, was brought up by an uncle, who at an early age initiated him in the business of fishing, and in such other employments as engage the attention of that indolent race. In speaking of the skill of his tribe in the management of their canoes, he stated that he had often been alone on the ocean, when overtaken by storms, and had never felt the slightest alarm, but would right his little vessel, when overturned, and pursue his voyage as if nothing had happened.

Shortly after the establishment of the mission family on the Wallamette, this youth, being favourably impressed in regard to the advantages of civilisation, voluntarily determined to place himself at the school, and applied to Doctor M'Laughlin, a benevolent gentleman, at the British Fort Vancouver, who had taken a lively interest in the missionary enterprise, for his advice on the subject. He cheerfully gave the applicant a letter of introduction to the Rev. Mr. Lee, superintendant of the Wallamette station; and thus encouraged, Stumanu, taking his younger brother by the hand, proceeded to the school, to offer himself and his brother as pupils. They were cheerfully admitted, and this youth soon proved himself a valuable acquisition to the school. He quickly showed a great fondness, as well as an aptitude, for learning, was industrious and useful on the farm, and won esteem by the most amiable qualities of temper. He possessed, what was remarkable in an Indian, a decidedly mechanical genius, and excelled in the construction of tools and implements, and in the imitation of any simple articles of furniture that came under his notice, so that the mission family were fully repaid for the expenses of his education and subsistence by his labour. His good sense, sobriety of temperament, and equability of disposition, rendered him altogether a person of uncommon interest.

Stumanu was about twenty years of age when this portrait was taken; he was about five feet in stature, thick set, and strongly made. He was on a visit to the Atlantic cities in company with the Rev. Mr. Lee, who was on a tour for the purpose of raising funds to support his valuable establishment. At New York, Philadelphia, and other places, the young Indian addressed large congregations, in his native tongue, on the destitute condition of his people, their readiness to learn from the white people, and the ample field that was spread open to those whose benevolence might induce them to take pity on the poor savages of the farther west. Some of these addresses were of a very impressive character, and Mr. Lee, who interpreted them, assured the congregations that what Stumanu said was wholly his own in conception and language.

On the eve of the departure of the Rev. Mr. Lee to the scene of his labours on the Wallamette, Stumanu, flushed with the prospect of once more mingling with his kindred and friends, and gratified with all he had seen of the white man's capacity and powers, was taken suddenly ill, in New York, and after a short but severe attack, died on the 29th of May, 1839.



LE SOLDAT DU CHENE,

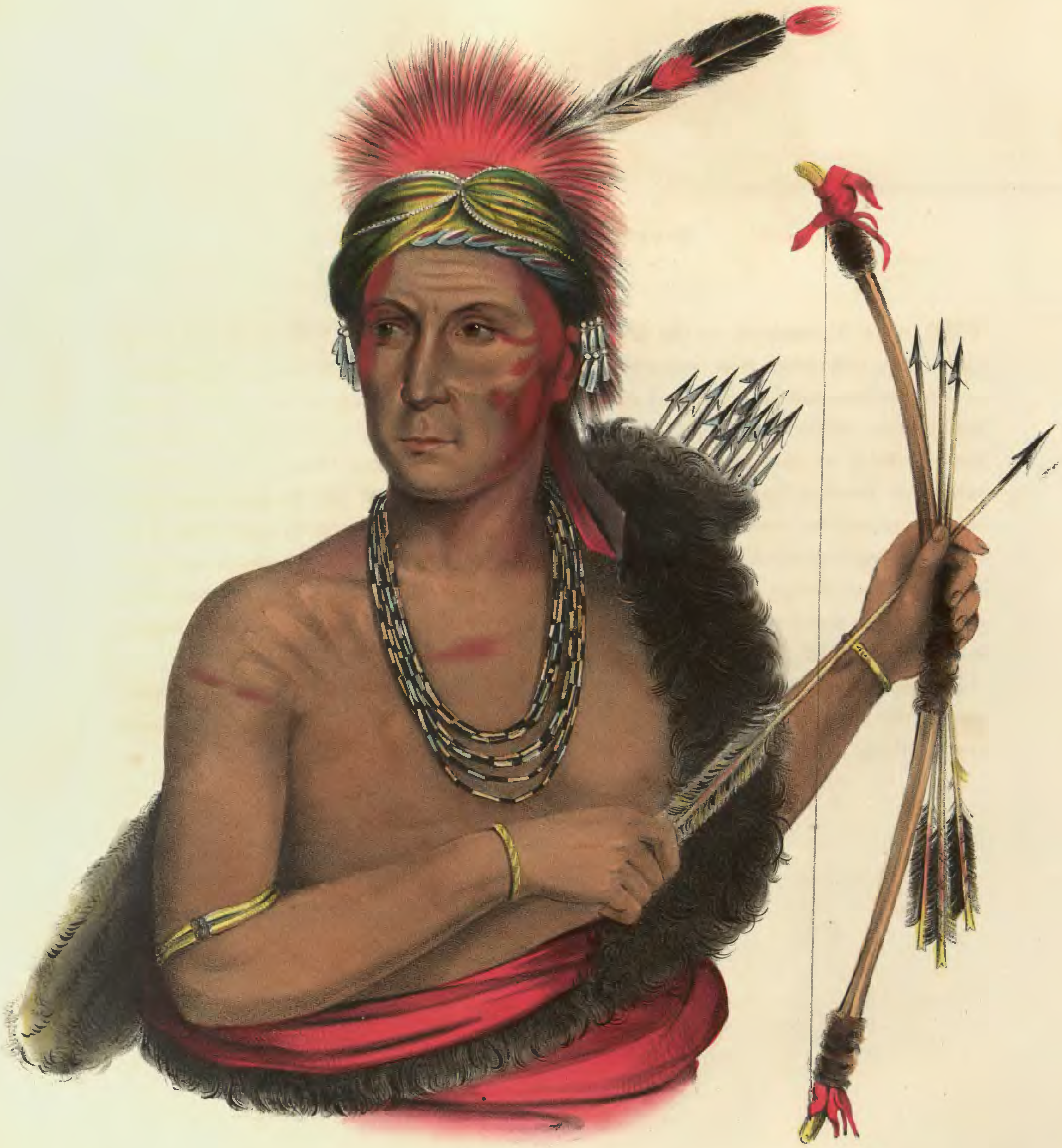
AN OSAGE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1836 by F. W. Greenough, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn.

LE SOLDAT DU CHENE.

THE name of this chief, as pronounced in the tongue of his own people, has not reached us; we know it only in the French translation, which introduces him to us as "*The Soldier of the Oak.*" The name refers, we understand, to a desperate fight, in which, having sheltered himself behind a large oak, he successfully defended himself against several enemies. His portrait was taken in Philadelphia, in 1805 or 1806, while he was on a visit to the President of the United States, under charge of Colonel Choteau, of St. Louis, and was presented to the American Philosophical Society, in whose valuable collection we found it.

He was an Osage chief of high reputation, and is mentioned by Pike in his travels. The Osages inhabit the prairies lying south of the Missouri river, and west of the states of Missouri and Arkansas. The buffalo is found in their country, and the wild horse roams over the plains immediately beyond them. They are horsemen, therefore, and not only manage the steed with dexterity, but bestow great pains upon the appearance and equipment of their horses. Living in a sunny climate, and roving over plains covered with rich verdure, and well stocked with game, they present a striking contrast to the unhappy Chippewa, to whom they are superior in stature, in cheerfulness, and in social qualities. The privations of the northern Indian subdue his spirit, while the Osage exhibits all the pride, and all the social elevation of which the savage is capable. The difference between them results solely out of the disparity in their respective physical comforts; but it is so great as to be obvious to the most casual observer, and goes far towards demonstrating how much of the savage character is the consequence of poverty, and the want of the common comforts of life.



POW-A-SHEEK

A FOX CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD.ª
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment Nº 94 Walnut St.
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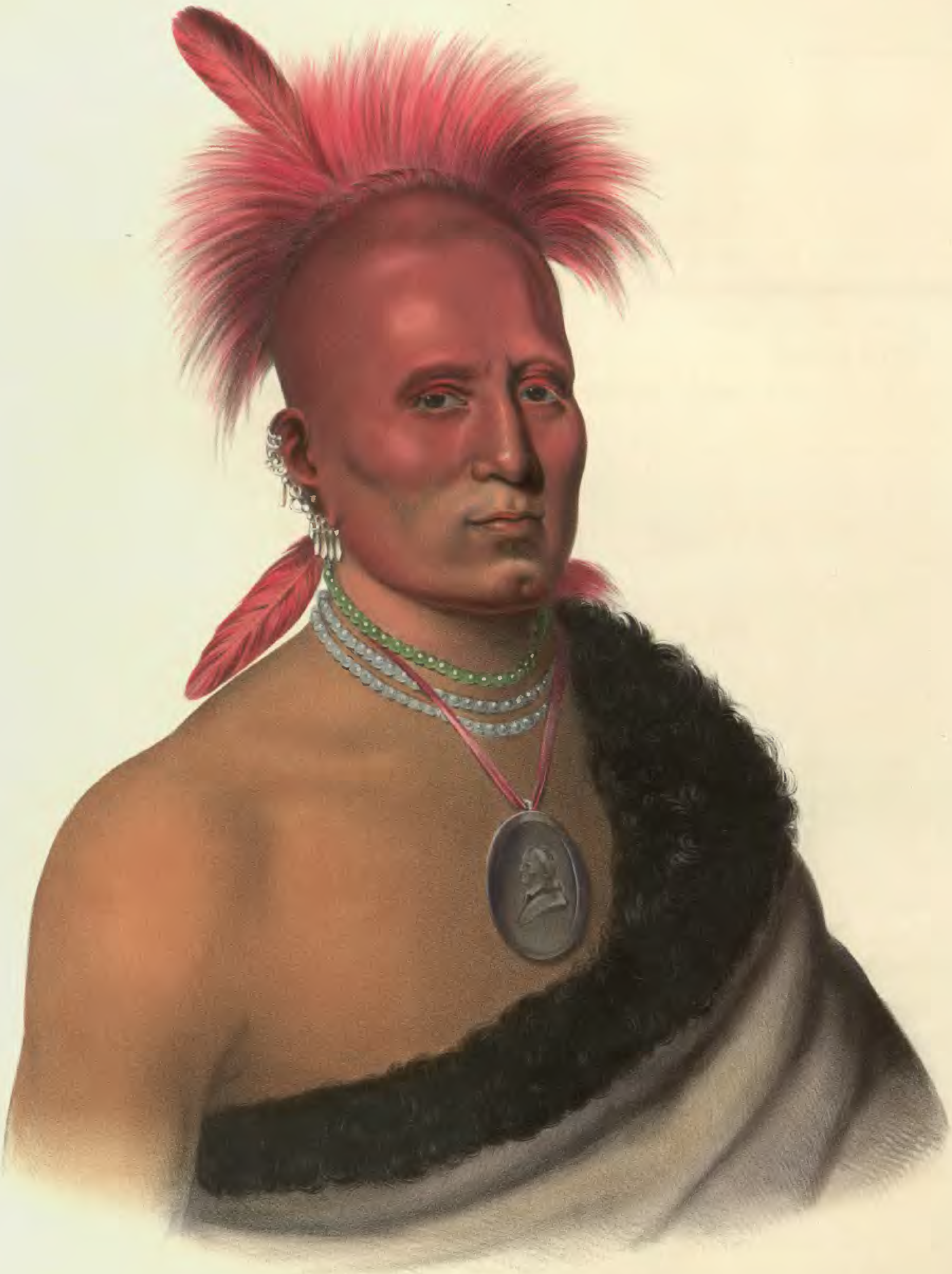
POWASHEEK.

THE word Powasheek, in the Musquakee language, signifies "*To dash the water off.*" The individual who bears this name, is a celebrated brave of the Musquakee or Fox nation, and is numbered among their chiefs or leading men. A few years ago he was better known to the whites than any other person of his nation, and was probably at that time the most influential man among them. The superior talents of Keokuk have, however, thrown into the shade all the leaders who once stood high in the combined Saukie and Musquakee nation, and Wapella the Fox leader, being a chief of great address, and a friend of Keokuk, Powasheek has been little heard of during late years, in public life. He was a daring warrior and held a respectable standing in council, as a man of prudence and capacity. The likeness is a good one and gives a correct idea of his character.

Powasheek is one of those men, who, though highly respected, and holding a rank among the first men of his nation, is not distinguished by brilliant talents. Nothing very striking in his history has reached us.



SHAR-I-TAR-ISH,

A PAWNEE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY J. T. BOWEN, PHILADA
Drawn, Printed & Coloured at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment, 94 Walnut St.
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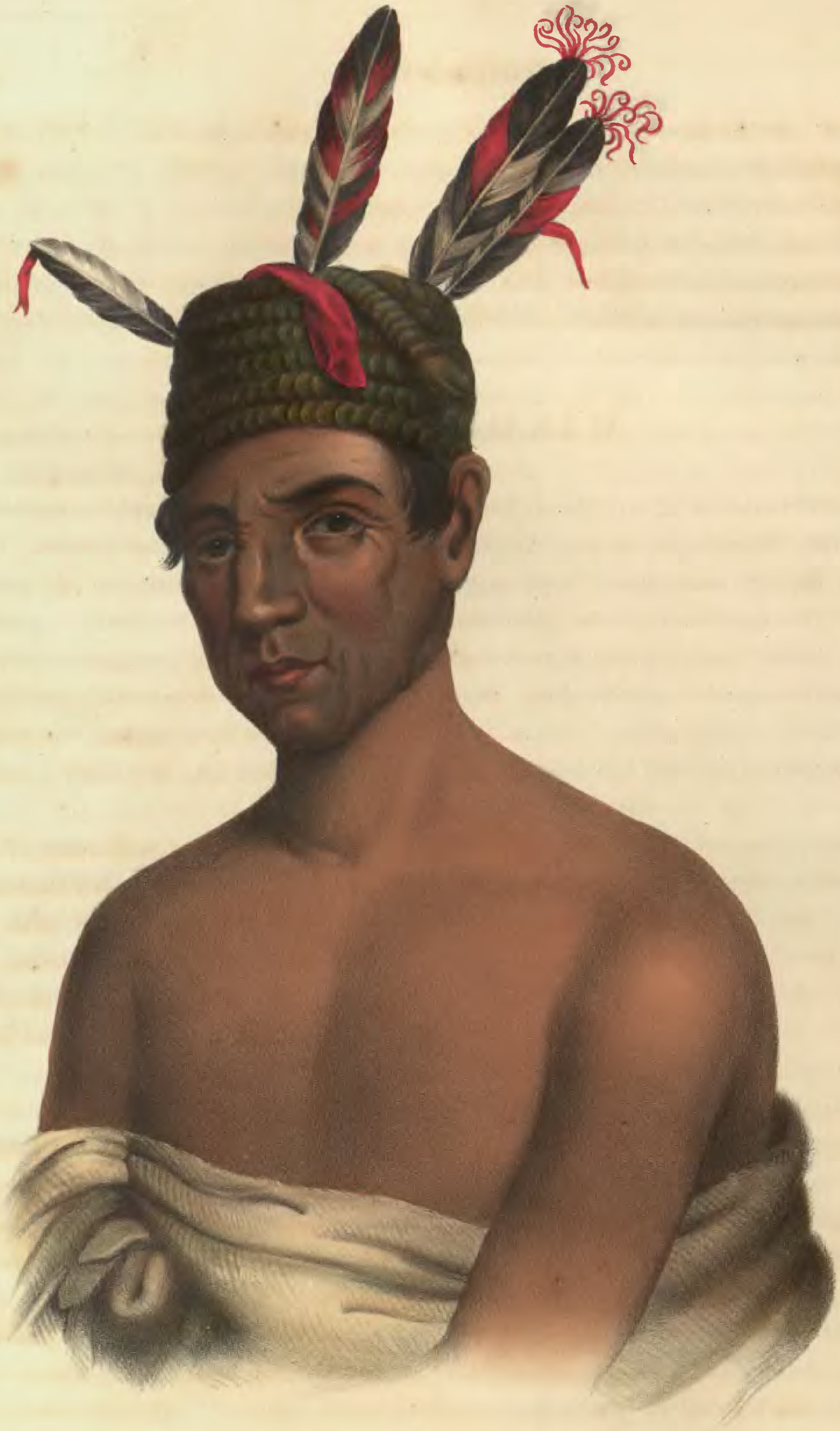
SHARITARISH.

THE Pawnee nation is divided into several parts, the original or main body of which are called Grand Pawnees, while the bands which have separated from them, and form independent, though somewhat subordinate communities, are designated as Pawnee Loups, Republican Pawnees, Pawnee Mahas, &c. These divisions of larger into smaller communities, which are continually taking place, present a curious subject in the study of Indian history, which we propose to treat more at large in another place.

Sharitarish was principal chief, or head man of the Grand Pawnees. He was descended from a line of chiefs, and according to the law of descents, which selects the next of kin, if worthy, succeeded his elder brother, Tarecawawaho. They were sons of Sharitarish, a chief, who is mentioned in Pike's Expedition under the name of Characterish.

Tarecawawaho was a brave and enterprising leader, as indeed those usually are, who obtain power in these warlike tribes; for the office of chief is no sinecure among a people so continually exposed to various dangers. He had also a large share of that pride, the offspring of ignorance, which is often the principal ingredient in the magnificence of sovereignty, and especially in the savage state. When invited to visit the President of the United States, he refused to do so, upon the ground that it would be too great a condescension. The Pawnees, he asserted, were the greatest people in the world, and himself the most important chief. He was willing to live at peace with the American people, and to conciliate the government by reciprocating their acts of courtesy. But he argued that the President could not bring as many young men into the field as himself, that he did not own as many horses, nor maintain as many wives; that he was not so distinguished a brave, and could not exhibit as many scalps taken in battle; and that therefore he would not consent to call him his great Father. He did not object, however, to returning the civilities of the President, by sending a delegation composed of some of his principal men; and among those selected to accompany Major O'Fallon to Washington on this occasion was the subject of this sketch. Sharitarish returned with enlarged views of the numbers and power of the white men, and no doubt with more correct opinions, than he had before entertained, of the relative importance of his own nation. As he travelled league after league over the broad expanse of the American territory, he became convinced of the vast disparity between a horde of wandering savages and a nation of civilized men, and was satisfied that his people could gain nothing by a state of warfare with a power so superior.

Sharitarish was a chief of noble form and fine bearing; he was six feet tall, and well proportioned; and when mounted on the fiery steed of the prairie, was a graceful and very imposing personage. His people looked upon him as a great brave, and the young men especially regarded him as a person who was designed to great distinction. After his return from Washington his popularity increased so greatly as to excite the jealousy of his elder brother, the head chief, who, however, did not long survive that event. He died a few weeks after the return of Sharitarish, who succeeded him, but who also died during the succeeding autumn, at the age of little more than thirty years. He was succeeded by his brother Ishcatape, the wicked chief, a name given him by the Omahas, or Pawnee Mahas, and which also has been applied by some to the subject of this notice.



WA-KAWN-HA-KA,

A WINNEBAGO CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY J. T. BOWEN, PHILADA.
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WAKAUN HAKA.

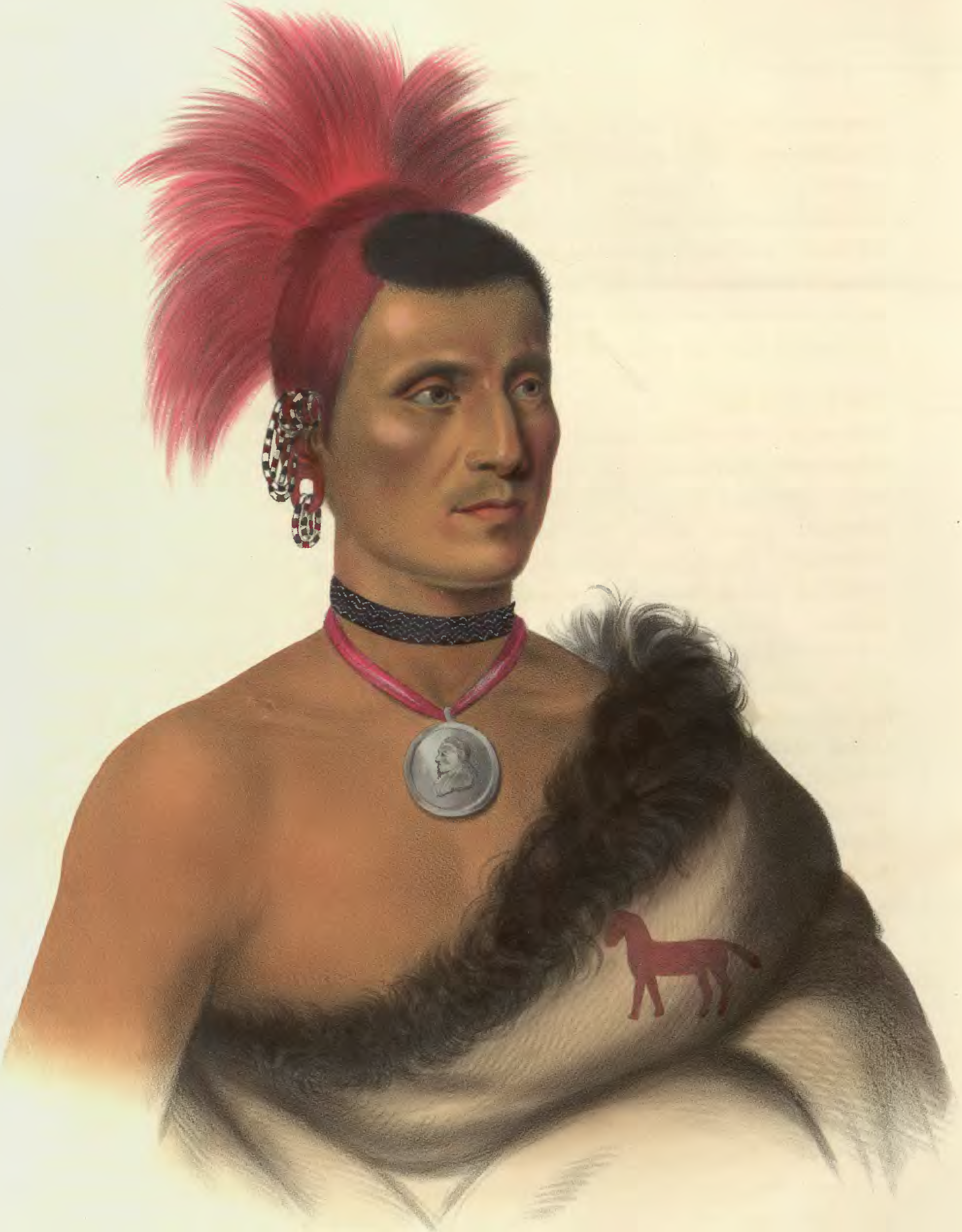
THIS individual is of mixed blood; his father was a Frenchman, and his mother a woman of the Winnebago nation. He is one of the finest looking men among that people, and has for many years been one of their principal speakers on all public occasions. The qualifications for this office are not very extensive, and in general comprise little else than fluency, a graceful manner, and a familiar acquaintance with the current transactions of the day. Wakaun Haka, or the *Snake-Skin*, possesses these qualities in a high degree; his stature is about six feet three inches, his person erect and commanding, and his delivery easy. He is between fifty and sixty years of age, and is one of the war chiefs of the Winnebagoes.

In the early years of the *Snake-Skin*, he was a successful hunter, a warrior of fair standing, and a person of decided influence among his people. But the sin that most easily besets the Indian has destroyed his usefulness; habits of dissipation, with the premature decrepitude incident to the savage life, have made him an old man, at the age at which the statesmen of civilized nations are in the enjoyment of the highest degree of intellectual vigour. His influence has declined, and many of his band have left him, and joined the standards of other chiefs.

This personage has been the husband of no less than eleven wives, and the father of a numerous progeny. With all the savage love of trinkets and finery, he had his full share of the personal vanity which nourishes that reigning propensity, and of which the following anecdote affords a striking illustration. In one of the drunken broils, which have not been unfrequent in the latter part of his life, a fight occurred between himself and another person, in which the nose of the chief was severely bitten. The Reverend Mr. Lowry, superintendent of the school, on hearing of the accident, paid the chief a visit of condolence, hoping that an opportunity might offer, which might enable him to give salutary advice to the sufferer. He was lying with his head covered, refusing to be seen. His wife, deeply affected by the misfortune, and terrified by the excited state of her husband's mind, sat near him weeping bitterly. When she announced the name of his visiter, the chief, still concealing his mutilated features, exclaimed that he was a ruined man, and desired only to die. He continued to bewail his misfortune as one which it would be unworthy in a man and a warrior to survive, and as altogether intolerable. His only consolation was found in the declaration that his young men should kill the author of his disgrace; and accordingly the latter was soon after murdered, though it is not known by whom. Had not this injury been of a kind by which the vanity of Wakaun Haka was affected, and his self love mortified, it might have been forgotten or passed over; we do not say *forgiven*, as this word, in our acceptance of it, expresses an idea to which the savage is a stranger. Regarding an unrevenged insult as a trader views an outstanding debt, which he may demand whenever he can find the delinquent party in a condition to pay it, he is satisfied by a suitable compensation, if the injury be of a character to admit of compromise. Had his wife, for instance, eloped with a lover, or his brother been slain, the offender might have purchased peace at the expense of a few horses; but what price could indemnify a great chief for the loss of his nose? Happily, the wound proved but slight, and Wakaun Haka lost neither his nose nor his reputation.

We do not intend, however, by the last remark, to do injustice to this chief, who, on another occasion, nursed his resentment, under the influence of highly creditable feelings. We have had occasion to mention elsewhere, a striking incident of border warfare, which occurred in 1834, when a war party of Saukies and Foxes surprised a small encampment of the Winnebagoes, and massacred all the persons within it, except one gallant boy, about twelve years of age, who, after discharging a gun, and killing a Saukie brave, made his escape by swimming the Mississippi, and brought the news of the slaughter to Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien. That boy was the son of Wakaun Haka, and among the slain was one of the wives and several of the children of this chief. The exploit was considered as conferring great honour on the lad, as well as upon his family, and the father evinced the pride which he felt in his son, while he lamented over the slain members of his family with a lively sensibility. An exterminating war was expected to follow this bloody deed; but by the prompt interposition of the agent of the United States, and the military officers, a treaty was held, and a peace brought about, chiefly through the politic and conciliatory conduct of Keokuk, the head man of the offending nation. Forty horses were presented to the Winnebagoes, as a full compensation for the loss of about half that number of their people, who had been massacred in cold blood; the indemnity was accepted, the peace pipe was smoked, and the hands of the murderers, cleansed of the foul stains of midnight assassination, were clasped in the embrace of amity by the relatives of the slain. Wakaun Haka, with a disdain for so unworthy a compromise, which did honour to his feelings as a husband and father, stood aloof, and refused either to participate in the present, or to give his hand to the Saukies and Foxes.

The Snake-Skin, like many other influential men among the Indians, has always been obstinately opposed to all changes in the condition of his people, and has declined taking any part in the benevolent plans of the American Government, or of individuals, for the civilization of his race. On one occasion, when the superintendent of the school called his attention to the subject, and urged the advantages which the Winnebagoes might derive from those benevolent measures, his reply was, that the Great Spirit had made the skin of the Indian red, and that soap and water could not make it white. At another time, when urged to use his influence to procure the attendance of the Indian youth at the government school, he replied that their children were all asleep, and could not be waked up. These answers were figurative, and contain the substance of the objection invariably urged by the savages on this subject: "The Great Spirit has made us what we are—it is not his will that we should be changed; if it was his will, he would let us know; if it is not his will, it would be wrong for us to attempt it, nor could we by any art change our nature."



PES-KE-LE-CHA-CO,

A PAWNEE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY J. T. BOWEN, PHILADª
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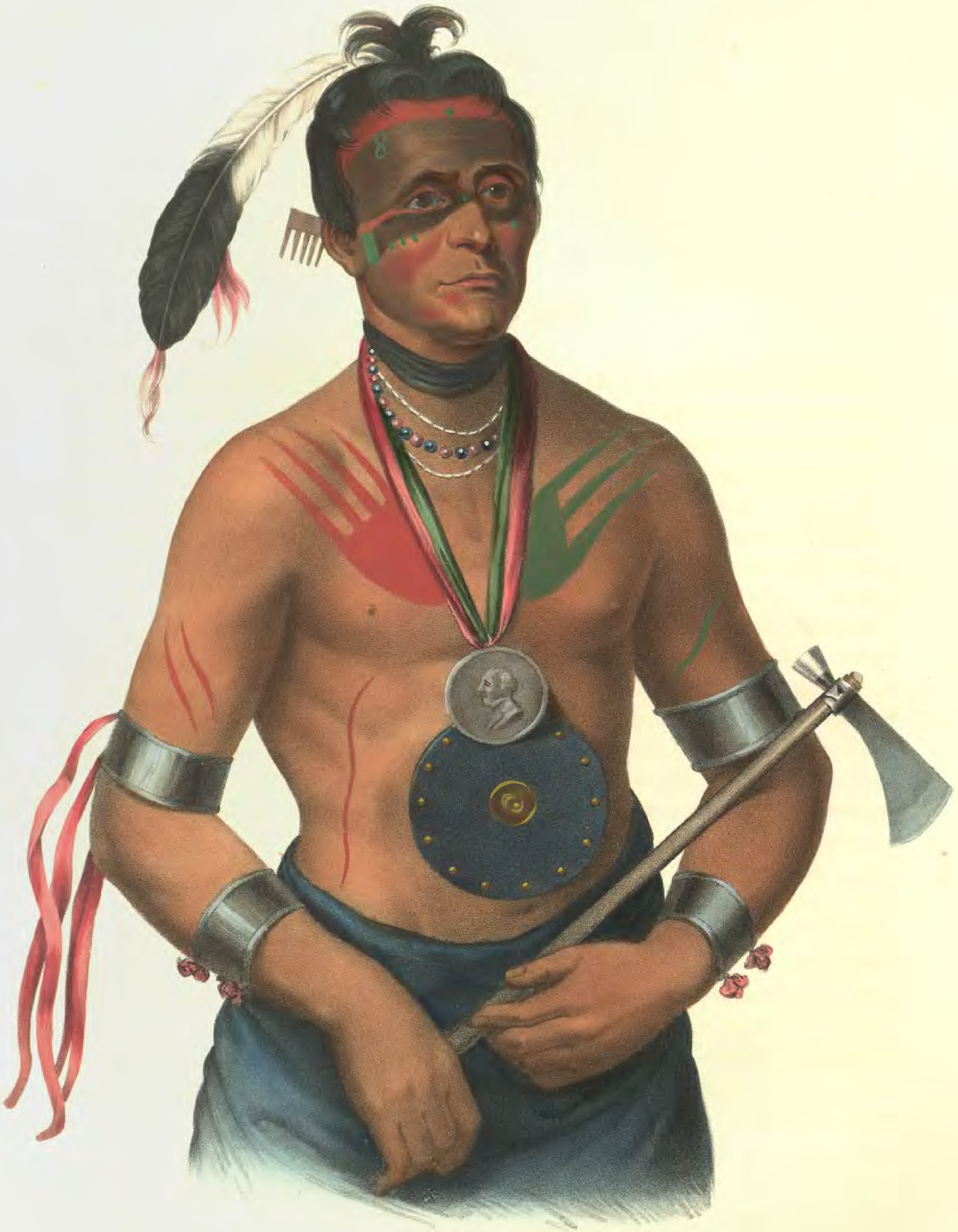
PESKELECHACO.

WE regret that so few particulars have been preserved of the life of this individual, who was one of the most prominent men of his nation, and whose character afforded a favourable specimen of his race. He was a person of excellent disposition, who, to the qualities proper to the savage mode of life, added some of the virtues which belong to a more refined state of society. But such is the evanescent nature of traditionary history, that while we find this chief invariably spoken of with high commendation, we have been scarcely able to trace out any of the circumstances of his life.

Peskelechaco was a noted war chief of the Pawnees, who visited Washington City as a delegate from his nation in 18—. We have had frequent occasions of remarking the salutary effect produced upon the minds of the more intelligent of the Indian chiefs and head men, by giving them the opportunity of witnessing our numbers and civilization; our arts, our wealth, and the vast extent of our country. The evidences of our power, which they witness, together with the conciliatory effect of the kindness shewn them, have seldom failed to make a favourable impression. Such was certainly the case with this chief, who, after his return from Washington, acquired great influence with his tribe, in consequence of the admiration with which they regarded the knowledge he had gained in his travels. He had spent his time profitably in observing closely whatever passed under his notice, and in proportion to his shrewdness and intelligence, his opinions became respected. He spoke frequently of the words he had heard from his great father, the President of the United States, who had, in pursuance of the benevolent policy which has governed the intercourse of the administration at Washington, with the Indians, admonished his savage visiters to abandon their predatory habits, and cultivate the arts of peace. Peskelechaco often declared his determination to pursue this salutary advice. He continued to be uniformly friendly to the people of the United States, and faithful to his engagements with them; and was much respected by them. He was a man of undoubted courage, and esteemed a skilful leader.

The only incident in the active life of this chief which has been preserved, was its closing scene. About the year 1826, a war party of the Osages marched against his village with the design of stealing horses and killing some of his people. The assailants were discovered, and a severe battle ensued. The chief, at the head of a band of warriors, sallied out to meet the invaders, and the conflict assumed an animated and desperate character. Having slain one of the enemy with his own hand, he rushed forward to *strike the body*, which is considered the highest honour a warrior can gain in battle. To kill an enemy is honourable, but the proudest achievement of the Indian brave is to strike, to lay his hand upon, the slain or mortally wounded body of his foeman, whether slain by himself or another. To strike the dead is therefore an object of the highest ambition; and when a warrior falls, the nearest warrior of both parties rush forward, the one to gain the triumph, and the other to frustrate the attempt. Peskelechaco was killed in a gallant endeavour to signalize himself in this manner.



HOO-WAN-NE-KA,

A WINNEBAGO CHIEF.

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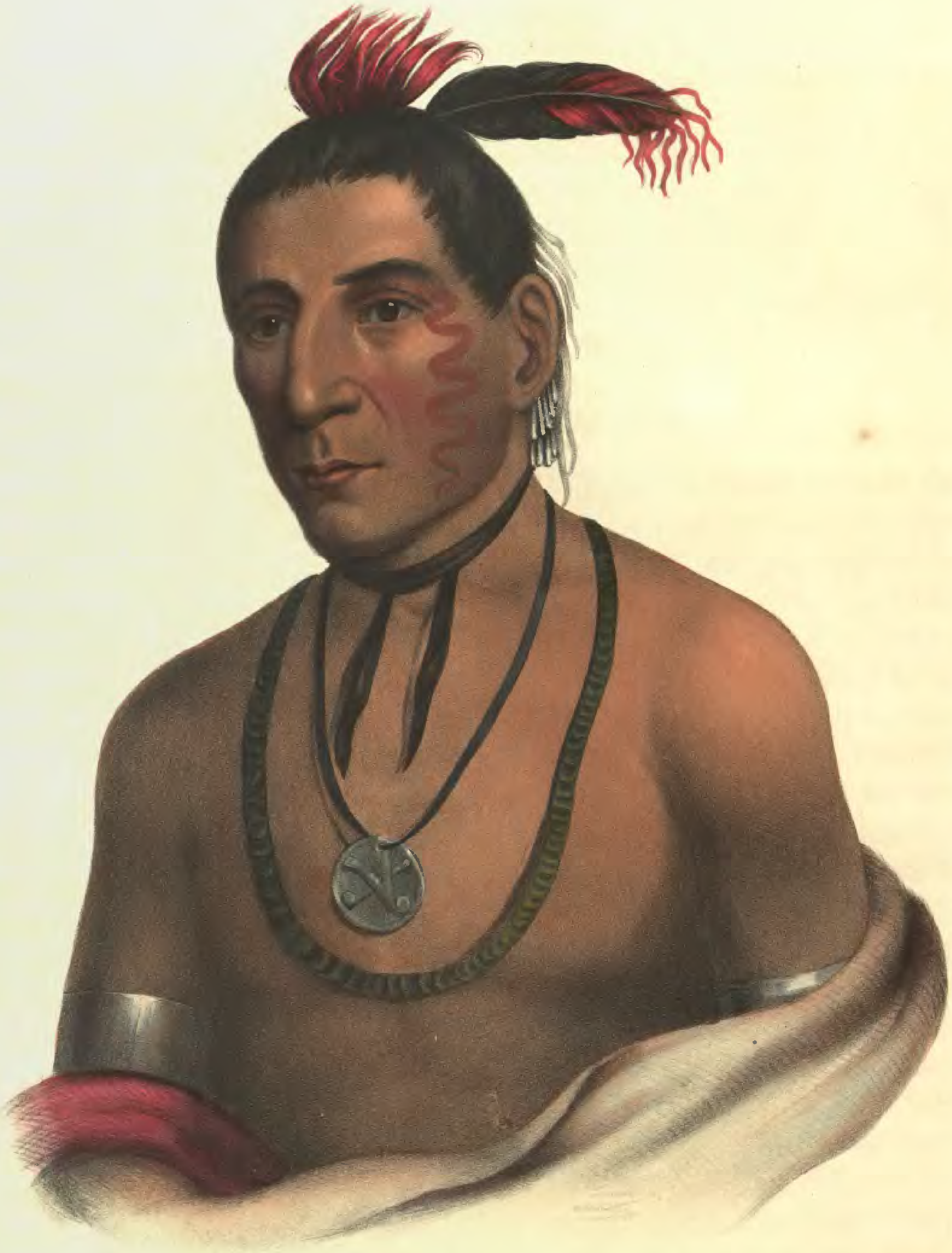
HOOWANNEKA.

HOOWANNEKA, the Little Elk, was a chief of the Winnebago nation, who served with some reputation on the side of the British, in the late war between Great Britain and the United States. At the termination of hostilities, when it was found that the British had made peace for themselves, leaving their Indian allies residing within the United States, at the mercy of the latter government, the Winnebagoes reluctantly sought protection under the American flag. Hoowanneka was among the first who became convinced that his nation had been seduced by specious promises into an unnatural war, against those, whose enmity must be fatal to their existence, and under whose friendship alone they could continue to have a resting place or a name. Uniting with those who held similar opinions, he exerted a salutary influence over his fierce associates, in restraining them from further outrage upon the American frontiers; and he remained afterwards a friend of our people and government.

The Little Elk was descended from the Caramanie family, the most distinguished band of his nation. He was a tall, fine looking man, and had some reputation as a speaker, but has left no specimen of his eloquence upon record. In the portrait which accompanies this sketch, he appeared in the costume in which he presented himself before the President of the United States, at Washington, in 1824, when he visited the seat of government as a delegate from his nation. It must have been a singular scene, which exhibited the savage orator, painted in fantastic style, and clad in these wild and picturesque habiliments, addressing the grave and dignified head of the American people, in one of the saloons of the White House. The President and his cabinet, with the diplomatists and other visiters who are usually invited, when a spectacle of this kind is presented, must have afforded a striking contrast to the war chiefs and orators of a savage horde decked out in all the barbarian magnificence of beads, paint, and feathers, with their war clubs, pipes, and banners.



WA - KAWN.

A WINNEBAGO CHIEF.

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WAKAWN,

A WINNEBAGO CHIEF.

WAKAWN, the Snake, was a war chief of the Winnebagoes. He was born on Ste. Mary's river, near Green Bay, in the Michigan Territory, and died in 1838, at the age of nearly 60 years. He was of the middle stature, but athletic in form, and was exceeded by none of his nation in ability to endure fatigue. Although his countenance displayed but an ordinary intellect, the expression was mild, and he had an honest eye, such as is not often seen among his people, who are among the most fierce and treacherous of their race. The Snake was a well disposed man, who maintained a good character through life.

In 1811, and previously to that time, the Winnebagoes, under the influence of the British agents and traders, were unfriendly to the United States, and were actively engaged in the depredations committed upon the frontier settlements. The broad expanse of wilderness which intervened between them and the settlements in Ohio and Indiana, afforded no protection to the latter, whose log cabins were burned and sacked by savages who travelled hundreds of miles to enjoy the gratification of murdering a family, and plundering the wretched homestead of a hunter whose whole wealth consisted in the spoils of the chace. The prospect of a war between Great Britain and the United States, to which they had long been taught to look forward, as an event which would give them temporary employment, and great ultimate advantage, stimulated this warlike people into a high state of excitement; and when the Shawanoe Prophet raised his standard, they were among the first of the deluded band who rallied around it. Wakawn and some of his people formed a part of the motley assemblage collected at the Prophet's town in the autumn of 1811, and against whom was directed the campaign of General Harrison, which eventuated so honourably to the American arms, and to the personal fame of that distinguished leader. Wakawn was in the battle of Tippecanoe, where he was slightly wounded, and is said to have borne himself bravely on that occasion. He was occasionally on the war path during the remainder of the war, at the close of which he buried the hatchet, and has since been uniformly friendly to the American people.

Since the establishment of friendly relations between his nation and the United States, the Snake has been conspicuous for his faithful observance of the existing treaties; and after the several cessions of land made by the Winnebagoes to the American government, he always led the way in abandoning the ceded territories, while a majority of the tribe were disposed to rescind the contract. In the late removal of his people to the west of the Mississippi, he was the first Winnebago, of any note, who crossed the river, when a great portion of the nation, including most of the influential men, were inclined to remain upon the lands they had sold to the United States. The readiness with which the Indians sell their titles to large tracts of country, contrasted with their subsequent reluctance to deliver the possession, may be attributed in part to the fickleness of the savage character, in which notions of property, of obligation, or of abstract right are but feebly developed, if indeed they can be said to have palpable existence. But the immediate causes of those breaches of faith, may be usually traced to the intrigues of unprincipled traders, who seek pecuniary profit in fomenting dissension. The refusal of an Indian nation to comply with its engagements, affords an occasion for a new treaty, attended with all the parade and expenditure of the original convention, with new stipulations, additional presents, and increased disbursements of money for various purposes, all which afford opportunities for peculation to those rapacious men. No subject has been more greatly misunderstood, or has afforded a more prolific theme for vituperation towards the American government and people, than the oppression supposed to have been exercised in removing Indians from their ceded lands, and which has been inferred from their reluctance to abandon them; when in fact, the only fault on the part of the government is, that in effecting a laudable object, and with humane intentions towards the Indian, they have unwisely adopted a system which is liable to gross abuses.

In 1834, the government established at Prairie du Chien, a school and farm for the instruction of the Winnebagoes, under the direction of the Rev. David Lowry, who engaged assiduously in the duty of instructing that tribe in the rudiments of an English education, as well as in the labours of agriculture, combining with these, such religious information as his opportunities enabled him to inculcate. The Snake was the first of the chief men to appreciate the value of this establishment; he applied himself to the study of husbandry, and placed his family under the tuition of Mr. Lowry. His example was the more valuable, as the Indians generally are opposed to all such innovations; and the Winnebagoes were obstinately hostile to the efforts made to induce them to adopt the habits of civilized life. The decision of Wakawn, and the zeal with which he advocated the benevolent views of the government, brought him into collision with the other chiefs, who viewed his predilection for the knowledge and habits of the white men, as an alien and degenerate partiality, inconsistent with the duty which he owed to his own race; and on one occasion he defended his opinions at the risk of his life.

Notwithstanding the disgrace attached to the practice of manual labour among the Indian braves, the Snake often threw aside his blanket, and joined his wife in her rude but persevering attempts to support the family by tilling the soil. The fertile prairies of Wisconsin, where the soil has never been exhausted by culture, yields abundant returns, and he soon became convinced that he could more easily obtain a livelihood in this manner, than by the fatiguing and precarious labours of the chase. But when urged by the Superintendent of the school to give the full weight of his character and influence to the proposed reformation, by laying aside the character of the brave, and adopting entirely the habits of the civilized man, he replied that he was too old—that the Indians who had been reared in the free and roving pursuits of savage life, could not abandon them, but that their children might; and while he declined doing what would be a violence to his own nature, he strongly advocated the employment of means to civilize the youth of his nation.

The difficulty of changing the habits of a people, was exemplified, in an amusing manner, in the family of this chief. At his own request a log house, such as constitutes the dwelling of the American farmer, in the newly settled parts of the country, was erected for him, at the expense of the government, under the expectation that by giving his family a permanent residence, one step would be taken towards their civilization. The house was arranged in the ordinary way, with a chimney and fire-place; the operations of cooking were commenced, in due form, at the fire-place, and the family assembled round the hearth, pleased and amused, no doubt, with this new form of social economy. But it was not long before the newly adopted contrivance was abandoned—the floor was removed, and a fire kindled in the centre of the house—the family gathered in a circle about it—a hole was cut in the roof for the smoke to pass through—and the mansion of the Snake family became once more, thoroughly and completely, an Indian lodge.

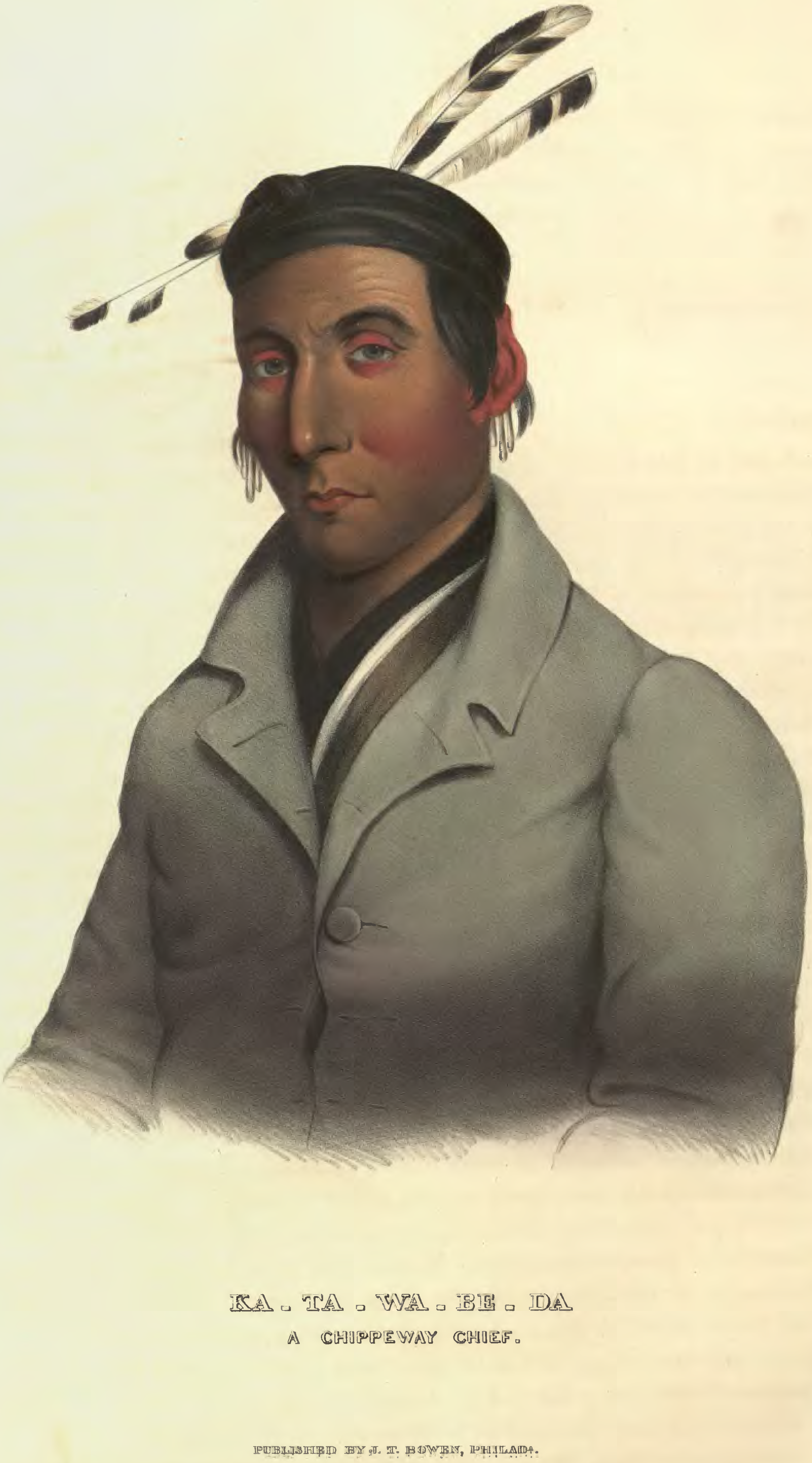
Nor could Wakawn himself resolve to abandon the superstitions of his race; while he recommended civilization to others, he clung to the customs of his forefathers. Believing in the existence, and the superiority of the true God, he could not sever the tie that bound him to the ideal deities of his people. He continued to join his tribe in their religious feasts and dances, and usually presided at the exercises. He probably had the faculty of veneration strongly developed, for his grave and solemn demeanour on such occasions, is said to have rendered them interesting, and to have given an imposing effect to the ceremonies.

Unfortunately this respectable chief, who possessed so many estimable qualities, and so just a sense of the true interests of his people, was subject to the weakness which has proved most fatal to them. He was addicted to intoxication, and unhappily there is nothing in the religion or the ethics of the savage, nothing in their public opinion or the economy of their domestic life, to impose a restraint upon this vice. When a fondness for ardent spirits is contracted, it is usually indulged, with scarcely any discredit to the individual, and without a limit, except that imposed by the want of means to gratify this insatiable appetite. Wakawn lived in the neighbourhood of Prairie du Chien, where the temptation was continually before him, and where ardent spirit was easily procured; and he was often drunk. This vice was the cause of his death. In November, 1838, after receiving their annuities from the United States, the Winnebagoes indulged themselves in a grand debauch, a kind of national *spree*, in which all engaged, without distinction of age, sex, or condition; and scenes of drunkenness, of violence, and of disgusting indecency were exhibited, such as had never before been witnessed among this people. Wakawn indulged freely, and becoming entirely helpless, wandered off, and threw himself on the ground, where he slept without any protection from the weather, during the whole of a very cold night. The next day he was attacked with a pleurisy, which soon terminated his existence.

The Snake was buried according to the Indian customs. A pipe, and several other articles of small value were deposited with his remains in the grave. As those had been intended for the use of the spirit, in the happy hunting grounds of the blessed, his wife was desirous of adding some other articles, and brought them to the place of interment, but they were claimed by a rapacious chief, in remuneration of his services in doing honour to the deceased, and actually carried away. Previous to filling up the grave, the family and relations of Wakawn stepped across it, uttering loud lamentations, and then, after marching from it, in single file, for several hundred yards, returned by a circuitous route to their several lodges. This custom, which the Winnebagoes usually pursue, is practiced from a regard for the living, and is supposed to be efficacious, in diverting the hand of death from the family of the deceased.

The grave of this chief is often visited by convivial parties of his friends, who gather around it and pour whiskey on the ground, for the benefit of the departed spirit, which is supposed to return and mingle in their orgies. It would not be difficult to point out in the bacchanalian lyrics of the most refined nations, some ideas, more absurd, and less poetical than this.

The wife of this chief still survives, and is a pattern to her nation, in point of morality and industry. She had the sagacity to see the advantages which civilization offered to her sex, and became an early advocate for extending its benefits to her children. She has uniformly resisted the temptation to which most of the Indian women yield, and has never been known to taste whiskey. Always industrious, she contributed largely to the support of her family, during her husband's life, by cultivating the soil, and since his decease has maintained them decently by the same means. Shortly after she became a widow, a brother of her late husband offered to marry her, in conformity with a custom of the tribe, but she declined the proposal.



KA-TA-WA-BE-DA

A CHIPPEWAY CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY J. T. BOWEN, PHILAD^A.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment. N^o. 94 Walnut St^t.

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1841 by J. T. Bowen in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^a.

KATAWABEDA,

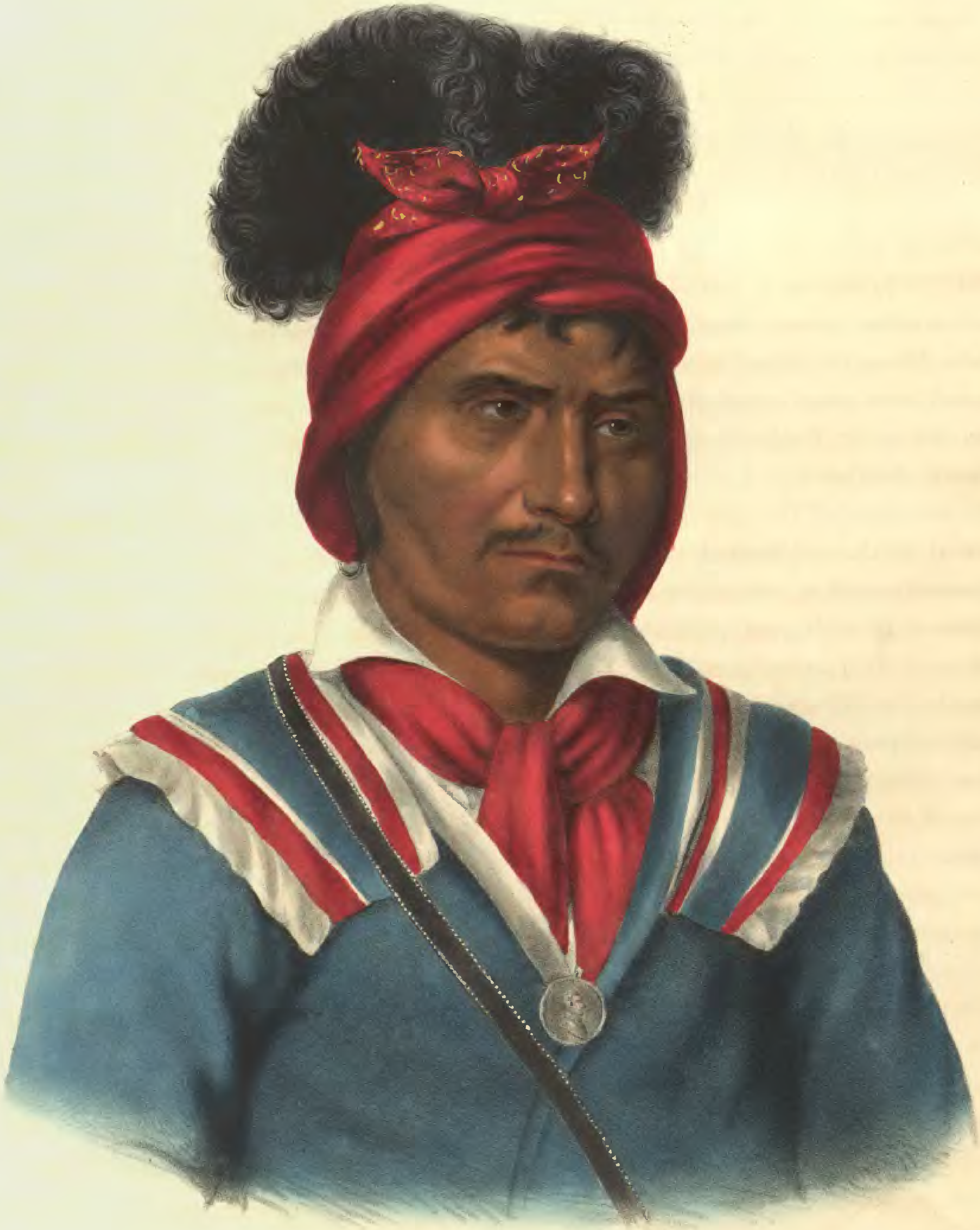
A CHIPPEWAY CHIEF.

THERE is, in general, so great a sameness in the Indian character, that the individuals may be said to differ rather in the degree of physical and mental strength, with which they are endowed, than in the qualities of their minds. The pursuits of all being the same, there must naturally be a similitude of intellectual developement, and we find accordingly but little variety of character, except that arising from extraordinary instances of bodily vigour, or still more rarely, from superior native talent. Their hunters and warriors are great, greater, and greatest, but still they are but warriors and hunters, practising with more or less success, the same arts of sylvan warfare against the brute inhabitants of the lake and forest, or snatching by similar devices the bloody trophies of victory, in perpetual feuds with each other.

It is therefore an agreeable relief to turn from the monotonous recital of the wiles of battle and ambuscade, to the contemplation of a pacific character. The chief, whose portrait is before us, deserves honourable mention as one of the very few of his race, who condemned, by precept and example, the vindictive and bloody wars, so common, and so fatally destructive, among the ill-starred aborigines. Although we do not learn that his courage was ever questioned, he never took an active part in war, but discouraged it on all occasions, as far as his situation and influence allowed. At the councils, in which, as an able speaker, he was a prominent person, he usually harangued in favour of pacific measures, recommended negociation and remonstrance, rather than revenge and violence, and sought to allay the excitement which ordinarily prevails at the meetings of the antagonist and turbulent denizens of the wild.

Katawabeda was an orator of no small repute. Expert and ready in debate, his speeches were marked by shrewdness, ingenuity, and subtlety of argument, and by a simple brevity and force of expression. Some of these displays of native eloquence were well worthy of preservation, but we are not aware that any of them have been recorded except in the memory of those who sat in the councils of that lonely region of lakes and forests, of which this remarkable Indian was a native and a ruler.

He was the principal village chief—the civil head, as distinguished from the war chief, or military leader—of a band of the Chippeway nation, who reside at Sandy Lake, or Kometongogomog, among the head springs of the Mississippi, and was a sensible, prudent, politic man, who was revered by his own people, and looked up to as a safe counsellor by the surrounding villages.



FOKE-LUSTE-HAJO

A SEMINOLE.

PUBLISHED BY J. T. BOWEN, PHILADA
Drawn, Printed & Coloured at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishmt 94 Walnut St
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1842 by J. T. Bowen in the Clerks Office of the Distt Court of the Eastern Distt of Penna

FOKE LUSTE HAJO.

THIS distinguished individual, was at one time the principal war chief of the Seminoles, but being friendly to the United States, was superseded in that post by Holato Mico, the Blue King. His name, Foke Luste Hajo, signifies *black craggy clay*, but he is usually called Black Dirt, an epithet which seems to have no reference to his character, for he is described as a brave and high-minded man, of more than ordinary abilities.

He was one of the chiefs who assisted at the council of Payne's Landing, and assented to the celebrated treaty, of which the results have been so disastrous to the country, and so ruinous to the Seminoles; and he was one of the seven who were appointed to visit and explore the country offered to his people for their future residence. His associates were Holata Amathla, Jumper, Charley Amathla, Coa Hajo, Arpiucki, and Yaha Hajo. Having examined and approved the country, the delegation proceeded to ratify the treaty of Payne's Landing, at Fort Gibson, on the 28th of March, 1833. This was one of the several fatal mistakes committed in the course of this unfortunate negotiation; for the chiefs were only deputed to examine the country, and should have reported the result of their inquiries to a council of the nation, who alone were competent to ratify the treaty. Colonel Gadsden, the commissioner who negotiated the treaty, in a letter to the Secretary of War, says: "There is a condition prefixed to the agreement, without assenting to which, the Florida Indians *most positively refused* to negotiate for their removal west of the Mississippi. Even with the condition annexed, there was a reluctance—which with some difficulty was overcome—on the part of the Indians, to bind themselves by *any* stipulations before a knowledge of the facts and circumstances would enable them to judge of the advantages or disadvantages of the disposition the government of the United States wished to make of them. They were finally induced, however, to assent to the agreement."

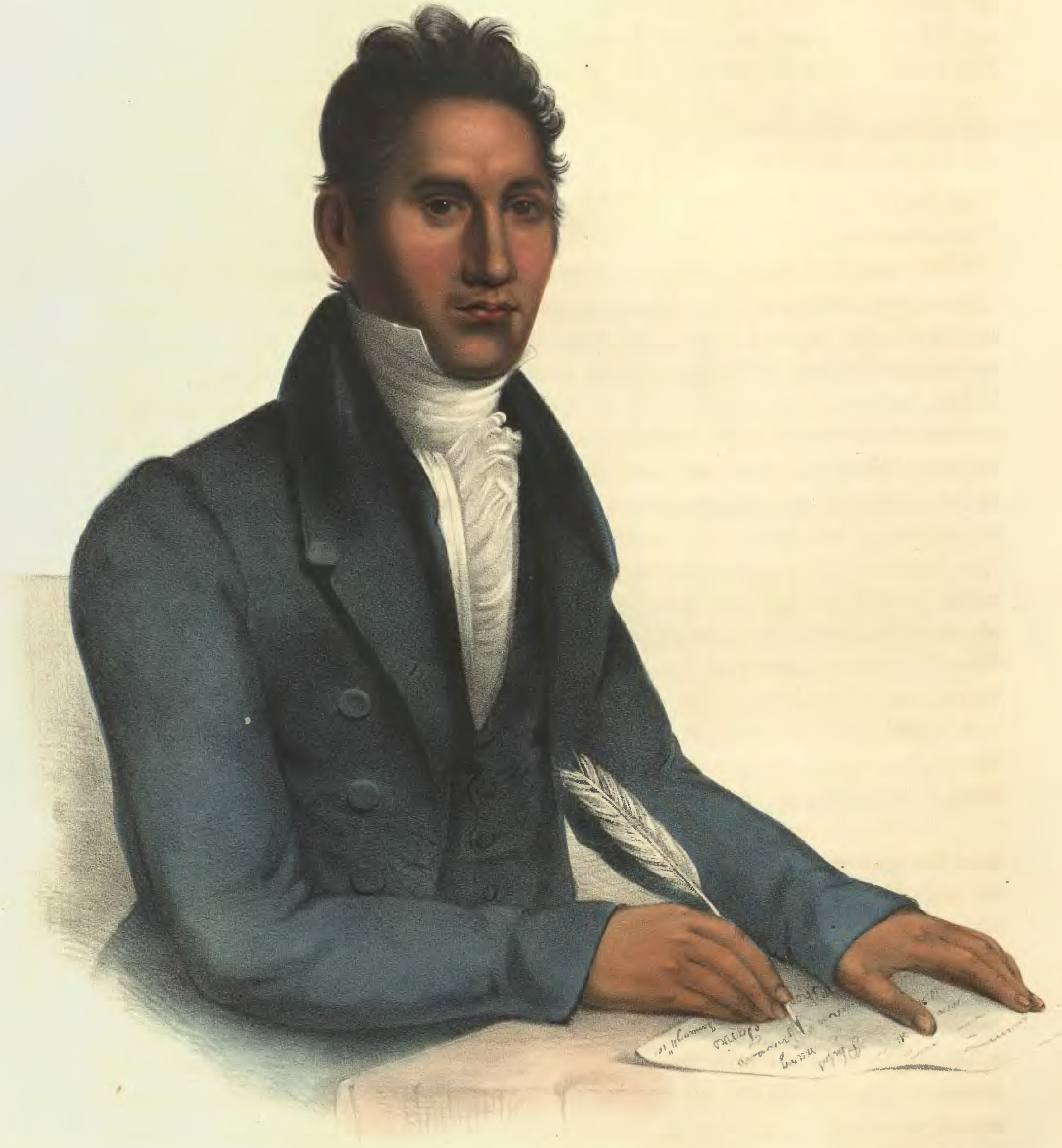
The same gentleman remarks further: "The payment for property alleged to have been plundered, was the subject most pressed by the Indians, and in yielding to their wishes on this head, a limitation has been fixed in a sum, which I think, however, will probably cover all demands which can be satisfactorily proved. Many of the claims are for negroes, said to have been enticed away from their owners, during the protracted Indian disturbances, of which Florida has been for years the theatre.

The Indians allege that the depredations have been mutual, that they have suffered in the same degree, and that most of the property claimed, was taken as reprisal for property of equal value lost by them. They could not, therefore, yield to the justice of restitution solely on their part; and probably there was no better mode of terminating the difficulty than by that provided for in the treaty now concluded. The final ratification of the treaty will depend upon the opinion of the seven chiefs selected to explore the country west of the Mississippi river. If that corresponds with the description given, or is equal to the expectations formed of it, there will be no difficulty on the part of the Seminoles."

The mistake made by the agents of our government, in accepting the ratification of an important treaty, by a few chiefs, instead of requiring the action of the whole Seminole nation, properly convened in council, was a fatal one for the country.

We have stated in another place, the conduct of this chief, at the council held on the 23d of April, 1835, where he boldly and eloquently advocated the treaty of Payne's Landing. We find him also assisting at a council on the 19th of August in the same year, and still adhering firmly to the pacific policy which he had, from the first, embraced.

At the close of the year 1835, a general council of the Seminoles was held, at which they resolved to retain possession of their country at all hazards, and condemned all who opposed their views to death. This was in effect a declaration of war; and all who had taken side with the United States, were admonished by it to seek safety in flight. Accordingly, Holata Amathla, Otulke Amathla, Foke Luste Hajo, Conhatkee Mico, Foshutchee Mico, and about four hundred and fifty of their followers, fled to Fort Brook, and encamped under the protection of its guns. Since that time this chief has remained with our troops, using his best efforts to put an end to this unhappy war, which is rapidly wasting away the strength of the Seminoles, while to the American army, it has been a field of gallant and untiring effort, filled with daring and brilliant events, but equally fraught with disaster and fruitless of good results.



JOHN RIDGE,

A CHEROKEE.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
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JOHN RIDGE.

THE subject of this sketch was a son of Major Ridge, a distinguished Cherokee chief, whose biography occupies a portion of one of our former numbers. That individual was a remarkable instance of one born and brought up in savage life, accustomed to war and hunting, and to the habits and modes of thought of the Indian warrior, yet abandoning those habits, and by deliberate choice, adopting the customs of civilized men, and persevering in them unchangeably through life. There have, doubtless, been other instances, but we know of none in which the change was so thorough and the result so successful. Commencing life as a mere savage, with no knowledge but that of the hunter, he adopted with energy the forms of civilization, became a successful farmer, and a public spirited citizen, and reared his family in the observance of the social duties and virtues of civilized life. His wife zealously seconded his views, and though bred in a wigwam, learned after her marriage the domestic arts appertaining to good housewifery, and became as skilful in housekeeping and agriculture, as she was industrious and persevering.

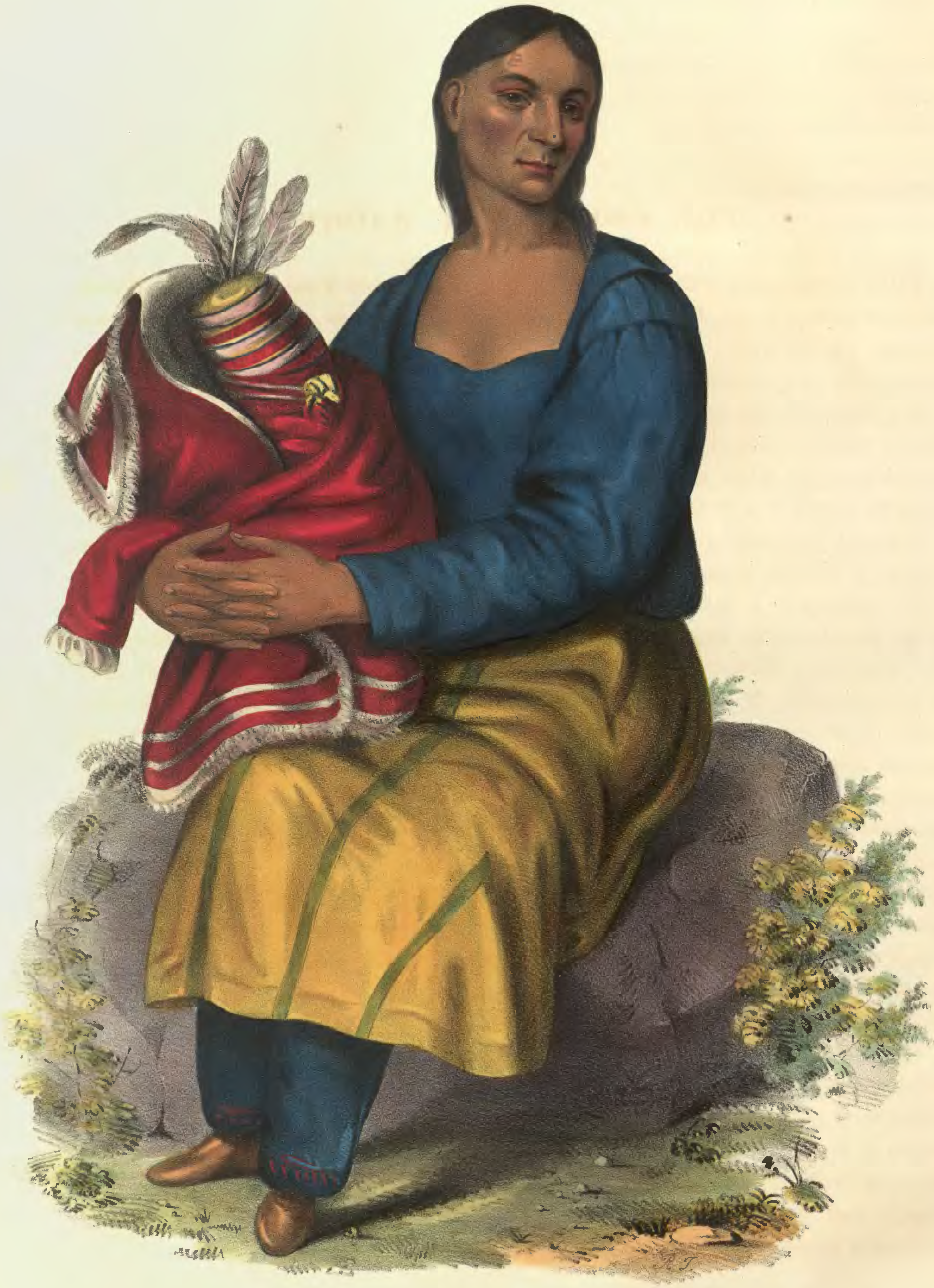
John Ridge was second of the five children of this sensible and worthy couple. The pains and expense bestowed upon his education shew how thoroughly his parents were imbued with the principles of civilization, and how high an estimate they placed upon the possession of knowledge. He was first put to school to the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Gambold, Moravian Missionaries at Spring Place, who taught him the alphabet, spelling, reading, English grammar, and some arithmetic. He was first sent to Brainerd, a Missionary station, established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; then to a school at Knoxville, Tennessee; and afterwards to the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall in Connecticut, where he spent four years under the able instruction of the Rev. Herman Daggett. These opportunities seem to have been well improved, and Ridge acquired the essential parts of a good education; his attainments in literature were respectable, and, what was of more importance, his morals were correct and firmly established, his habits good, and his disposition mild and amiable.

While a student in Connecticut, he fell in love with a beautiful and excellent young lady, Miss Northrop, who reciprocated his affection, and after an engagement of two years they were married. It must have required great strength of affection in this young lady, to enable her to overcome the aversion which is usually entertained against alliances with a race so different from ourselves, in many important particulars, as well as to nerve her for a life in which she could foresee little else than trouble. A contest had already commenced between the United States and the Cherokees, which promised to be fruitful in discord, and which could only end in the discomfiture of the latter—and then a new home, new neighbours, fresh troubles, and unknown difficulties awaited them in the wilderness. All this, however, she was willing to brave. She loved the young Indian, who, abandoning the bow and the tomahawk, had successfully cultivated the arts of peace, and the literature of the white man, and had exhibited a mildness and benevolence of character, peculiarly interesting in the descendant of a wild and ferocious race. She possessed too, a missionary spirit, a deeply seated and fervent piety, which impressed her with the belief, that it was her duty to embrace the opportunity offered her, of becoming a messenger of peace to the savage; and she followed her Indian husband to the western forests, full of enthusiastic hope, pious aspirations, and plans for the civilization and conversion of the heathen.

We are happy to say, that the noble courage of this truly excellent lady was not exhibited in vain, nor were her hopes of usefulness disappointed. It is true that the plan of a separate government formed by some leading men of the Cherokees failed, and with it were crushed some benevolent schemes and some infant institutions which promised well; for they carried with them the elements of premature decay, in the erroneous political views with which they were connected. But the pious labours of the devoted woman bud and blossom like the violet, untouched by the storm that rages in the political atmosphere. Her assiduity was unabated through all the vicissitudes which attended the Cherokees, and there is reason to believe that her example and her counsels were eminently useful to her adopted countrymen. And the full extent of her influence is yet to be developed and expanded, by the character of her children, who are numerous, and are receiving the best education the United States can afford.

John Ridge was a conspicuous man among the Cherokees. He returned from college and commenced his active career as a public man, at the period when his people were attempting to erect themselves into an independent nation—when the invention of the alphabet by George Guess, gave them a written language—and when the establishment of schools, missions, and a newspaper, afforded them the facilities for instruction. Ridge was fitted for the crisis in which he was an actor. He had youth, education, talents, piety, enthusiasm, and was a son of the race out of which it was proposed to rear a new nation. He was the son of a distinguished and popular chief, and had all the advantage of family influence. His fault, and that of those with whom he acted, was in cherishing a zeal without knowledge—a zeal which, confiding in pure intentions, and in the goodness of the end in view, overlooked the impracticability of the scheme by which it was attempted to accomplish the object. Ridge was an active man in all these scenes. He accompanied several of the delegations to Washington, and though not a chief, was usually an interpreter, a secretary, or an agent, and exerted great influence in the negotiations. He was a writer for the Cherokee newspaper, and a civil functionary under the Cherokee government during its brief existence.

We know little of the life of John Ridge after the removal of his people to their lands west of the Mississippi. He continued to be a conspicuous man until about two years ago, when in consequence of a violent quarrel growing out of political differences, he was cruelly and basely murdered by a party of the opposing faction of his own countrymen. We forbear a detail of the circumstances of this outrage, and any comment, because we are aware, that distant as we are from the scene, and limited as our knowledge of the parties and the facts must necessarily be, we could scarcely touch on such an event without the risk of injustice to some of the actors or sufferers.



A-CHIPPEWAY-WIDOW.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
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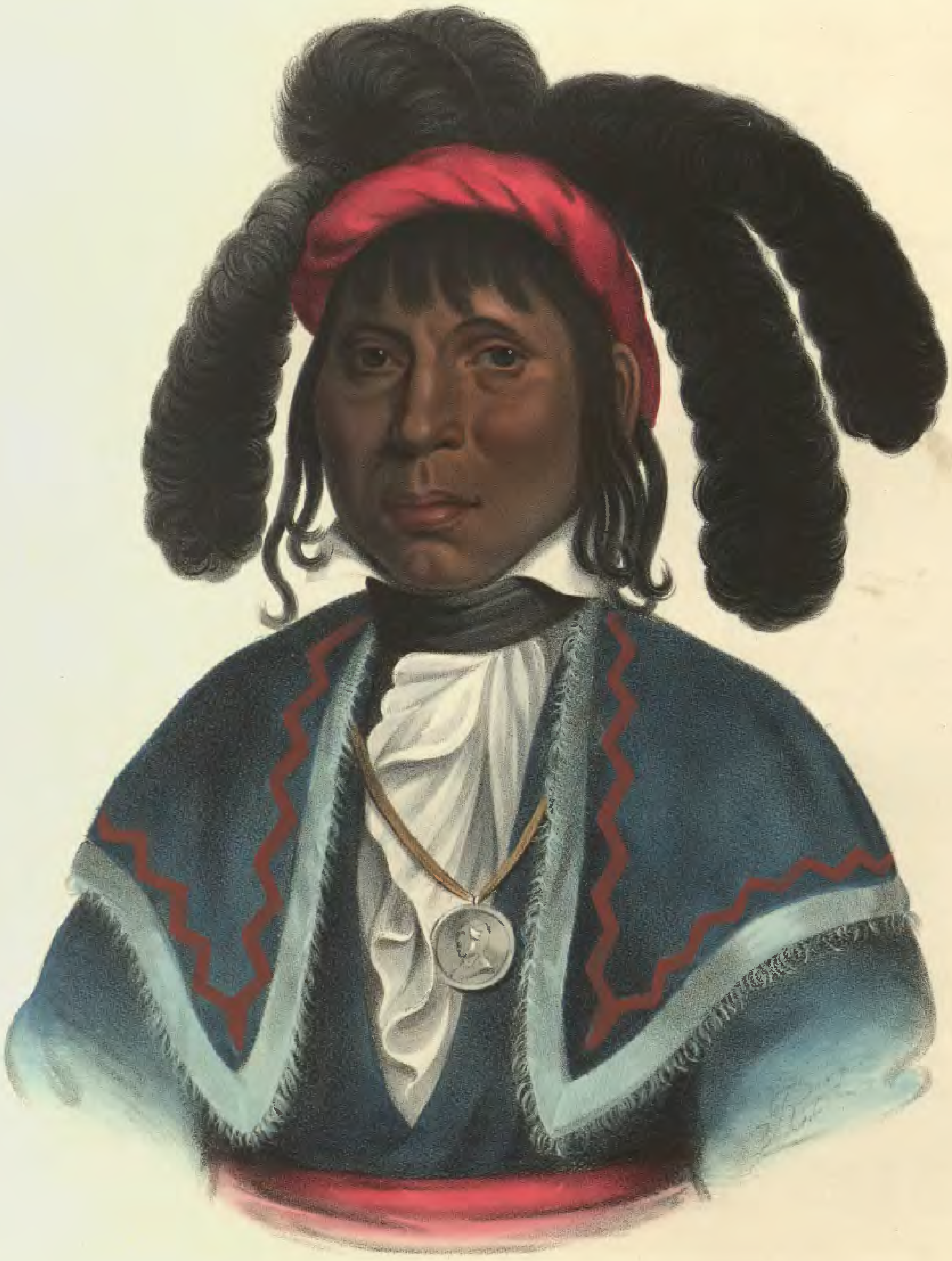
THE CHIPPEWAY WIDOW.

THIS picture, which we copy from Colonel M'Kenney's Tour through the North-Western Lakes, is not the portrait of any individual, but is intended to represent a singular custom which prevails among the Chippeway Indians, and we insert it to give variety to our pages.

A Chippeway widow, on the death of her husband, selects from his scanty wardrobe, a complete suit of his best clothes, which she makes up into a bundle. This is placed near her while at work, and is carried wherever she goes. She calls it her husband, treats it with the respect which would be due to a living lord and master, and would be considered as disgracing herself and treating his memory with disrespect, if she was to part with it even for a moment.

The custom is a beautiful and affecting one, which, had it prevailed in the days of the Greeks or Romans, would have been immortalized by the poet and historian, and been often quoted and referred to as a graceful instance of the classic taste of the ancients. It is the more remarkable as occurring in the most inhospitable region of our country, where the inclemency of the climate, and the sterile nature of the soil, impose upon the inhabitants the necessity of constant exertion to procure a scanty subsistence. This state of penury falls especially hard upon the women, who are doomed to continual labour. From a class so wretchedly poor, and so severely tasked, we should scarcely expect the exhibition of so refined a sentiment as is indicated by the custom we have described; nor is it less remarkable, that the wretched inhabitants of a frozen region should encumber their toils by an addition which must often be burthensome and inconvenient. But what will not woman do —what does she not do, in every clime, in compliance with the laws of fashion, or in obedience to the dictates of the heart?

The Chippeway widow carries her "husband" during the season of mourning, which is one year, and during that time cannot marry without gross impropriety. If she does not marry at the close of the year, she usually continues to carry the badge of her widowhood until she is relieved of it by the nearest relatives of her deceased husband, who may at any time, when they conceive she has mourned long enough, call upon her, and take away the bundle, after which she is at liberty to contract a second marriage.



MICANOPY

A SEMINOLE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^A
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment No. 94 Walnut St.
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MICANOPY.

THE early Spanish writers describe Florida as an earthly paradise, blessed with a delightful climate, and abounding in the richest fruits and flowers of the tropics. According to their accounts the population must have been very numerous; but, unfortunately, there is little trace to be found of the many tribes named by them; and the probability is that no dependence can be placed upon any information derived from that source. The celebrated expedition of De Soto is now believed to be fabulous.

The Palanches, Eamuses, and Kaloosas, the ancient possessors of Florida—if such nations ever existed—are all extinct. The present race of Indians inhabiting Florida settled there about a century ago, and are called Seminoles, or Runaways, being fugitives from various tribes residing in the region bordering on the Mississippi, but chiefly from the lower Creek nation. They were the restless, dissolute, and abandoned individuals who fled from punishment, or who were unwilling to submit even to the loose restraints of the savage community. So long as Florida belonged to a foreign power, the fugitives from the Indian tribes residing within the American Colonies, or States, found the boundary line a convenient protection, and thither fled the lawless and the disaffected. They found here some small remnants of the Yemasses, once a powerful and warlike people, whose name occurs frequently in the early history of South Carolina and Georgia. Exhausted by fierce and long continued wars with the Creek Indians, as well as the English colonists, they sought refuge in the hammocks of Florida, where the Seminoles assailed and nearly exterminated them about the year 1721. The small number who survived, became slaves to the conquerors, and were finally incorporated with them. The Yemasses were of a darker complexion than any other Indians, and the Ochlewahaw tribe of the Seminoles, who are descended from them, betray their origin, by the dark colour of their skins. The American traveller, Bartram, relates a tradition of the Creeks, that a beautiful race of Indians, whose women they called Daughters of the Sun, resided among the lakes and swamps of the great Oahefanoke wilderness, where they lived in uninterrupted felicity, upon islands of eternal verdure, inaccessible to the approach of human footsteps. He supposes with much plausibility, that some little colony of the fugitive Yemasses, having taken shelter at that retired spot, were seen by a party of Creek hunters, and that the fable grew out of this circumstance.

The wilds of Florida have, for a long series of years, afforded a harbour to the runaway slaves from the Southern States, who were eagerly received by the Seminoles, as well on account of the dislike they bore to the people of the United States, as from the value they placed on the services of the negroes, who performed their agricultural labours, and in consequence of their knowledge of the arts were useful in various ways. They were kindly treated, and not severely worked; were soon admitted to a footing of equality, and finally amalgamated with the Indians.

Such were the Seminoles, who, so long as Florida was a colony of Spain, found protection there, while they carried on a constant and lawless predatory war upon the frontier settlements of the United States, not only by the commission of murders, but more frequently by enticing away the slaves and stealing the cattle of the inhabitants.

The hostile feelings engendered by this conduct, were greatly aggravated by the course pursued by the British authorities during the war which commenced in 1812. In August, 1814, a British fleet anchored in Pensacola Bay, and a body of troops, under the command of Colonel Nichols, took possession of the Spanish forts Barancas and St. Michael, and hoisted the British flag. On the 31st of the same month, he published the infamous proclamation which rendered his name notorious in our history, in which he called upon the people of Louisiana and Kentucky to throw off the slavish yoke of the United States and join his standard, encouraged the Indians to butcher the unarmed inhabitants of the frontier, and the slaves to rise upon their masters. Arms and ammunition were furnished abundantly to the Indians, and a reward of ten dollars each was offered for the scalps of the Americans, without distinction of age or sex. A person called Woodbine, who was announced as a Colonel in the British service, was also engaged in the same nefarious warfare; and two spies, named Ambrister and Arbuthnot, who were taken in company with the Indians, were executed by order of General Jackson.

When Florida was afterwards ceded to the United States, and the American people began to settle within its limits, it will readily be conceived that no very friendly dispositions existed between them and the Seminoles. Nor were our settlers free from blame in regard to the hostilities which ensued. A frontier is always infested by lawless men, and however respectable the majority may be, a few such individuals may embroil the whole community, by acts which may be condemned, but which cannot be prevented. The rights of the Florida Indians were, in many instances, violently outraged, by unprincipled speculators and loose marauders, who perpetrated the most scandalous frauds and cruelties upon that unhappy people.

In all such cases there is one inevitable result—whoever may be in fault, or whatever may be the character of the quarrel, the whites and the Indians respectively espouse opposite sides, and prepare for the last resort. The leaders on both sides may be disposed to conciliate, but there are always individuals in either party, who, at such a juncture, seize the occasion to plunder, and to shed blood, and thus bring on a war. There is, then, but one alternative, on the part of our government, which is to separate the belligerents by the removal of one party, and the Indians, being the weakest, must emigrate.

After years of disturbance, and the commission of numberless acts of violence by individuals on both sides, it became necessary that some measure should be adopted to prevent a general war; and on the 9th of May, 1832, Colonel Gadsden, a commissioner on the part of the United States, met the Seminoles in council at a place called Payne's Landing, and effected a treaty, by which the Seminoles ceded all their country to the United States, in exchange for lands to be assigned them west of the Mississippi; provided, that on examination by a committee of their chiefs, they should approve the lands offered them. The examination was made, and the chiefs being satisfied with the country, made a treaty at Fort Gibson on the 28th of March, 1833, ratifying the former cession of their lands; and on the 23d of April, 1835, sixteen of their chiefs and sub-chiefs entered into a new agreement ratifying the former treaties. When, however, the government, after years of negotiation, at length determined to enforce the removal of the Florida Indians, the larger portion refused to go, disavowed the cession made by their chiefs, and the late disastrous war was the consequence.

Micanopy is, by inheritance, the principal chief or head man of all the bands of Seminoles, and is by some writers styled king, and by others governor of the Seminoles. We prefer the title of chief, as we do not find in the office of head man, any difference between this and any other Indian nation, nor do we discover in any of them the slightest resemblance to the state or authority of a king. Those governments, so far as they can be termed such, are military and republican, and the leader mingles with his people on terms of the most perfect equality, except when acting officially.

King Payne, the grandfather of Micanopy, is said to have established and united the Seminoles as a people. He married a Yemassee woman, his slave, who was the mother of the late chief Payne, whose origin from the Yemassee stock, was distinctly marked in the darkness of his complexion. Micanopy also is very black. The elder King Payne lived to the age of nearly one hundred years. The word "Micco," which we find compounded into many of the Creek and Seminole names, means *chief*, and *Micco-nopy* is *head chief*. He is also called "the Governor" and the "Pond Governor."

Micanopy was among those who from the beginning opposed the views of our government in relation to the removal of his people. He does not appear to have been a man of much activity or enterprise, but in regard to this matter he remained firm, in consequence perhaps of the influence of Assiola and others, who constantly urged him to adhere to his purpose.

At a council with the Seminole chiefs, held by General Wiley Thompson on the 22nd of April, 1835, Micanopy boldly opposed the agreements of the agent, and objected to the removal of his people. The next day when the council reassembled he was absent, and General Thompson was informed that the chief was sick, but this was considered as a subterfuge, and as an indication that he was not disposed to listen to any further discussion of a question which he had settled in his own mind. A veteran chief, Foke Luste Hajo, who had always advocated the removal, and remained firm in his attachment to the United States, denounced all who opposed the execution of the treaty. During this speech he was frequently interrupted by those who held different views—a circumstance which shews that great excitement must have existed among them—for the Indians are remarkable for their decorum in council, and for the patience with which they listen to the speakers, to interrupt whom is considered a flagrant breach of good manners. The writer of "The War in Florida, by a late Staff Officer," from whose pages we compile these facts, adds:

"In consequence of the bold and manly declaration of the chief Foke Luste Hajo, eight of the principal chiefs of the nation and eight sub-chiefs advanced and signed the article (affirming the treaty of Payne's Landing). Five of the principal chiefs remained opposed, viz: Micanopy, Jumper, Holato Mico, Coa Hajo, and Arpiucki. The former chief, as before mentioned, was absent, and as the agent knew that Micanopy controlled the movements of many of them, he demanded of Jumper, "whether Micanopy intended to abide by the treaty or not?" And when Jumper finally confessed that he was authorized to say that Micanopy did not, the agent promptly declared, that he no longer considered Micanopy as chief; that his name should be struck from the council of the nation; that he should treat all who acted like him in the like manner; and that he would neither acknowledge nor do business with him, nor with any other as a chief, who did not honestly comply with the terms of his engagements; that the door was, however, still open to them, if they wished to act honestly. In consequence of this, the names of the above five opposing chiefs were struck from the council of the nation."

We are happy to be able to record the fact, that this high-handed and unjustifiable measure of the agent, was promptly rebuked by the President, General Jackson, in a letter written by Governor Cass, Secretary of War, who treats it as follows:

"It is not necessary for me to enter much into detail on the subject presented by you. I understand from Mr. Harris, that he communicated to you the President's views on the subject of the chiefs whom you declined to recognise in all questions connected with the removal of the Seminoles. I understand that the President deemed this course an incorrect one; and it seems to me obviously liable to strong objections. We do not assume the right of determining who shall be the chiefs in the various Indian tribes; this is a matter of internal policy which must necessarily be left to themselves. And if, when we have a grave matter for adjustment with one of the tribes, we undertake to say *it shall* be determined by a particular class of individuals, we certainly should render ourselves obnoxious to censure. It appears to me the proper course, upon important questions, to treat directly with the tribe itself; and if they depute their chiefs, or any other individual to act for them, we must either recognise such authority, or abandon the object in view."

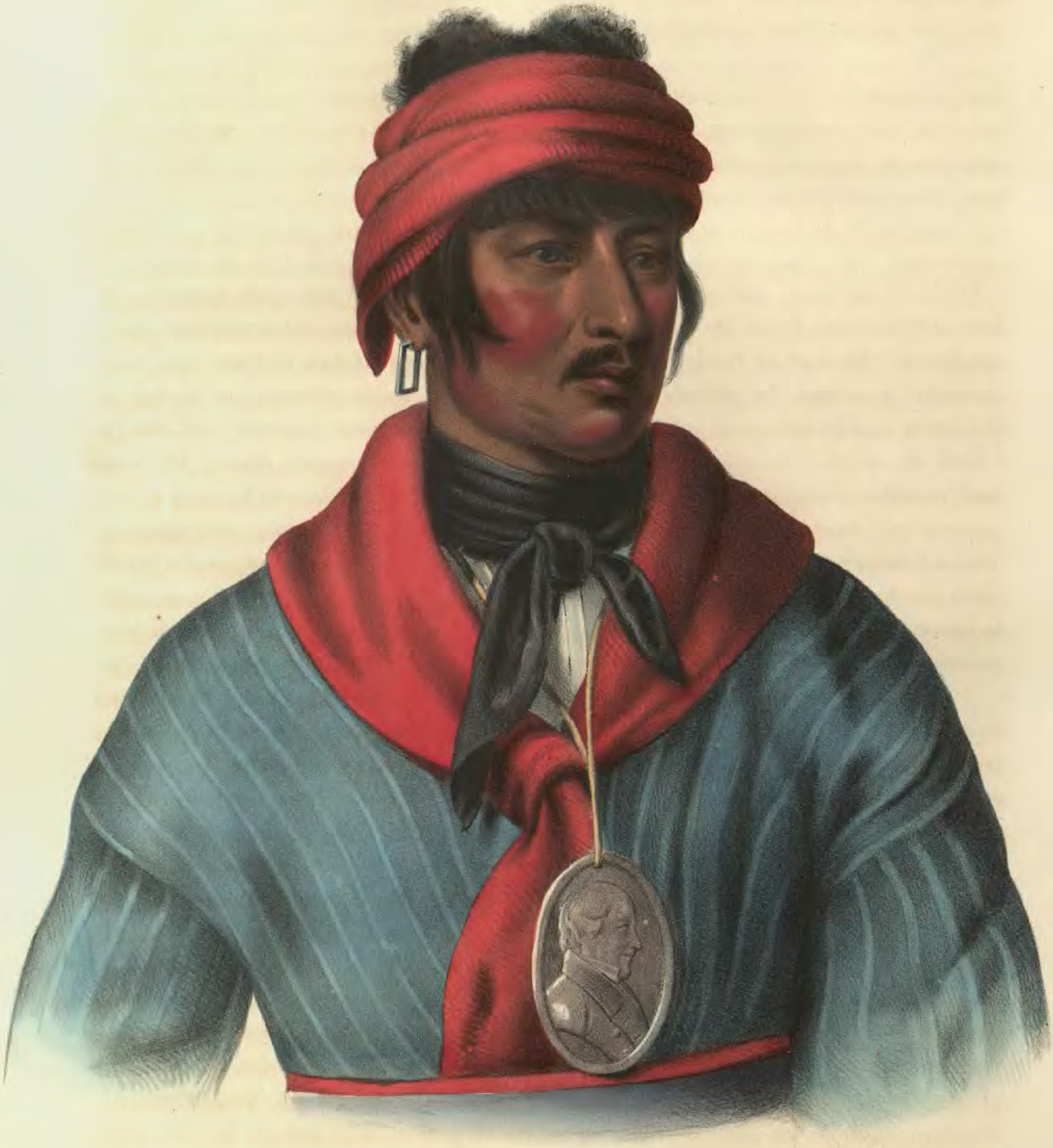
Micanopy does not seem to have distinguished himself as a warrior in the late contest. He is said to be an unwieldy man in his person, and inactive in his habits. He commanded, however, in the disastrous defeat and massacre of the gallant party under the command of Major Dade.

After a series of outrages on the part of the Seminoles, and various attempts at conciliation by our government and the friendly chiefs, an open and general war broke out in November 1835.

On the 24th of December, 1835, Major Dade's command marched from Fort Brooke for Fort King. It consisted of Captain Gardiner's company C. 2nd Artillery, and Captain Frazer's company B. 3d Infantry, of 50 men each, with eight officers, having with them ten days provisions, and a light six pounder. A noble display of disinterested gallantry attended the setting out of this party. Major Dade was not originally detailed for duty with this detachment, to make up which, his own company had been transferred to those of Gardiner and Frazer. The service was considered dangerous in the highest degree, as it was probable the Indians would attempt to cut off the detachment. The wife of Captain Gardiner was exceedingly ill at Fort Brooke, and it was feared that if he then left her she would die; but he could not be prevailed upon to relinquish the command, and after making every preparation, mounted his horse, and placed him at the head of the party. At this moment Major Dade voluntarily proposed to take the place of his friend Captain Gardiner, and Major Belton, the commanding officer, accepted the offer. Dade mounted his horse and took the command, Gardiner retired to the sick chamber of his wife, and the gallant little party moved off. Before they had proceeded far, Captain Gardiner ascertained that a transport schooner was on the eve of departure for Key West, where Mrs. Gardiner's father and children then were, and she consented to go there and leave him at liberty to join his company. She was accordingly placed on board the transport, and he resumed his post in the ill-fated expedition, while Dade, unwilling now to give up the command, remained with it.

A series of untoward circumstances attended the march. The oxen that drew the field-piece broke down early in the first day, and the command was obliged to halt until horses could be procured from Fort Brooke. The next day on reaching the Hillsborough river, they found the bridge destroyed, and were obliged to halt until the ensuing morning, when they crossed, but with such difficulty and delay that they made but six miles that day. On the 27th they crossed the Big and Little Ouithlacoochee rivers, and encamped three miles north of the latter. Aware that the enemy were watching his movements, Major Dade had, during all this time, adopted every precaution that military skill suggested, carefully avoiding surprise while marching, and throwing up a small breastwork every night. On the 28th they marched early, and had only proceeded about four miles, when the advanced guard passed through a plat of high grass, and had reached a thick cluster of palmettoes, where a heavy and destructive fire was opened upon them, by an enemy concealed at a distance of fifty or sixty yards. The column was thrown into confusion by this sudden attack, but they were quickly rallied, and as the enemy were observed to rise in front, a charge was made, by which the Indians were dislodged, but not until knives, bayonets, and clubbed muskets were used. Major Dade fell dead on the first fire, and Captain Gardiner, having driven back the Indians, but finding they were gathering for another onset, attempted to throw up a breastwork of logs. This was not effected before the attack was renewed. The Indians being reinforced, and having stationed about a hundred mounted warriors on the opposite side to cut off retreat, advanced to the second attack, yelling in so terrific a manner as to drown the reports of the fire-arms. The field-piece was now used with effect for a short time, but the enemy surrounding the little breastwork, shot down every man who attempted to work the gun, and soon rendered it useless. Gallantly did these heroic men defend themselves and maintain the honour of their flag; but, overpowered by numbers, and fighting under every disadvantage, they fell one by one, without the prospect of any change of fortune. At length the ammunition gave out, the Indians broke into the enclosure, and every man was either killed or so badly wounded as to be incapable of resistance. The work of havoc done, the dead were plundered, and the Indians retreated; then came a party of negroes, who despatched and mutilated all who showed signs of life. Three persons only escaped to tell the story of this dreadful massacre.

Mr. Cohen, in his "Notices of Florida," gives the following description of Micanopy. "The Governor is of low, stout, and gross stature, and what is called loggy in his movements—his face is bloated and carbuncled, eyes heavy and dull, and with a mind like his person. Colonel Gadsden told me, at Payne's Landing, after having *double* rations he complained of *starving*. He reminds me of the heroes of the Trojan war, who could eat up a whole lamb, or half a calf. He owns a hundred negroes, and a large stock of cattle and horses. The "top Governor" has two wives, one a very pretty squaw, and the other a half breed negress. She is the ugliest of all ugly women, and recalls the image of Bombie, of the Frisled Head, in Paulding's Koningsmarke."



SE-LOC-TA,

A CREEK CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILADA.
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SELOCTA.

ONE of the most unhappy circumstances attending the late war between the United States and Great Britain, was its effect upon the Indian tribes residing within our limits. That all of these tribes have grievances to complain of, there can be no question; it would be impossible for two distinct races, differing so widely in character and in power, to inhabit the same country without frequent collisions, in which the weaker would generally be the injured and oppressed party. We have said elsewhere, and we take pride in repeating, that the American nation and government have acted towards that unfortunate race with great magnanimity. The intentions of our people, and the official action of our government towards them, has been decidedly benevolent; but irritating causes have continually occurred to thwart the generous intentions entertained towards them; dishonest agents have diverted the liberality of the government from its intended direction; and the selfishness or violence of unprincipled individuals have kindled hatred, jealousy, and bloodshed. Naturally prone to war, and habitually vindictive, the passions of the Indians are easily aroused, and those who have tampered with them, for sinister purposes, have ever been but too successful in the accomplishment of their detestable ends.

When the war of 1812 was about to break out, the British government availed itself of the precarious relations existing between the American government and the Indian tribes within its boundaries; and the agents of that power traversed the whole frontier upon the fatal errand of discord. The famous Tecumthe was the missionary sent to excite the Southern tribes, by inflammatory harangues and lavish promises of assistance. Bribes were scattered among their influential men, and their prophets were seduced to utter predictions such as were but too well calculated to mislead an ignorant and inflammatory people. Inferior as the Indians were in numbers, and in all the elements of physical power—surrounded by the white population—and dependent as they were upon us for their very existence—we can hardly conceive a more cruel project, than that which would lead them into a hopeless and ruinous contest with the only power which could at pleasure protect or destroy them.

The Creek Indians, the most powerful of the Southern tribes, were, on this occasion, divided into two parties, one of which adhered to the United States, and proposed to take no part in the expected war, while the other madly engaged in the conspiracy against their own best interests. The latter were called ***Redsticks***, because, in preparing for hostilities, each individual armed himself with a war club which was painted red.

The first demonstration of this spirit betrayed itself in a series of murders and other outrages which were committed upon the white settlements, attended by the most atrocious circumstances of savage cruelty. The massacre at Fort Mimms was the earliest act of open war. This was a frontier post, in the Mississippi territory, containing about one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Major Beasley, besides a number of women and children, who had fled to it for protection. Weatherford, a distinguished chief of the hostile Creeks, having procured a supply of ammunition from the Spaniards at Pensacola, and assembled a force of 6 or 700 warriors, surprised this place on the 30th of August, 1812, and slaughtered nearly three hundred persons, including women and children, in cold blood, and with every aggravation of deliberate cruelty. None were spared; the mother and child fell under the same blow; seventeen individuals only escaped.

The news of this unprovoked outrage carried terror and indignation throughout the south-western frontier, and in all the neighbouring states the people flew to arms. In Tennessee large bodies of gallant men volunteered their services, and Andrew Jackson, a citizen already distinguished for his abilities and patriotism in civil life, was placed at their head. It is not our purpose to follow this distinguished leader through the perils, difficulties, and embarrassments of this war, to its brilliant victories and successful result.

Among the Creek warriors who adhered to the United States in this war, and rendered efficient services in the field, were Chinnaby, a principal chief of that people, and his son Selocta, the subject of this notice. The former occupied a fort on the Coosa river—a rude primitive fortress of logs, surrounded by a stockade, such as are commonly resorted to in our border wars. Upon General Jackson's first advance into the savage territory, he was met by Selocta, who sought his camp to fight under his banner, and to solicit aid for his father, whose decided measures had already excited the vengeance of the war faction, by whose forces his fort was surrounded and threatened. From this time, until the close of the Indian war, Selocta continued with our army, an intelligent and sagacious guide during its marches, and a brave warrior and leader in battle.

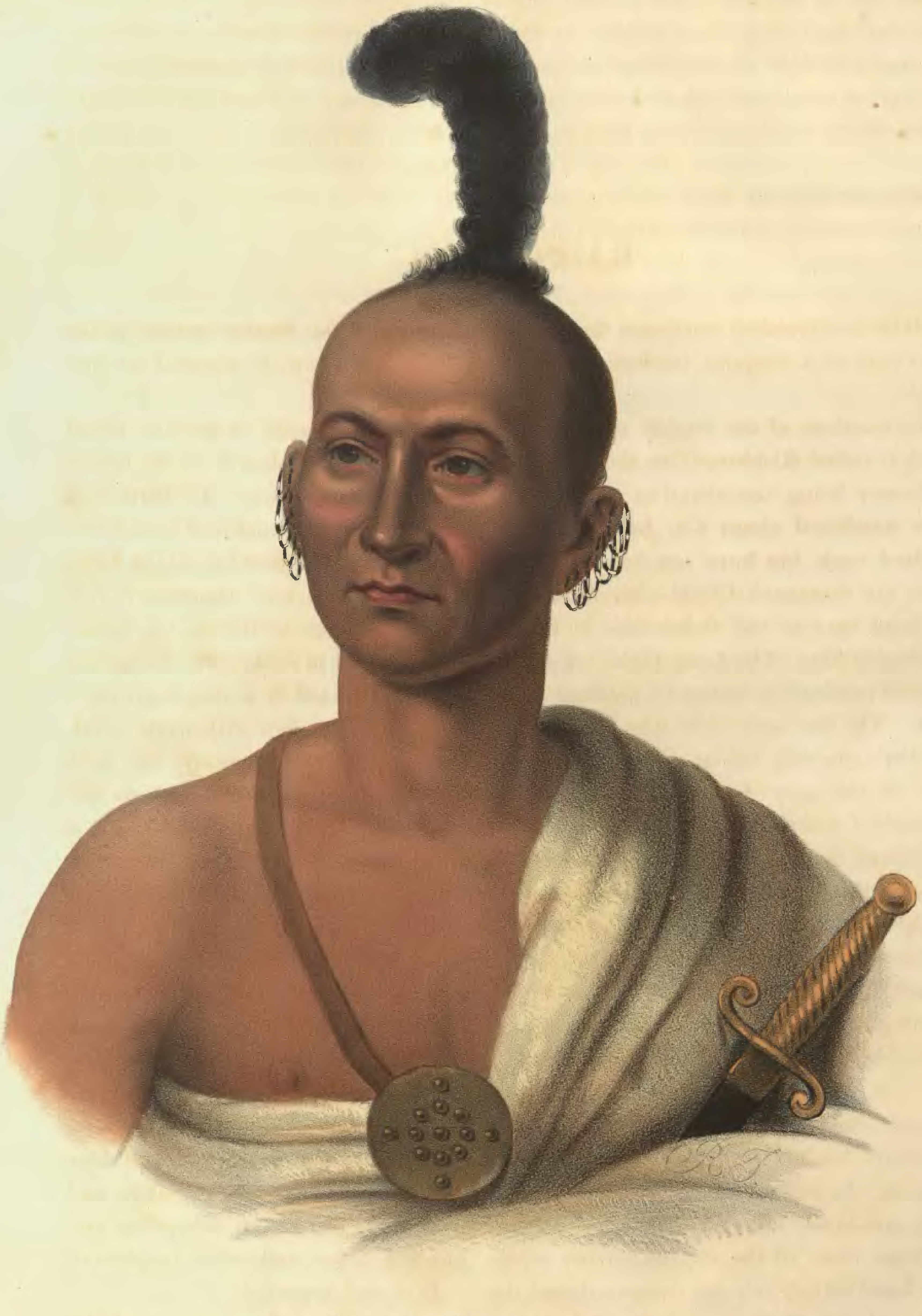
It was during this war, that the striking scene occurred between General Jackson and Weatherford, the leader in the atrocious butchery at Fort Mimms. After a series of active hostilities, and several general engagements in which the Indians had been beaten, and their forces cut up and dispersed, a number of the chiefs of the hostile party sought the presence of General Jackson, and offered submission upon his own terms. The victor treated them with clemency, admonished them to a pacific course of conduct for the future, but demanded as a preliminary to any amicable intercourse, that Weatherford should be delivered up to him. A few days afterwards an Indian presented himself at the camp, and desired to be conducted to the General, to whom he announced himself as Weatherford. The American commander expressed his astonishment that one whose hands were stained with an inhuman murder of captives, should dare to appear in his presence, knowing as he must, that his arrest had been ordered for the purpose of bringing him to punishment. The undaunted chieftain replied, "I am in your power, do with me as you please. I am a warrior. I have done the white people all the harm I could; I have fought them, and fought them bravely; if I had any warriors left, I would still fight, and contend to the last. But I have none; my people are all gone; and now I can only mourn over the misfortunes of my nation." Struck with a magnanimity so nearly akin to his own high spirit, the General explained to his visiter the terms upon which his people might have peace, adding that he should take no advantage of his voluntary surrender, that he was now at liberty to remain and be protected, or retire, and reunite himself with the war party; but that if taken, his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes.

The undismayed savage, maintaining the self-possession which distinguishes his race, replied: "I may well be addressed in such language now. There was a time when I could have answered you; I then had a choice, but now I have none—even hope has ended. Once I could lead my warriors to battle; but I cannot call the dead to life. My warriors can no longer hear my voice; their bones are at Talladega, Talluschatchee, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself without reflection. While there was a chance of success, I never left my post, nor asked for peace. But my people are gone, and I now ask for peace for my nation and for myself. I look back with sorrow upon the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country, and wish to avert still greater calamities. Our best warriors are slain, our cattle and grain are destroyed, and our women and children are destitute of provisions. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river, and fought them on the other, but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man; I rely on your generosity. You will exact no terms from a conquered people but such as they should accept; whatever they may be, it would be madness in us to oppose them. If any oppose them you will find me stern in enforcing obedience. Those who would still hold out, can be influenced only by a spirit of revenge, and to this they must not, and shall not, sacrifice the last remnant of their nation. You have told us where we must go, and be safe. This is a good talk, and they ought to listen to it. They shall listen to it."

At the conclusion of the war, a council was held by General Jackson, at which the chiefs and warriors of both factions of the Creeks attended, and the subject of the removal of that people to the lands assigned them west of the Mississippi, was discussed. A majority were opposed to the scheme, and several of the chiefs denounced it in bold and eloquent language. The speech of the Big Warrior on that occasion, has been quoted as a fine specimen of savage elocution. Major Eaton, in his Life of General Jackson, from which we have gathered the preceding facts, after describing the speeches of some of the chiefs, adds, "but the inflexibility of the person with whom they were treating, evinced to them, that however just and well founded might be their objections, the policy under which he acted was too clearly defined, for any abandonment of it to be at all calculated upon. Selocta, one of their chiefs, who had united with our troops at the commencement of the war, who had marched and fought with them in all their battles, and had attached to himself strongly the confidence of the commanding general, now addressed him. He told him of the regard he had ever felt for his white brothers, and with what zeal he had exerted himself to preserve peace, and keep in friendship with them; when his efforts had failed, he had taken up arms against his own country, and fought against his own people; that he was not opposed to yielding the lands lying on the Alabama, which would answer the purpose of cutting off any intercourse with the Spaniards, but the country west of the Coosa he wished to preserve to the nation. To effect this he appealed to the feelings of Jackson; told him of the dangers they had passed together, and of his faithfulness to him in the trying scenes through which they had gone."

"There were, indeed, none whose voice ought sooner to have been heard than Selocta's. None had rendered greater services, and none had been more faithful. He had claims growing out of his fidelity that few others had."

The sequel of this interview has become matter of history, and is too well known to need repetition. The Creeks assented to the terms proposed by the American government, and, abandoning the graves of their fathers, sought a new home.



KAI-POL-E-QUAH,

WHITE NOSED FOX.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^a
Drawn Printed & Coloured at I.T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment N^o 94 Walnut St.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1838 by F. W. Greenough, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Penn^a

KAIPOLEQUA.

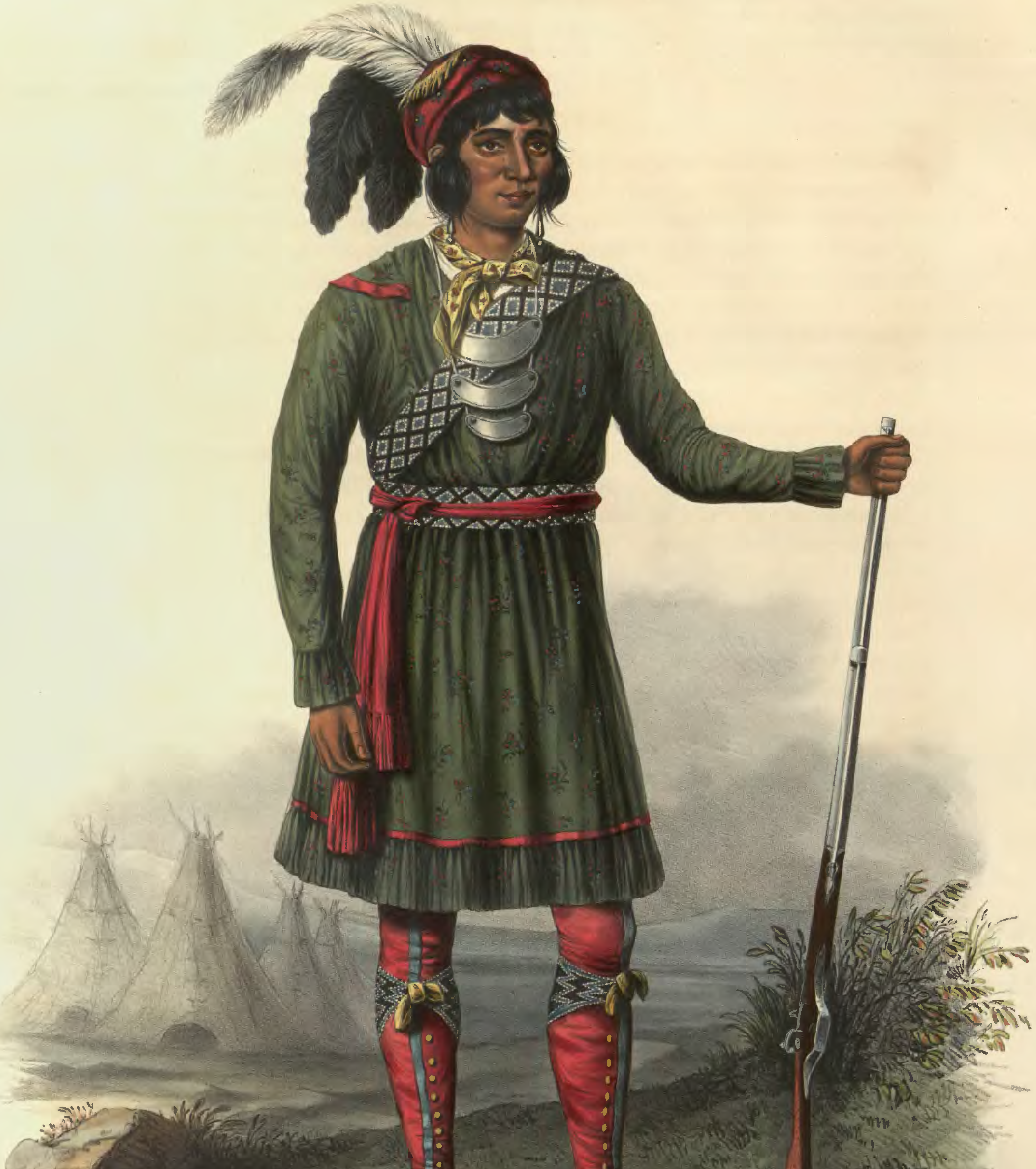
THIS distinguished warrior is the chief of a division of the Saukie nation, which forms part of a singular institution, which, so far as we know, is peculiar to that people.

The warriors of the Saukie nation are divided into two bands, or parties, one of which is called Kishkoquis, or the Long Hairs, and the other Oshcush, or the brave; the former being considered as something more than merely brave. In 1819 each party numbered about four hundred warriors; in 1826 they numbered about five hundred each, but have not increased since that time. The Kishkoquis, or Long Hairs, are commanded by the hereditary war chief Keokuk, whose standard is red; the head man of the Oshcushies is Kaipolequa, the subject of this sketch, whose standard is blue. The Long Hairs take precedence in point of rank. The formation of these parties is a matter of national concern, and is effected by a simple arrangement. The first male child who is born to a Kishkoqui, is marked with white paint, the distinguishing colour of the Kishkoquis, and belongs to that party; the next male of the same family is marked with black paint, and is attached to the Oshcushies, and so on alternately—the first son belonging to the same band with his father, and the others being assigned in turn, first to one band and then to the other. Thus all the warriors are attached to one or the other band, and the division is as nearly equal as it could be by any arrangement commencing with infancy.

Whenever the whole nation, or any large party of warriors, turn out to engage in a grand hunt, or a warlike expedition, or for the purpose of performing sham battles, or ball plays, the individuals belonging to the two bands are distinguished by their appropriate colours. If the purpose of the assemblage is for sham fighting, or other diversion, the Kishkoquis daub their bodies all over with white clay, and the Oshcushies blacken themselves with charcoal; the bands are ranged under their respective leaders, and play against each other, rallying under the red and blue banners. In war and hunting, when all must be ranged on one side, the white and black paints are mingled with other colours, so that the distinction is kept up, and after the close of the expedition the scalps, plunder, game, and other trophies of each band collectively are compared, and the deeds of each repeated.

The object of these societies will be readily seen. They form a part of the simple machinery of a military government, and are founded in consummate wisdom, with the view of exciting emulation, and of placing every warrior in the nation under the constant observation of all the others. From early youth each individual is taught to feel, that whether engaged in war, in hunting, or in athletic sports, the honour of his band, as well as his own, is concerned in his success or failure, and thus a sense of responsibility is awakened and kept alive, which has all the moral force of a constant and rigid discipline.

Kaipolequa attained the high rank of leader of his band through his military abilities; and he is considered as one of the most distinguished braves of the nation.



ASEOLA,

A SEMINOLE LEADER.

PUBLISHED BY DANIEL RICE & JAMES G. CLARK, PHILADA.
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ASSEOLA,

A SEMINOLE LEADER.

WE have already, in our notices of Micanopy and other Seminoles, touched in a cursory manner upon the history of that people, and the causes of the war between them and the United States. We have shown that the Seminoles were chiefly renegades from the Creek and other nations within the United States, who, taking refuge in the wilds of Florida, while that province was a dependency of Spain, united in bands, and carried on a predatory war against the frontiers of the United States. During the war between this country and Great Britain, they joined our enemies, and afterwards, in 1816, made war upon us. They not only, therefore, had no title to the lands of Florida, but their claims upon the generosity of our government were equally slender. In 1821 General Jackson, then governor of Florida, urged upon the government at Washington the propriety of sending back to the Creek country all the refugees from that nation, as he foresaw the most disastrous consequences from their continuance in the territory. Colonel White, a representative in Congress from that territory, in a letter to the Secretary of War, written in 1822, pressed the same considerations upon the administration, and urged the removal of those intruders as the only efficient means of giving quiet to the country. Had those suggestions been adopted, the restless spirits who have since given animation to these ferocious bands would have been removed, and we should have been spared the pain and expense of a protracted war. A contrary policy was unfortunately pursued; humanity dictated a temporizing course, which has proved eminently disastrous; the Seminoles were recognised as a separate people, and treaties were held with their chief men for the purchase of the wilds through which they roamed, and the removal of their people. By the treaty of Camp Moultrie, held on the 18th September, 1823, they were permitted to remain in the territory for twenty years, and were thus established in the country, and their claims acknowledged to lands to which they had not the shadow of a title.

The forbearance of the American government towards the Seminoles was in accordance with the humane policy which has marked all its measures in regard to the aborigines. In no instance have the Indians been treated with cruelty or injustice by the deliberate action of the national executive or legislature, whose whole course towards them has been beneficent and forbearing. When it has been found necessary to remove them from their hunting-grounds, the most ample remuneration has always been provided, and other lands assigned them, better suited to their condition. Their lands have never been taken from them, except by purchase; and so careful has the government been to avoid even the appearance of injustice, that where several tribes have claimed the same lands, they have paid the full equivalent to each; and in cases where the tribes have refused to comply with the treaties made by their chiefs, the same lands have been purchased over and over from the same people, and as repeatedly paid for.

But while the government and people of the United States have been actuated by the most benevolent intentions, their views have been signally frustrated by the inefficiency of the system by which their intercourse with Indians has been attempted to be regulated, by the weakness or misconduct of their own agents, and by a variety of causes inseparable from transactions conducted in a wilderness far distant from the seat of government. The wrongs perpetrated against the Indians have been numerous and flagrant. The wide scheme of peculation and pillage practised by bands of expert knaves who infest the frontiers, has been shaped into a system which has now become so complicated and enormous, as almost to defy the hand of reform. The Indian department is one of the most expensive branches of our government, consuming annually vast sums, liberally appropriated for the good of the red men, but of which a small portion ever reaches its destination; and they are constantly subject to abuse and insult of the most ignominious character. The desperate and dissolute men who fly to the frontier as a place of refuge, or seek it as a theatre for intrigue or violence, find easy victims in the ignorant savage, who claims no protection from the law, and whose demand for protection or revenge cannot reach the ear of a distant government.

In no part of our country were the Indians worse used than in Florida, where the most scandalous outrages were perpetrated upon their persons and property, provoked often by their own ferocity and bad faith, but, nevertheless, wholly inexcusable. Under the pretence of reclaiming property, alleged to have been stolen by the Indians, their country was entered by lawless persons, whose sole object was plunder, their houses pillaged, their cattle driven away, and themselves cruelly maltreated. Frauds in pecuniary transactions, of gross criminality and enormous amount, were practised both upon the government and the Indians. Complaints of these abuses, and evidence of their existence have reached the ears of the Executive, and of Congress, but no sustained effort has ever been made to investigate or correct them; no patriot has been found who would devote himself to a cause so worthy of the highest efforts of the Christian and the statesman; and thus has the political paradox been presented, of a people practically oppressed by a magnanimous nation, entertaining towards them the kindest sympathies, and annually expending millions for their defence, support, and welfare.

The celebrated individual of whom we are about to give a brief account, is known to the public under the various appellations of Powell, Osceola, Oceola, Asseola, Osiniola, and Assini Yahola; but his true name is that which we have placed at the head of this article. Powell is the surname of a white man who married the mother of Asseola, after the death of his father, and whose name was very naturally given to the youth who had thus become one of his family. Osceola signifies the "Rising Sun," and has been erroneously adopted by many, as well on account of its similarity of sound to the true name, as from its supposed adaptation to the character and position of this daring leader. The true name is derived from *Asse*, "the black drink," and *Ola*, "a waterfall." We have, in another place, mentioned a peculiar custom of the Creeks, who, previous to entering into council, assemble in groups, and drink freely of the decoction of a certain herb of their country, which operates as an emetic, and whose effect, they imagine, is to purify and invigorate both the mind and body, so as to prepare them for the business of thought and debate. This beverage, which is taken warm, and in large quantities, is called the "Black drink," from its colour, and among the several names applied to it, to express its quality or effects, are those of *asse*, *assiniola*, and *assini yahola*. The name Asseola, when freely translated, signifies the plentiful drinker of the black drink, or, one who imbibes this fluid in torrents; and it may, or may not, be descriptive of a peculiarity of this individual, as Indian names are given in childhood, as with us, for the mere purpose of convenience, while they are afterwards often superseded by others, descriptive of a prominent feature in the character of the person, or of some of his exploits. We have not been able to ascertain whether Asseola bore this name in infancy, or acquired it by his devotion to the nauseating draught, by which the Creek statesman makes a clean breast, preparatory to the solemn duties of the council.

The paternal grandfather of Asseola was a Scotsman, who married a Creek woman; his father, therefore, was a half-breed, but his mother was a Creek of the pure blood. He was born on the Tallapoosa river, in the Creek nation, somewhere between the years 1800 and 1806, and must have been between thirty and thirty-five years of age at the time of his death. His European descent is said to have been distinctly indicated in his complexion and eyes, which were lighter than those of his people, as well as in the features and expression of his countenance. The following spirited description of him is from a work entitled "Notices of Florida and the Campaigns," by M. M. Cohen.

"When conversing on topics agreeable to him, his countenance manifests more the disposition of the white than of the red man. There is great vivacity in the play of his features, and when excited, his face is lighted up as by a thousand fires of passion, animation, and energy. His nose is Grecian at the base, and would be perfectly Phidean, but that it becomes slightly arched. There are indomitable firmness and withering scorn in the expression of his mouth—though the lips are tremulous from intense emotions, which seem ever boiling up within him. About his brow, care, and thought, and toil have traced their channels, anticipating on a youthful face the work of time.

"To those who have known Oceola long, his fame does not appear like a sunburst, but as the ripening fruit of early promised blossoms. For years past he has enjoyed the reputation of being the best ball-player and hunter, and the most expert at running, wrestling, and all active exercises. At such times his figure, whence all the superfluous flesh is worn down, exhibits the most beautiful development of muscle and power. He is said to be inexhaustible from the ball-play, an exercise so violent, that the struggle for mastery has been known to cause the death of one of the combatants. When this occurs in a fair contest, the survivor is not punished for murder, as in all other cases of taking life. On one occasion Oceola acted as guide to a party of horsemen, and finding, at starting, that they proceeded slowly, inquired the cause. On being told that it was on his account, with one of those smiles he alone can give, he bade them proceed more rapidly. They put spurs to their steeds, and he, afoot, kept up with them during the entire route, nor did he exhibit the slightest symptoms of fatigue at the close of day, but arrived at the point proposed as early as the mounted body."

Another writer, the author of the "War in Florida," a late staff officer, speaks of this individual in the following terms:

"It will be seen that the standing of Asseola, prior to the war, was much inferior to that of a number of the other chiefs, and although his influence was seemingly great, it was still less than that of Micanopy, Jumper, Holata Mico, Coa Hajo, Arpiucki, Abraham, and several others; but he was with the mass of the warriors who were the anti-removal party, and themselves possessing as much influence as their chiefs; so that the marvellous reports of him, and the influence which it is supposed he exerts over the Indians, are very exaggerated, and have their origin only in the bold, desperate, and reckless murders which have been perpetrated by the band of Micosukees, of which he is sub-chief. Holata Mico is the chief leader of that band, and decidedly superior to Asseola in every point of view. The latter is a *Redstick*, not a Micosukee, by descent, and prior to the breaking out of hostilities, was leader of but seven warriors. His talents are not above mediocrity, and he was never known, by those who were most intimate with him, to possess any of the nobler qualities which adorn the Indian character; all his dealings have been characterized by a low, sordid, and contracted spirit, which often produced difficulties with those with whom he had intercourse. Perverse and obstinate in his disposition, he would frequently oppose measures which it was the interest of his people that he should advocate. The principal chiefs were favourable to the project of emigration, but the mass of warriors were opposed to it; and as Holata Mico and his band, with Asseola, were the first to be removed by the provisions of the treaty, and these warriors having been averse to the treaty from the first, they sowed discord among the others by threatening to murder all who should advocate the measure; and it was doubtless through fear that Asseola joined the hostile party, after the pledge he had made to leave the country. This description of Asseola may, perhaps, serve to disabuse the public mind as to the 'noble character,' 'lofty bearing,' 'high soul,' 'amazing powers,' and 'magnanimity' of the 'Micosukee chief.'"

It will be seen that there is some discrepancy in the views of the character of Asseola given by these writers, both of whom were witnesses of his conduct; we apprehend that both are correct in the main, differing chiefly in the colouring given to their pictures. Referring occasionally to these and some other authorities, we shall, in the remainder of this sketch, depend principally upon a manuscript statement in our possession, prepared with much care by an intelligent officer of the United States army, serving in the Indian department throughout the whole of the Florida war.

The death of his father probably threw Asseola at a very early age upon his own guidance, and some of the strong points of his character, especially its vices, may be referred to this cause, the fruitful source of evil in the formation of ardent minds. While yet a boy of not more than from twelve to fifteen years of age, he joined the Redsticks, or hostile Creeks, and fought against the Tennessee troops, commanded by Generals Jackson and Floyd. When peace was established, he was one of the many unruly spirits who emigrated to Florida, where the Redsticks became known as a party hostile to the United States. In 1817, when the repeated depredations of the Florida Indians caused the invasion of that country by General Jackson, he was in arms, and being driven across the Suwanee, retreated with a small party of his companions down into the peninsula, and settled upon Peas' creek. Here he remained unknown to fame, and probably engaged in no other pursuit than that of hunting, and occasionally participating in those athletic games in which he was so expert, until a few years ago, when he removed to the Big Swamp, in the neighbourhood of Fort King, and united himself with the Micosukees, with whom he has since lived.

It was at that time, probably about 1832, that Asseola, who was then somewhat more than twenty-five years of age, became known to the American officers. He had neither rank nor property, nor any followers, except two Indians, who had accompanied him from his late residence; but his deportment and appearance were such as to point him out as a person likely to become important. He was of light frame, a little above the common stature, and finely formed, his complexion light, and the expression of his countenance cheerful and agreeable. His habits were active and enterprising, evincing an entire freedom from that indolence of mind which degrades the great mass of this race into merely sensual beings, who are only roused into action to indulge the appetites of hunger or revenge, and sink into apathy when those passions have been satiated. The mind of Asseola was active rather than strong, and his conduct that of a cunning and ambitious man, who was determined to rise by his own exertions.

The frontier was at that time in a state of great excitement, and our intercourse with the Seminoles becoming daily more complicated and uncertain. There was no war existing, nor expected, but there was neither peace nor safety. The Indians had been advised of the determination of the government to remove them from Florida, and were holding a temporizing course with our agents, while divided among themselves as to the policy to be pursued. The most intelligent of their chiefs, and a minority of the braves, respectable in number and character, were decidedly in favour of emigration, not merely as an unavoidable alternative, but as a measure positively advantageous in itself. Experience had demonstrated the impossibility of living in contact with the whites. The superiority of the civilized over the savage man, however reluctantly admitted, was practically felt and acknowledged. The pressure of the white population was recognised as a continual and accumulating force, operating to the destruction of the Indian race, almost imperceptibly, yet with the swiftness and certainty of the laws of nature. They saw that the decree had gone out which compelled the weak to give place, and allowed the strong to possess. Those who had marked the signs of the times, and had reflected calmly upon the traditions of their ancestors, discerned but too clearly the gigantic growth of the white man's power, and saw its shadow extending over the land of the Indian, with a progress as irresistible as that of the shades of night. Wherever that shadow fell, the Indian felt its chilling influence, which thickened around him until he sunk under its blighting effect. They saw all this, and determined to seek safety in flight. Nor was this all: they were offered not merely safety from present danger, but decided advantages—a better climate, a more abundant country, a wider range of hunting ground, and a permanent separation from the white man—peace, and the protection of a powerful nation, instead of inevitable and hopeless war. In addition to these advantages, they were to be paid for the improvements they abandoned, to be supported for one year after their arrival in the new country, to receive an annuity of three thousand dollars for fifteen years, and their cattle and other property were to be sold for their benefit by the United States.

The mass of the Seminoles, however, were opposed to emigration. To many, the prospect of war was, in itself, a sufficient inducement to remain. The savage is habitually improvident, and seldom looks beyond the present. War gives him employment, excitement, and above all, plunder—that fatal lure is not without its attraction, even among the armies and the councils of the most refined nations, but to the savage mind, it is the first, the best, and the most irresistible of arguments. The love of war, the ardent lust for carnage, was not the least of the incitements operating on a people swift to shed blood. The passion of revenge too, had its influence; not only the national and general hatred against the whites, but the personal resentment rankling in the bosoms of individuals, for actual wrongs, for which they were eager to seek redress. Then there was ambition, the small ambition of the sub-chiefs, the captains of ten, and captains of twenty, who desired to increase their own importance, and to swell the number of their followers. Besides all which, the country they occupied suited them; its peninsular conformation, its wild and tangled forests interspersed with swamps and hammocks impenetrable to the foot of the white man, and which seemed bid eternal defiance to the approach of civilization, rendered this region the fit and favourite abode of savage men.

There was also an objection to the removal, which was felt by all the Seminoles, and gave so much plausibility to the arguments of those opposed to emigration, that it is surprising the government should not have promptly removed it. By the treaty of Payne's Landing, it was provided that the Seminoles should remove west of the Mississippi, and there become a constituent portion of the Creek nation. They were to settle near the Creeks, and be placed under the charge of the same agent. To this arrangement they expressed a decided repugnance. A large number of those who had separated from the Creeks had private reasons for not desiring a reunion; some were debtors, and some held property of which the ownership might be brought in question. They were refugees, who had outstanding accounts and quarrels with those from whom they had fled. They asked, therefore, to have a separate territory, and especially, an agent of their own. Holata Amathla, in one of the councils, said, "If our father, the President, will give us our own agent, our own blacksmith, and our ploughs, we will go to this new country, but if he does not, we shall be unwilling to remove; we should be among strangers, they may be friendly or they may be hostile to us, and we want our own agent whom we know, who will be our friend, take care of us, do us justice, and see justice done us by others." "We have been unfortunate in the agents sent us by our father. General Thompson, our present agent, is the friend of the Seminoles. We thought at first that he would be like the others, but now we know better. He has but one talk, and what he tells us is the truth; we want him to go with us. He told us he could not go, but he at last agreed to do so, if our great father would permit him; we know our father loves his red children, and will not let them suffer for want of a good agent." General Clinch, the gallant and able commander of the troops then in Florida, in presenting this subject to the government said, "It is a law of nature for the weak to be suspicious of the strong. They say the Creeks are much more numerous and powerful than they are; that there is a question of property, involving the right to a great many negroes, to be settled between them and the Creeks, and they are afraid that justice will not be done them, unless they have a separate agent to watch over and protect their interests. The manly and straightforward course pursued towards them by General Thompson, appears to have gained their confidence, and they have again petitioned the President to make him their agent, and have requested me to forward their petition, with such remarks as my long acquaintance with their views and interests would authorize me to make. The experiment they are about to make is one of deep interest to them. They are leaving the birth place of their wives and children, and many of them the graves of those they hold most dear; and is it not natural they should feel, and feel deeply, on such a trying occasion, and wish to have some one that they had previously known, whom they could lean upon and look up to for protection." To this rational appeal the government replied by a cold negative; the preparations for the removal were going forward, the friendly chiefs were using their influence to urge on that desirable measure, while the disaffected stood aloof, or gave manifestations of their dissatisfaction in sudden and secret acts of violence, in pillaging by night, or murdering the solitary traveller in the wilderness.

Such was the state of things when Asseola began to take an active part as a Tustennugge, or sub-chief, of the Micosukees, of which tribe Holato Micco, or the Blue King, was chief. The term sub-chief, which we use, is not descriptive of any actual office or formal appointment, but merely designates those individuals, who, by their talents or popular qualities, obtain followers, and become leaders or persons of influence. Those who are expert in war or hunting, are followed by the young braves, who desire to learn under them, at first, perhaps, only by their own relatives who depend on them; but as their reputation increases, the train swells in number; and there are, therefore, leaders of every grade, from those who head a few men, up to him who controls his hundred warriors, vies with the chief in influence and authority, and at last supplants him, or supersedes him in every particular except in name. Thus we have seen Powell, a young man with two followers, beginning to mingle in public affairs. He had carefully noted the path to popular favour, and pursued it with sagacity and boldness. His first step was to gain the confidence of the American officers, and by making himself useful, to gain employment, which would render him important in the eyes of his own people. He visited the Fort frequently, and his services were always at the command of the officers, to suppress the depredations of those lawless Indians who would clandestinely cross the frontier to plunder, and arrest the offenders, as well as to apprehend deserters from the army. On these occasions, he would call on the neighbouring chiefs for men, and having formed a party, placed himself at their head, and recommended himself, as well to his employers as to his own people, by his diligence and efficiency. He soon pushed himself into notice, and was continually engaged in some active service; he became a favourite with the military officers, and in consequence of the estimation in which he was held by them, rose rapidly in the eyes of his adopted tribe. He now gained adherents; for the Indians are a fickle people, and there are always many among them who are ready to surround the banner of a rising leader; until at length, without apparently holding any positive rank, he became a leading man among the Micosukees. He continued for some time to cultivate with assiduity the good will of the whites, was quiet and unassuming in his deportment, submissive even to humility towards the officers, and pacific in his sentiments, while he insinuated himself into the affections of his own people by his courtesy and his martial qualities.

But there was another source of popularity which he failed not to improve to the utmost, as it was that on which he chiefly depended for promotion. The chiefs and more intelligent of the braves, were, as we have said, in favour of emigration, while the majority of the people, comprising all the ignorant and lawless portions, were opposed to the removal. The conjuncture was one which offered a tempting opportunity to an aspiring demagogue. Asseola took the side of the majority, and while, at first, he did not venture openly to oppose the chiefs, he artfully fomented the discontents of the people, and encouraged them in their obstinate refusal to leave the country. He was always opposed to the treaty of Payne's Landing; but at first, his tone with regard to it was quiet and unobtrusive, and it might have been inferred, that while his feelings revolted against the proposed arrangement, he was ready to sacrifice his own wishes to preserve peace and secure the welfare of his countrymen. With consummate art he continued to pay court to the chiefs, and the American officers and agents, and to affect a sympathy for the people, until he found himself sufficiently strong in the affections of the latter, to throw aside the mask. He grew into favour with the factious multitude, who needed only an unscrupulous leader, who would play out the game of revolt, regardless of consequences; and when he felt that he was the leader and dictator of a party, he began to avow the principles he had long secretly cherished. His conduct now became as conspicuous for boldness and insolence, as it had been for the opposite qualities; he was loud, querulous, and bitter in his opposition; his language was coarse and inflammatory; and his whole course was that of one who had resolved to bring on a crisis, which should draw a broad line of separation between the respective parties, oblige the neutral to take sides, and force on an issue of the contest. In his interviews with General Thompson, the agent for the removal of the Seminoles, he now openly avowed his opposition, declared that he never would be carried from the country alive, that rather than submit to such injustice, the Indians would fight, that he could kill two or three white men himself before he could be slain; and finally, he denounced in the most vehement manner the friendly chiefs, declaring they should not go peaceably to another country, that the first who took a step towards emigration should be put to death, and that if required he would himself become the executioner.

There can be little doubt as to the decision which history will record as to the conduct of Asseola. The line of distinction is clear and definite between the patriot who calmly and firmly places himself in the breach between his country and her oppressors, exposing himself to procure safety, or even a temporary advantage for her, and the demagogue, who, seizing for his own aggrandisement an occasion of popular excitement, fans into a blaze the embers of discord, and affecting to administer that public will which he has secretly created, becomes the agitator and the soul of a bad cause. The one controls and gives a proper direction to the judgment of his people, while the other stimulates their worst passions, and leads them blindfold to their own destruction. The former course gives employment to talents and virtues of the highest grade, the latter may be successfully pursued by an instinct of no greater capacity than that of the fox or the wolf. There could scarcely be a difference of opinion as to the true interest of the Seminoles. Setting aside the question of the right of occupation, as between civilized and savage man, as having no direct bearing here, we must view the Seminoles as themselves intruders into a land previously occupied by the Europeans, from whom the American government derived title by purchase. They seized on this wilderness, while it was protected, as they supposed, by a foreign flag, as a strong hold, from which they could with impunity annoy the American citizen. The United States, having the right as well as the power, to remove them, resistance could only lead to a war, wholly unjustifiable because hopeless. Under these circumstances it is scarcely probable that this aspiring leader was impelled by any higher motive than that of taking the side opposed to the chiefs, whom he desired to supplant, and favoured by the multitude, through whom he hoped to rule—a course of which history affords but too many examples, and which the experience of every day shews to be the natural path of reckless ambition.

Throwing aside entirely the mask he had worn, Asseola became more and more insolent, until at last he ceased to observe the common forms of courtesy. He either absented himself from the councils which were now frequently held, or disturbed the deliberations by inflammatory speeches. He boldly threatened the chiefs with the vengeance of the people, and in his interviews with General Thompson, the agent, was so rude, and so undisguised in his threats of personal violence to that officer, that the latter was obliged on one occasion to order him to leave his presence, and his friends earnestly advised the arrest of the refractory partisan, as a measure due to his own safety. It is only to be regretted that this salutary step was not sooner adopted, and more effectually carried into execution. Asseola was not a chief, but a self constituted leader, misdirecting the ignorant to their ruin, disturbing the peace, and defeating the benign intentions of the government. He was accordingly arrested, by the orders of Colonel Fanning, at the request of the agent, and placed in close confinement. As he was dragged to the guard-house, he was heard by one who understood the Creek tongue to exclaim, "the sun," pointing to its position, "is so high; I shall remember the hour! the agent has his day, I will have mine!"

The conduct of Powell while in confinement, threw a new light upon his character, evincing the coolness and deliberation of his designs, and shewing how completely he was master of the arts of dissimulation. At first sullen, and apparently alarmed, he seemed to abandon all hope. A new light seemed gradually to gleam upon him; and then, as if convinced of his error, he requested to see the friendly chiefs, who were accordingly permitted to visit him. To them he figured a humility and contrition which completely deceived them. He spoke of his past conduct in terms of regret and pointed self-condemnation; depicted in glowing language the hopes he had entertained of uniting the several factions of the nation, so that by organizing a firm opposition they might be permitted to occupy a little longer their present homes; and admitted the fallacy of these expectations. He spoke of himself as a martyr, whose vain efforts to unite the people for their common good, had brought upon him the vengeance of their oppressors, and bitterly deplored the weakness and ingratitude of those who he said had deserted him in his hour of trouble; but avowed a sincere determination to yield to what now appeared an unavoidable destiny, and remove peaceably to a new country. The chiefs, whom he had violently denounced and opposed, were so completely deceived by his ostensible conversion, that a full reconciliation took place; and Asseola professing a conviction that his former course, though intended for the best, had been fatally erroneous, promised to become as active in promoting the cause of emigration, as he had been zealous in retarding it. Satisfied of the sincerity of the change which they supposed had taken place, the chiefs interceded for him, pledged themselves for his faith, and Powell was set at liberty. This act of mistaken humanity was the cause of much evil; for had Asseola been kept a prisoner, the removal might have gone on, and the cruel war which succeeded, would never have taken place.

For awhile Asseola seemed to act in full accordance with his promises. He not only signed the articles agreeing to emigrate himself, but brought over sixty or seventy Micosukees to do the same, assumed a conspicuous stand in the ranks of the party friendly to removal, was consulted on all measures leading to that object, and was always treated with the consideration due to an influential chief. Such was his position for some time; but, as the season for emigration approached, his visits to the agent became less frequent, and various plausible reasons were assigned for his absence, until the friendly chiefs began to suspect, and then to declare openly, that Powell "had one talk for the white man and another for the red," that many of the Indians were bent on war, and that the removal must be effected by force.

In the autumn of 1835, the negociations with the Seminoles were brought to a crisis. The friendly party prepared to remove, and the hostile to resist, and the excitement on the border was increased. The following incident, recited in the "War in Florida, by a Staff Officer," will serve to illustrate the temper of the times.

"The Long Swamp and Big Swamp Indians, principally the Micosukee tribe, were, from the causes heretofore stated, again reduced to the greatest distress for the want of provisions, and their depredations upon the neighbouring settlements became daily more extensive. On one of these occasions three of the Long Swamp Indians were surprised, and two of them secured by the owner of the land, who tied them by the hands and feet with a rope, and carried them to his barn, where they were confined without sustenance for three days, unable to extricate themselves, and obliged to remain in one position. Not returning to their homes, their friends became alarmed for their safety, and the chief of the town where they resided, went forward and demanded them. Being refused, he returned to his town, and, taking several of his people with him, again demanded the release of the prisoners, and was again refused, with a threat by the white fellows, that if the chief dared to effect their release, complaint should be entered against him. Upon this the whole party rushed to the barn, whence they heard the moaning of their friends, and where they beheld a most pitiable sight. The rope with which these poor fellows were tied, had worn through into the flesh—they had temporarily lost the use of their limbs, being unable to stand or walk—they had bled profusely, and had received no food during their confinement—so it may be readily imagined that they presented a horrible picture of suffering. The owner of the barn in which they were confined, then fired upon the Indians, and slightly wounded one of the party, when their exasperation attained to such a height that, in retaliation for this brutal outrage, they set fire to the barn, and would not permit the owner to remove any thing therefrom, nor did they leave the spot until the whole was consumed."

"These outrages continued to increase with each succeeding week, and the Indians discovering the hopelessness of their situation, at once concluded to oppose the efforts of the government, and call for a general assemblage of the nation. This course was rendered the more imperative, at this particular period, in consequence of a demand having been made upon the Seminoles for a surrender of their cattle, ponies, hogs, &c., which were to be collected at some convenient depot, appraised and sold by the agent, and the Indians reimbursed therefor, on their arrival in their new country. Six of the principal chiefs, viz: Charley Amathla, Holata Amathla, Foke Luste Hajo, Otulkee Amathla, Conhatkee Micco, and Fushutchee Micco, having returned their cattle, ponies, and hogs, the agent publicly announced that a sale would take place on the first of the ensuing month, December, 1835; but, in consequence of the interference of the anti-removal party, the delivery of the others was prevented, and the sale necessarily postponed to an indefinite period. In the mean time the great meeting of the nation at the Big Swamp resolved on retaining possession of their country, and condemned all who should oppose their views to instant death. This, therefore, was the signal for an immediate abandonment of the friendly towns, and no time was lost by those who had gone too far to retract, in seeking the protection of the Forts. Accordingly, Holata Amathla, Otulkee Amathla, Foke Luste Hajo, Conhatkee Micco, and Fushutchee Micco, with about four hundred and fifty of their people, fled to Fort Brooke on the 9th of November, and encamped on the opposite side of the river."

The war was commenced by a tragedy of deep and affecting interest. Charley Amathla, a noble, intelligent, and honest chief, was preparing to retreat to Fort Brooke, on the 26th of November, when his house was surrounded by four hundred warriors, led by Holata Micco, Abraham, and Asseola, who demanded of him a promise that he and his people would oppose the removal. He replied, that having pledged his word to their great father, he would adhere to it even at the risk of his life. He said he had lived to see his people degraded, and on the verge of ruin, and their only hope of being saved from utter destruction, depended on their removing to the West; he had made arrangements for his people to go, and had now no excuse for not complying with his engagements. He was told that he must join the opposition or suffer death, and that two hours would be allowed him to consult his people, and make his choice. He replied, that his mind was unalterable, and that his people could not make him break his word; but if he must die, he desired time to make some arrangements, which were required for the welfare of his people. At this moment, Asseola raised his rifle, pointed it at the bosom of the unresisting chief, and would have fired, had not Abraham arrested his arm, and called off the party to a council. They shortly after retired, having probably decided to defer, if not to retract, their murderous purpose; and the chief proceeded to the agency to complete his preparations. He appeared cheerful, but said to some of his friends, that perhaps they might never see him again, as persons had been appointed to kill him. He left the agency, accompanied by his two daughters, and preceded by a negro, on horseback, and had travelled homewards a few miles, when Asseola, with twelve other Indians, rose from an ambush, gave the war-whoop, and fired upon him. The noble chief, comprehending instantly his situation, rose in his stirrups, sent back a whoop of defiance, charged into the midst of his assassins, and fell like a hero, perforated by eleven bullets. Thus died the chief of the Witamky band, a gallant, high minded leader, and a man of sterling integrity, by the hands of Asseola, whom he had delivered from prison but a few months before, and for whose good conduct he stood pledged. The ingratitude and bad faith of Asseola, greatly aggravate the heinousness of his participation in this cold blooded murder, and stamp his character with a viciousness wholly incompatible with a great mind.

This atrocious deed was succeeded by open hostilities, and on the 28th of December following, occurred the melancholy massacre of the detachment under Major Dade, which we have described in another place. On the same day, and while that melancholy scene of butchery was going forward in the hammock, General Thompson, the agent, was surprised and basely murdered. He had dined at the Agency Office, about one hundred yards from Fort King, and shortly after was walking unguardedly near the woods, beyond the Office, when a band of fifty or sixty Micosukees, led by Asseola, rushed upon him, and having slain himself, Lieutenant Smith, and several others, hastily retired. The body of General Thompson was perforated with fourteen bullets and a knife wound; all the killed were shockingly mangled, and the whole affair evinced the worst feelings on the part of the perpetrators. The functions of the Agent were not military, but civil, and his relation to the Indians such as should have rendered his person sacred. He had been their friend and advocate; and, by their own evidence, had been kind and just in his dealings with them. Asseola especially, who had been employed by him, and whose intercourse with him had been intimate, was acquainted with the uprightness of his conduct, and was bound above all others to respect his character and hold his person sacred from violence. But if such sentiments had ever made any impression on his vicious nature, that impression was eradicated by a single offence towards himself, which rankled in his bosom, and instigated a brutal revenge.

The writer last quoted, thus continues the narrative of these events. "Marauding parties now commenced their operations almost simultaneously, in various sections of the country, pillaging and destroying every thing of value. Those who had inflicted injuries on the Indians were forthwith repaid, and many barely escaped with their lives. Conflagration succeeded conflagration, until the whole country from Fort Brooke to Fort King was laid waste; while those who lived in the interior, were compelled to abandon their crops, their stock, their implements of husbandry, and indeed every article of value, and seek protection within the forts, or concentrate themselves in the neighbouring towns, around which pickets were erected for their better security." The war soon assumed the most appalling character; whole families were butchered, and wherever the war-whoop was heard, the most shocking cruelties were perpetrated.

We cannot pretend to follow the narrative of this war throughout its details; the events are too numerous for the space to which we are confined, and are too similar to each other to be either interesting or instructive. We have already, in this and other articles, given sufficient specimens of the horrors of Indian warfare. It is enough to say, that the war in Florida was one of unmitigated ferocity. The Seminoles were not numerous, but they were scattered over a wilderness almost impenetrable, and surrounded by an atmosphere fatal to the white man. In their fastnesses they were secure from pursuit, while our troops could scarcely move without imminent danger, from ambuscades, from climate, from the impracticable nature of the country, and from the difficulty of transporting supplies. The Seminoles kept up the war with unceasing activity and indomitable courage, acting continually on the offensive, and with the determination of men who were resolved to succeed or perish. Their system of tactics was the only one which the savage can practise with effect, and that which is most harassing to a regular army opposed to them. Divided into small parties, widely scattered, and constantly scouring the country—striking by stealth, and chiefly at night—surprising small parties, and cutting off supplies—harassing the settlements—and giving no quarter to prisoners, they made the most of their own small force, and wearied the strength of their opponents. Our gallant army was continually on service, performing labours and exploits which, on a more conspicuous theatre, would have won for them unfading laurels. Many noble fellows perished miserably in this wretched service, and all who were engaged in it fought and suffered with a heroism which should entitle them to the lasting gratitude of their country.

Asseola engaged ardently in the war, of which he was one of the principal instigators, and was an influential and daring leader. How far his mind directed and controlled the movements of the Seminoles, is not fully known, but that he is entitled to a full share of whatever credit may be due to the leaders, there can be little doubt. He was present at most of the more important engagements, acting a conspicuous part, and was concerned in many of the outrages that were perpetrated by marauding parties. All who came in contact with this remarkable man, concede to him the possession of intellectual qualities superior to those of the people by whom he was surrounded; while the public voice, too prone to exaggeration, has gifted him with moral attributes of the highest order. We have some difficulty in reconciling the dignified and noble traits of character attributed to him, with the duplicity which unquestionably ran through the whole of his short but brilliant career. His martial qualities, his daring, his talent, and his commanding influence over the minds of his people, were as conspicuous as his double dealing towards both parties in producing hostilities, and his cruelty during their continuance.

After prosecuting the war with vigour and various fortune, until the summer of 1837, the Seminoles intimated a willingness to submit, and some negociations took place, the result of which was, that a number of the chiefs declared their determination to emigrate, and requested a cessation of hostilities until they could collect and bring in their people. This was cheerfully granted; and Micanopy, with some others, were delivered up as hostages for the faithful performance of the stipulations. The prospect of peace proved delusive. The hostages remained but a few days, when they were forcibly rescued, and the war renewed with all its former virulence. In the autumn of the same year, a similar stratagem was attempted. General Hernandez, a citizen of Florida, serving at the head of a gallant band of volunteers, having captured an active partizan called Philip, the occasion was seized by the Seminoles to open another negociation, which resulted in the captivity of Micanopy, Asseola, and several other leaders.

General Jessup, the commanding general of the Florida army, in a letter dated Picolata, November 17, 1837, says:

"Powell, Coacochee, the two Hickses, and several other sub-chiefs, organized the abduction of Micanopy and other hostages in June last. Coacochee, John Cavallo, (the latter one of the hostages,) with several others, carried the hostages off, and with them their people. I then resolved to take all who were concerned in the measure, whenever the opportunity might be found. The capture of Philip by General Hernandez, opened the way to effect my object sooner than I had hoped. Coacochee carried off Micanopy by force, and if he had been a white man I would have executed him the moment he came into my hands. His father Philip, however, asked permission to send him out with messages to the chiefs and warriors. He returned with one of my hostages, John Cavallo, and with most of the sub-chiefs and warriors who were concerned in the abduction. I determined at once that they should be seized and held as hostages for the conduct of the chiefs and warriors out."

The persons who thus accompanied John Cavallo to the neighbourhood of Fort Peyton, with a purpose avowedly friendly, could not be prevailed upon to enter the Fort, but halting at some distance, sent a message to General Hernandez desiring him to meet them at their camp, without an escort, with the assurance that he would be perfectly safe with them without troops. Knowing the perfidious character of these people, and of John Cavallo especially, General Jessup was satisfied that some treachery was intended, probably to seize a sufficient number of his officers to exchange for Philip and the Euchee chiefs, and directed General Hernandez to go to the meeting with a strong escort. He was also furnished with the heads of a conversation to be held with them, the result of which was to be communicated to the commanding general before the termination of the interview. The suspicions entertained were justified by the event. The answers of the Indians to all the questions put to them were evasive and unsatisfactory; they stood warily on the defensive, evincing no frankness nor confidence, and obviously on the watch to gain advantages; and it became sufficiently apparent that they had sought this interview for some sinister purpose. It became the duty of General Jessup to protect his own force, and disarm that of a perfidious enemy. He accordingly gave orders to have the place of meeting surrounded by a squadron of dragoons, under Major Ashby, who executed the measure with such skill and celerity, that although the Indians stood on the alert, with rifles loaded and primed, ready for action, they were all taken before a gun could be fired.

The political excitement existing in the country, during the whole of the Florida war, has caused many of its events to be misrepresented, and in some instances has produced great injustice towards the gallant officers engaged in that arduous service. With regard to the transaction just related, we should suppose there could be but one opinion; yet the capture of Asseola and his associates, has been denounced as a flagrant breach of confidence, and a gross violation of the laws of war. A very slight examination of the facts will shew the fallacy of such denunciations.

The Indians were in arms to resist an attempt on the part of the government to remove them from a country in which it was alleged they were intruders; and if it was lawful to remove them, there could be no moral wrong in taking them wherever they could be found. The military officer could not judge of the justice of the removal. He was to effect the object by lawful means; and the purpose was as well effected by taking them when they came to parley, as it would be by seizing them when in arms, or shooting them down in battle. To insist on the observance of all the etiquette of military law, in conducting such an operation, would be as absurd as to hold a police officer to a nice observance of the rules of politeness in his dealings with a fugitive from justice.

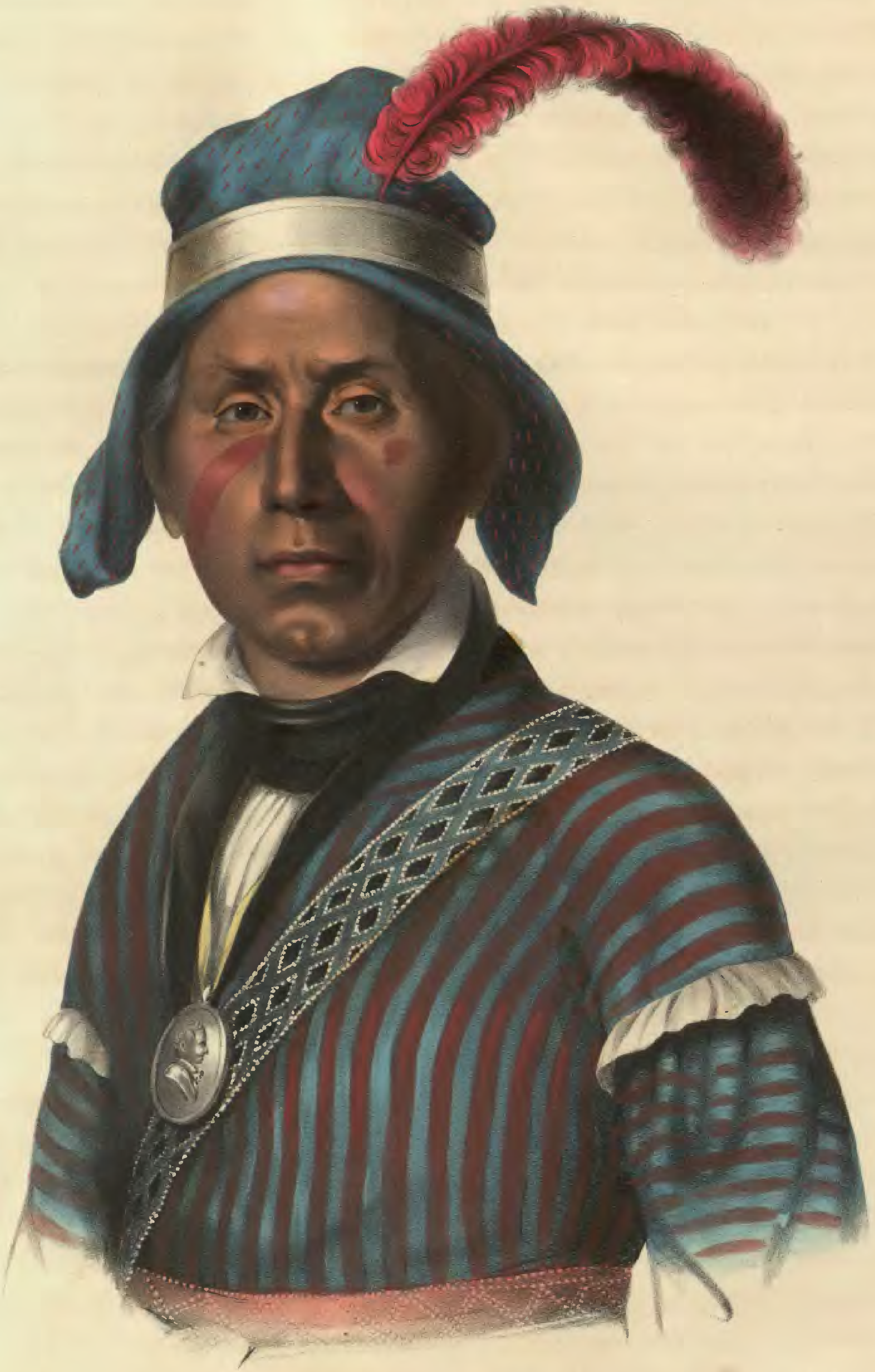
It is also to be recollected, that the Indians do not acknowledge any international law, or military usage, as existing during a state of war. They do not recognise the sanctity of a flag of truce—they steal upon the defenceless in the hour of sleep—waylay the unarmed—murder without respect to age or sex—and consider every stratagem fair by which an advantage is gained. With what propriety then can the protection of the laws of war be claimed for them? Those laws can only operate between parties who reciprocally acknowledge their obligation; and to claim the advantage of them, for those who habitually set them at defiance, would be unreasonable.

But allowing that the Seminoles were entitled to the full benefit of the laws of war, as observed by civilized nations, there was no infraction of them on this occasion. The persons in question had violated those laws by rescuing hostages, and suffering themselves to be rescued when held as hostages. The parties to the laws of war have no common tribunal to which to appeal; if an infraction is alleged, there is but one mode of retribution: the offending party is placed out of the pale of the protection of these laws by the other party, who, from the necessity of the case, becomes judge and executioner. And after all, there was no trust violated by

General Jessup. These Indians were not under the protection of a flag of truce; they were not in the fort, nor under its guns. They halted at a distance from the fort, and standing warily upon the defensive, requested that an officer be *sent to them*, and that he be sent without an escort. The only trust placed in the American commander, was in apprising him of the spot at which they awaited his decision. He took them, partly by stratagem, and partly by force; and the use of the one was as justifiable as that of the other. The purpose was humane. By securing the most active of the agitators, the duration of the war was abridged, and its horrors decreased. The act was not only justifiable, but meritorious; the national honour was not stained, nor did General Jessup tarnish the laurels he had gallantly won on nobler fields.

The prisoners were immediately transferred to Charleston, South Carolina, where they were confined upon Sullivan's Island, until arrangements were made for their removal to their new homes. While a prisoner there, Asseola was an object of much curiosity. His fame was widely extended; he was not only considered as the hero of the war, but had been extravagantly praised in the newspapers for brilliant and noble qualities, which probably existed only in the imaginations of the writers. He was visited by many persons, and among others by several artists, who took likenesses of him, one of the finest of which is that taken for the War Department.

Asseola had two wives, both of whom were young and pretty, and one of them was particularly attractive in her personal appearance. They lived together in perfect harmony, having one table in common, to use our own phraseology, or, to speak more in accordance with the fact, sitting around the same kettle, but occupying separate lodges. They accompanied him in his confinement, and during his illness watched and nursed him with great solicitude and tenderness. He was attacked, in the spring of 1838, with an inflammation of the throat, which hurried him rapidly to the grave. He died with the dignity of a brave warrior, and his remains were respectfully interred by those against whom he had fought with a courage and skill worthy of a nobler field and a better fate.



YAHA-HAJO.

A SEMINOLE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY DANIEL RICE & JAMES G. CLARK, PHILAD^{A}.
Drawn, Printed & Coloured at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment, N^{o}94, Walnut St^{t}.
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YAHA HAJO,

A SEMINOLE WAR-CHIEF.

ON the 29th of March, 1836, as the main body of the American troops in Florida was about to encamp on the banks of the Ocklewahah, two fires were discovered, newly lighted, on the opposite side of one of those lakes which abound in this country. Supposing them to be signal fires, lighted by the Indians to communicate intelligence from one party to another, Colonel Butler's command was detached in search of the enemy. The troops had proceeded three or four miles, when four Indians were discovered and pursued by the advanced guard. General Joseph Shelton, of South Carolina, a gallant gentleman, who accompanied the army as one of a band of volunteers from that patriotic state, dashed forward and charged upon one of the Indians, who, finding he could not elude the attack, halted and faced his opponent. When but a few steps apart, both parties levelled their guns at each other; the General fired first, wounded his adversary in the neck, and, dropping the gun, drew a pistol. Advancing on the Indian, he placed the pistol at his breast, and drew the trigger, but the weapon missed fire. The Indian brought his rifle to his shoulder and shot the General in the hip; at the same moment the brave savage received a fatal wound from another hand, fell on his knees, attempted to load his rifle in that position, and died, resisting to the last gasp, with the obstinacy which always marks the death of the Indian warrior.

Near the scene of this rencounter were several lodges, forming a temporary hamlet, whose inmates had been hastily scattered by the approach of the troops. Here, among the few articles abandoned by the inhabitants in their flight, were found forty or fifty human scalps, the sad memorials of the vindictiveness of savage warfare. They were attached to small pine sticks, in the form of flags, so as to be used at the dances and feasts of the warriors, when these trophies are exultingly displayed. The locks of hair attached to some of them were long and fine, and were evidently those of women, perhaps of young and beautiful women, who had fallen under the edge of the tomahawk; some were the scalps of children and grey-haired men; and all were preserved with equal care, as if the warrior regarded with the same pride the slaughter of the helpless and the defeat of an able adversary.

The warrior who was slain in the manner just described, was Yaha Hajo, or the Mad Wolf, a Creek chief, who visited Washington City in 1826 as one of the delegates from that nation, but afterwards emigrated to Florida, where he held the same rank. His name is not expressive of his character, which was comparatively mild and benevolent. He was especially noted as a successful hunter, and was considered one of the best in Florida. For this exercise he seemed admirably fitted by his finely moulded form, which evinced both strength and agility, and exhibited a fine specimen of savage beauty. He was erect and slender. His chest was broad and high, his limbs round and elegantly turned, and his muscles greatly developed by constant exercise. The hands of the Indians, never being employed in labour, are usually small, bearing that evidence of gentility which Sir Walter Scott lays down as an indubitable sign of aristocratic birth. Those of Yaha Hajo were remarkably small and delicately formed; while his feet had the hollow sole and high instep common to his race, and might have served as models for the sculptor, except that they were too small for just proportion. His nose was Roman, and all his features fine and prominent.

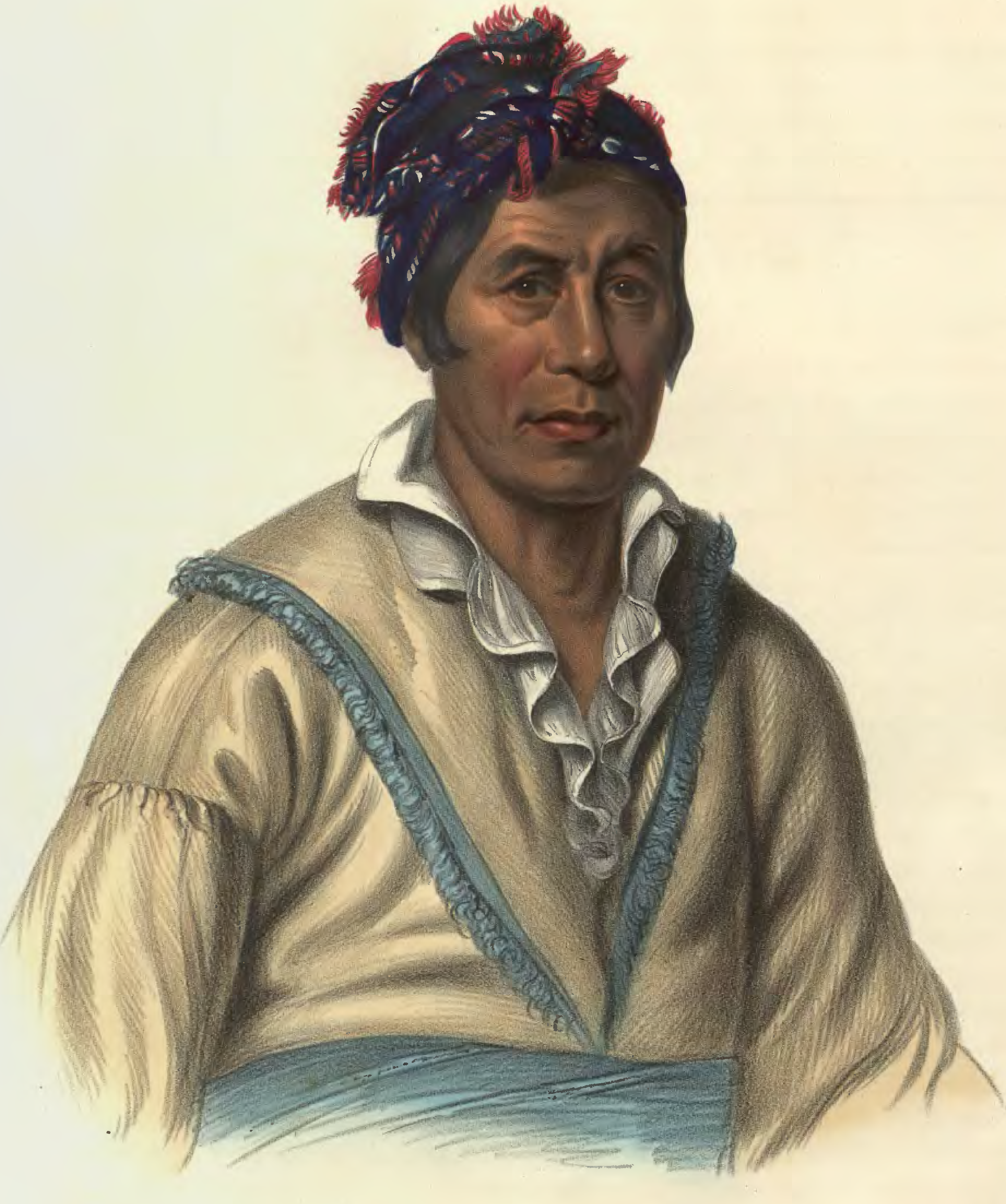
The Mad Wolf was the second principal war-chief of the Seminoles, and was one of the deputation of seven chiefs appointed to examine the country west of the Mississippi, assigned to the Florida Indians by the treaty of Payne's Landing, and who reported favourably; and also one of the sixteen who signed the treaty at Fort Gibson, ratifying that of Payne's Landing. But although thus far committed on the subject, and favourably disposed towards emigration, he united with the majority of the people in their opposition to it, and became an active leader in the war. The truth is, that the measures adopted to bring about this result, were neither conciliatory nor efficient; the wishes and interests of the Indians, in several particulars, were not consulted as they should have been, nor were the means for effecting the removal forcibly, either adequate or promptly applied.

We find in Mr. Cohen's book a report of a phrenological examination of the head of this chief, which we shall copy, because they will be interesting to those who have confidence in phrenology, not because we have any faith in it ourselves.

Phrenological Examination of the Scull of Yaha Hajo.

Affective Faculties.	*Very Large.*	*Large.*	*Moderate.*	*Small.*
Propensities.	Destructiveness. Combativeness. Acquisitiveness. Secretiveness.	Adhesiveness.	Philoprogenitiveness. Amativeness. Inhabitiveness. Constructiveness.	Desire to live. Alimentiveness.
Sentiments.	Cautiousness. Firmness.	Approbativeness. Self-esteem. Imitation. Ideality. Hope.	Mirthfulness. Conscientiousness. Marvellousness. Reverence. Benevolence.	
Intellectual Faculties.				Colour. Order. Calculation.
Perceptive Faculties.	Eventuality. Locality.	Individuality.	Size. Configuration.	Tune. Time.
Reflective Faculties.			Comparison. Causality.	

"Exceedingly circumspect in all his actions, he must have been remarkable for persevering in every undertaking on which he had determined, how cruel soever the means. His cunning and courage ably fitted him for the station he is supposed to have held among his countrymen; acquisitiveness, although very large, would not, from its relative size, have formed a prominent feature in his character. His eloquence must have been of the persuasive kind, and his images not wanting in boldness—his attachments must have been firm. The recollections of events and places, is strongly marked on his skull, but the reflective organs are small. Grave in his demeanour, moderate mirthfulness, large love of approbation."



SPRING FROG

A CHEROKEE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY F. W. GREENOUGH, PHILAD^A
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TOOAN TUH, OR SPRING FROG.

THIS individual is a Cherokee of highly respectable character. He was born near the mouth of Chuckamogga Creek, in the vicinity of Lookout Mountain, about the year 1754, within the limits of the State of Tennessee. The place of his birth is no longer known as a wilderness tenanted by savage men, but is now a civilized country, inhabited by another race. The villages of his people, and the sepulchres of his fathers, have disappeared, the forests have been levelled, and the plough has effaced the scattered vestiges of their dwellings and places of assemblage.

In early youth, and throughout his life, until old age had impaired the elasticity and vigour of his muscles, Spring Frog was remarkable for his activity in the chase, his skill in trapping and killing game, and his success in the athletic sports of his people. With little of the ferocity of the Indian, yet excelling in all the arts of sylvan life, brave, but not addicted to war, he was a fine specimen of the savage man. He loved to roam the forest in pursuit of game; could sit patiently for hours by the sequestered stream, devising stratagems to entrap its tenants, or wander for whole days among the haunts of the deer, with no companions but his gun and dog. His mind, trained to these pursuits, was acute, and richly stored with observation on all subjects connected with his occupation. He watched the seasons, noted the changes of the weather, marked the hues of the water, and the appearances of the vegetation. Wherever he went, his keen eye rested, with a quiet but observant glance, on all the indications of the surrounding objects which might serve to forward the present purpose, or furnish information for future operations. He knew the habits of animals and their signals; the voices of birds were familiar to his ear; and he could sit for hours in the lone wilderness, an interested listener to sounds, in which one unused to the forest could detect nothing but the rustling of leaves, the rush of the winds, or the creaking of boughs. His practised eye detected the footmarks of animals upon the ground, and his quick ear distinguished, even in the night, the difference between the tramp of the deer and the stealthy tread of the wolf.

This is the poetry of savage life. If there be any real enjoyment apart from civilization, it is in this close communion with nature. The exposure, the perils, the extremes of hunger and satiety, which fill up the whole life of those who depend on the precarious supplies of the chase for subsistence, throw a forbidding gloom around this mode of existence; but there are rich and noble enjoyments combined with the toils of the hunter, in the freedom from all restraint, and in the opportunities it affords for contemplating the beauties and the mysteries of nature. Few, especially among savages, have the heart and the intellect to appreciate such luxuries. The general tendency of the savage life is monotonous and debasing. But there are some gifted minds—some of Isaak Walton's "fishermen and honest men"—to be found in every region, whether civilized or savage, over whom such pursuits exercise an elevating and soothing influence. To this class belonged the subject of this notice; uniting with the keen and hardy character of the sportsman, the humane and meditative cast of the philosopher. He was an artless and harmless, but a shrewd and thoughtful man.

Spring Frog was passionately fond of all the manly sports of his people, but was particularly remarkable for his love of ball playing, in which he greatly excelled. This game requires the greatest muscular strength, swiftness of foot, and clearness of vision. The ball, similar in materials and construction to that used by our own schoolboys, is played with two sticks, one in each hand. These sticks are bent at the end, with strings drawn across the bow, so as to form an implement resembling a battledoor. The ground on which the game is to be played is a plain, marked off by measuring a space of about three hundred feet in length, and placing two poles erect at each extremity, and one in the centre. The ball players are divided, as nearly as possible, into two parties of equal skill, each of which has its leader, and its side of the play ground. The ball is thrown into the air, at the centre pole, and each party exert themselves to drive it through the poles on their own side. The party first carrying the ball twelve times through their poles, win the game. To effect this, it is considered fair to employ strength, activity, and stratagem in every form, provided that the ball is always propelled by the use of the stick. The parties may strike, trip, or grapple each other, knock away each other's sticks, or take any advantage which strength or cunning may give them.

These games are intensely exciting. The number engaged is often great, comprising the principal men, the most distinguished warriors, and the most promising young men of the band; for this is the great theatre, on which the ambitious and aspiring, exhibit those personal qualities that are held in the highest repute by the savage warrior. The whole population of the village pours out to witness the inspiring spectacle, and like the spectators of a horse-race in Virginia, all take sides, and feel as if the honour of the country was staked upon the contest. The excitement is often increased by gambling to immense amounts—immense for these poor savages, who have little to lose, and who freely stake all upon the game. The women and children share in the interest, watch the progress with intense anxiety, and announce the result by loud shouts. The contest is active and even fierce. The parties exercise great command over their tempers, and usually conduct their sports with good humour and great hilarity; but the excitement is always high, and sometimes the deeper passions are awakened. The struggle then becomes fearful. A number of muscular men, innured to toil and danger, savage, irascible, and revengeful, by nature and habit, are seen, with their limbs and bodies naked, and oiled, to enable them the more readily to elude the grasp of an adversary—now rushing after the ball with uplifted sticks, now gathered round it, striking at it with rapid blows, darting upon each other, pulling, wrestling, and presenting a medley in which it seems hardly possible that heads or limbs must not be broken. Blows are received as if upon bodies of iron. Men are prostrated and trodden under foot. But none are killed; the wounded soon forget their bruises, and the beaten bear their discomfiture without murmur.

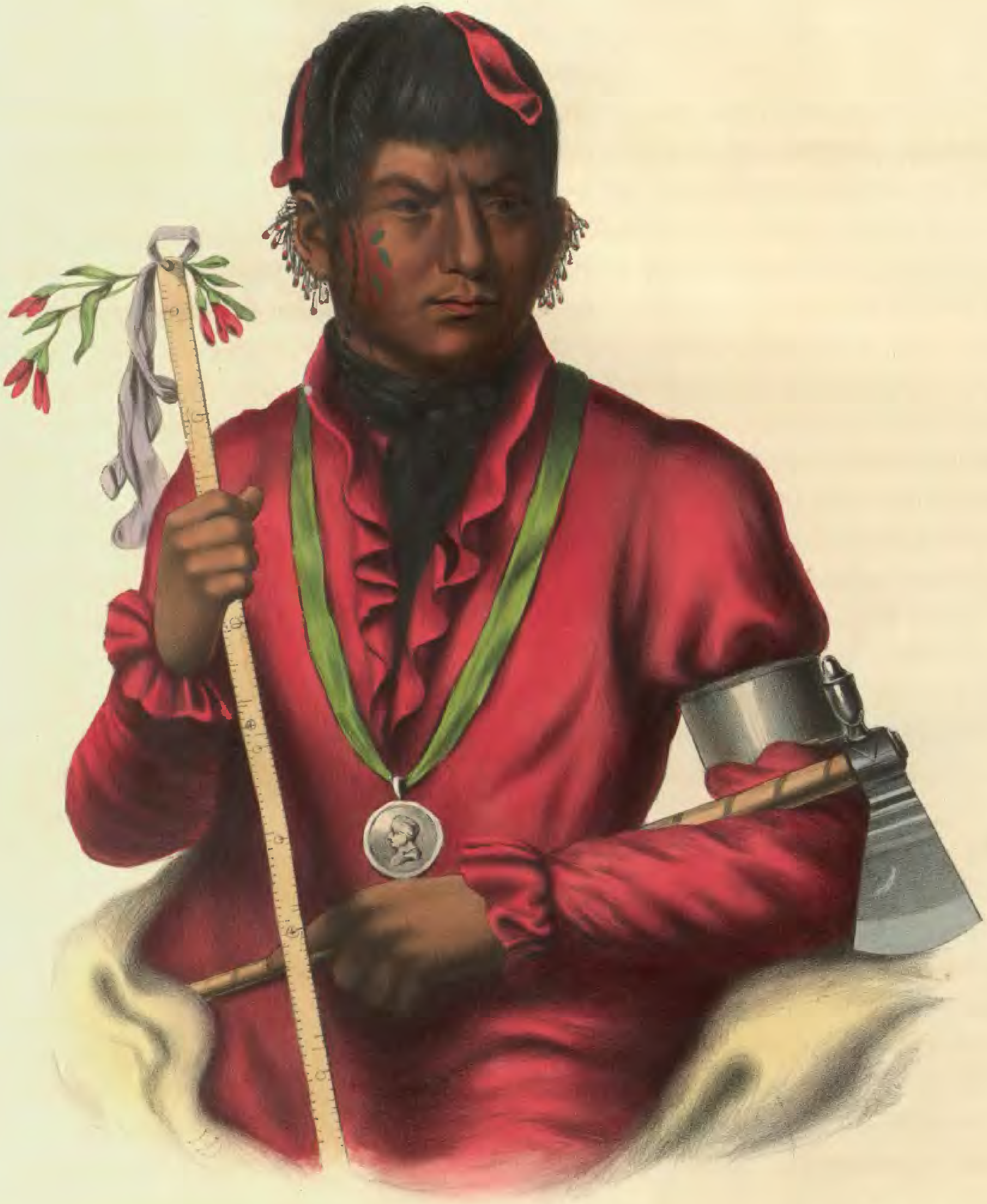
Though Spring Frog was an ardent and successful ball-player, and the most patient of anglers, he devoted much of his time to the more profitable, though less genteel employment, of raising cattle, trading in horses, and cultivating beans, corn, and pumpkins. His agriculture was not upon an extensive scale; but it was enough to furnish the means of a comfortable subsistence, and a generous hospitality; his friends were always welcome to his cheerful fireside, and the stranger, to use the figure of one of the noblest spirits of our land, "never found the string of his latch drawn in."

Gifted with a discriminating mind, he was a strong man in the council. Amiable, kind, placid in his disposition—loving peace and pursuing it, he always advocated conciliatory measures, and was useful on many occasions in softening and restraining the fiercer passions of his warlike countrymen. But although his inclinations were pacific, he lacked neither energy nor courage, when the interest or honour of his nation required the exercise of those qualities. In 1818, the Osages murdered several Cherokees in cold blood. Upon the reception of the news of this injury, the Cherokees flew to arms, and instantly adopted measures to revenge the outrage. Spring Frog, although he was then in his sixty-fourth year, was among the first to take up the war club in this quarrel; and uniting himself with a party of his tribe, marched in pursuit of the murderers. So rapid and secret was the movement, that the track of the offenders was found and pursued, and they, ignorant that any pursuit was on foot, were scarcely arrived at their village when the avengers of blood were at their heels. The village was surprised and burned; eighty of the Osages were killed and captured, all their provisions were destroyed, and the band, for the present, broken up. Thus Spring Frog and his party, appeased, as they supposed, the manes of their slaughtered friends; and thus dearly did the Osages atone for an outrage committed in mere wantonness, by one of their marauding parties.

He served also under General Jackson in the campaign against the Creeks, and fought gallantly in the battle of Emuckfaw and in that of the Horse Shoe. His coolness in battle, and his habits of discipline and obedience, on all occasions, were conspicuous.

He was among the earliest of the emigrants to the country assigned the Cherokees, west of Arkansas, and we hope that he lived to be satisfied of the advantages of that movement. The change has thus far proved eminently successful. Many of the Cherokees have large farms, under a good state of cultivation, and large droves of cattle and horses. Their dwellings and other improvements are comfortable and well constructed. They have mills, schools, mechanics, and many other of the evidences and arts of civilized life. An intelligent traveller, who lately visited their country, says—"We passed many fine farms on our way, and as evening fell came to the missionary station of Dwight, with which we found ourselves much pleased. This institution has for its object the advancement, scientifically and morally, of the Cherokees. It was founded some twenty years ago, and has continued faithful to the Indians through all that long period. It was first commenced in the year 1821, in what is now called Pope county, on the waters of Illinois bayou, where suitable buildings were erected, farms opened, and schools established, in which were gathered the children of the then wild Cherokees, to the yearly number of one hundred. The Cherokees were a portion who had removed from their old country at an early period, and were denominated *Western* Cherokees, but are now distinguished as the *old settlers.*"

Those missionaries have resided there for many years undisturbed, in the peaceful discharge of their duties, and on the kindest terms with the Cherokees. They have witnessed the commencement and whole progress of this interesting colony, and have been identified with its entire history. They have done great good to the Cherokees, and are entitled to their gratitude.



TSHI-ZUN-HAU-KAU

A WINEBACO.

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TSHIZUNHAUKAU.

TSHIZUNHAUKAU, or *He who runs with the deer*, is a Winnebago warrior, of remarkable genius and singular character. He unites the characters of the conjurer and medicine-man with that of the brave, without losing any of his reputation for manliness and courage.

It is a peculiarity of savage life, that but one high road to distinction exists. War is the only occupation which is considered as capable of giving exercise to the highest powers of manhood. Hunting is the business of their life, and expertness in this employment, and in the various arts belonging to it, is highly estimated, but to be a successful hunter confers respectability rather than distinction. The spoils of the chase afford sustenance, and to the able or fortunate hunter give that competency which stands in the place of wealth; but the standing gained by this employment, in its best aspect, is only equal to that of a successful man of business in civilized communities. Oratory ranks a little higher, and carries with it a certain degree of popular influence, which is eagerly sought after by the aspiring savage. Strength, swiftness, expertness in horsemanship, and other qualities which enable their possessor to triumph in athletic sports, and give grace and manliness to his movements, are highly prized. But all these are but the accomplishments considered desirable to give finish to the character of the warrior; for without military distinction all else is as the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

A few men among the Indians have gained high repute, and maintained a commanding influence through life, without the aid of a military reputation. One of these was Red Jacket, who never attained any standing as a warrior, nor set up any pretensions to martial skill or fame; and some other instances have been recorded in this work. But these were men of consummate ability, whose talents were useful to their people, and whose genius elevated them above the operation of general rules; and, in the case of Red Jacket, there was a nationality, a zeal and tenacity, with which he adhered to the side of his own people, right or wrong, in all their controversies with the whites, and clung to the customs and prejudices of his ancestors, that endeared him to the Senecas. But these are rare examples, in which the strong law of human nature prevails over the peculiarities of national character.

It follows, that those who are incapacitated by indolence, bodily debility, and mental weakness, from earning laurels on the field of battle, sink into insignificance and even contempt, unless they can strike out some other mode of securing respectability. The same causes which render them unfit for warriors, operate equally against their success in either of the occupations we have alluded to. But no debility, either physical or mental, prevents a man from becoming a doctor; as in this occult science, skilful practice and skilful imposture approach as nearly as the sublime and the ridiculous. We think that the majority of the Indian prophets, conjurers, and medicine-men, have their origin in this principle. Though indolent, or pusillanimous, or unfortunate in labouring under some physical deficiency, they have been compensated by a sufficient portion of that cunning which Nature bestows upon inferior creatures, to enable them to impose on the credulity of the people. A few of these persons have undoubtedly been fanatics, who were self-deluded; but we suppose the greater part of them to be crafty impostors, whose highest motive is to gain a livelihood, without incurring the danger and fatigue of war or hunting, and to rise above the contempt of a wholly idle and useless life.

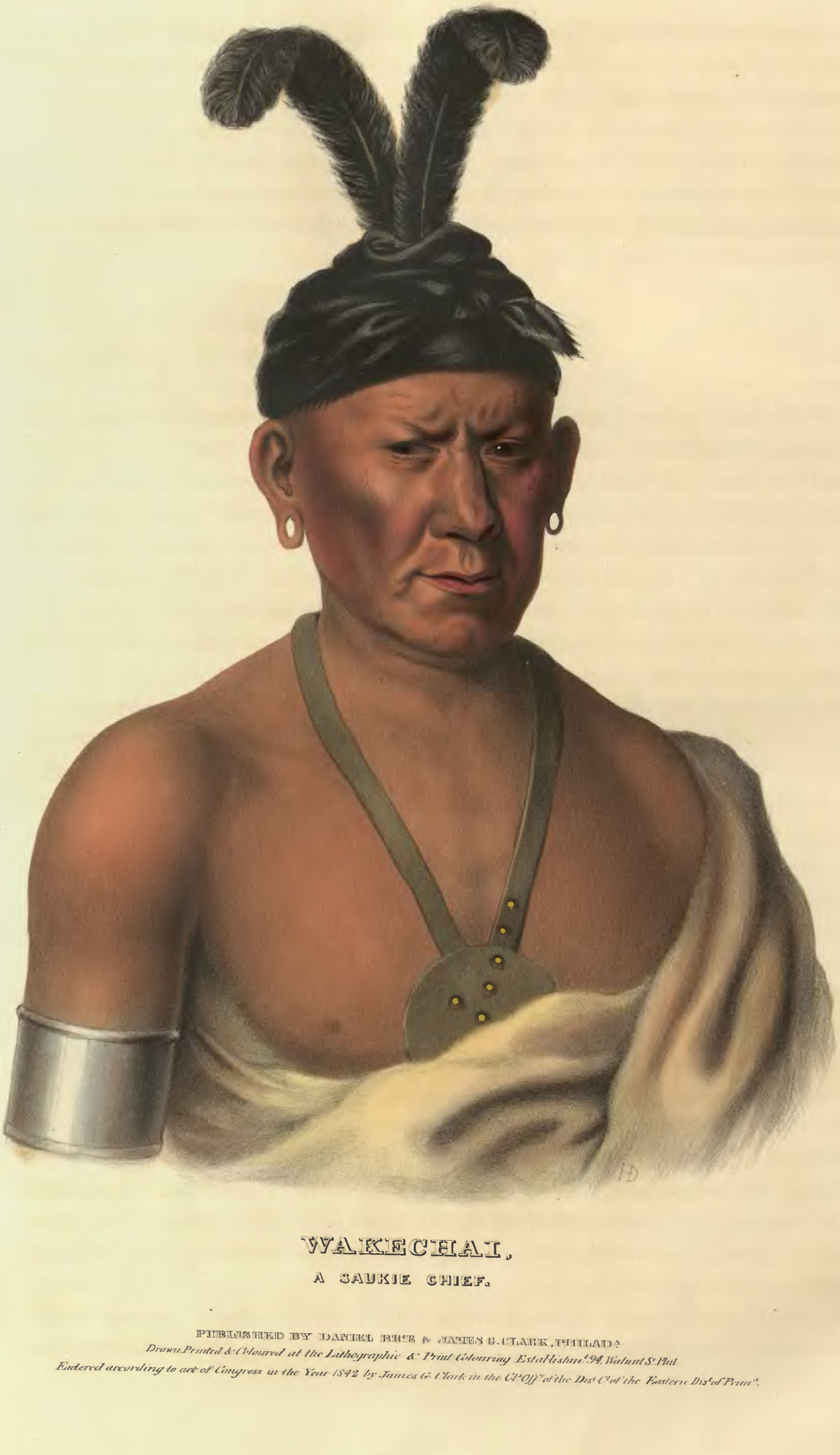
The standing of this class may be readily imagined. A savage people, without arts or literature, who scarcely ever reason, and act almost entirely from impulse, are easily imposed upon. Superstition is one of the thriftiest plants in the wilderness of an uncultivated intellect; it flourishes under the rude culture of the most bungling impostor. The number of such persons is small, for the reasons indicated above; inactive employments are unsuited to the habits and genius of the savage; few will condescend to follow such pursuits, and still more few will undertake the mental exertion of thought and deception required for the office. The conjurers, therefore, rank high, because they are a small class, practising an occult art, among a superstitious people.

The failures of this class, on the other hand, are numerous, because the capital of intellect embarked in it is small, and the indolence and improvidence of the race is such, that few persevere long in any occupation requiring continued attention. The medicine-men and prophets, therefore, often fall into disrepute, either from repeated want of success in their incantations and predictions, or from the laziness and dissoluteness of life consequent upon a brief harvest of successful practice; and the same man who was revered on account of his supposed intercourse with the world of spirits, is heartily despised when discovered to be a cheat. The brother of Tecumthe, whose reputation was very high, and whose influence, extending through several tribes besides his own, lasted for several years, dwindled into a very insignificant person, and in his old age there were "none so poor to do him reverence." There are some who, from honesty of purpose, or great native sagacity, become skilful in public business, or useful counsellors in sickness and domestic calamity, and retain the confidence of the people; but we think that usually this class of persons, like the quacks and humbugs of civilized society, enjoy a short-lived celebrity; the delusion itself survives in ever-blooming vigour; the gullibility of mind which sustains it remains fresh and prolific as the bountiful earth, while the impostors flourish and fade, like the annual plants, in rapid succession.

We need not enlarge upon the practice of the Indian conjurer, for although the details of the modes of operation may exhibit considerable variety, none of them exhibit much ingenuity, and the leading features are few, and exceedingly superficial. The Indians are not an imaginative people; they have no poetry, no sprightliness of fancy, scarcely any perceptible creative faculty. They have no mythology, no belief nor theory in regard to another world, which is general, or which lasts from one generation to another. The whole subject is to them a blank. The conception or idea, inseparable from the existence of spirit, and which the human mind, in a sane state, nourishes under every modification of life, of an hereafter, and a superhuman power, is prevalent among them; but the conception is so vague and feeble as to be fruitless of any practical result. No system of worship obtains amongst them, no fabric of superstition has been reared. When their minds awaken for a moment from the lethargy that benumbs them, and soar into the regions of speculation, the flight is too feeble, and the newly acquired vision too dim, to yield materials for any connected chain of reasoning, and the only product of such efforts, consists of the most puerile and shapeless vagaries. A few traditions are handed down from times past, but so mutilated as to be scarcely traced from one generation to another. The legends, dreams, and visions in current circulation, are mostly of modern date, but are fabricated from the fragments and reminiscences of other times.

Their knowledge of the medicinal qualities of herbs is not extensive. The medicine-men have a few simple remedies of this character, which are efficacious in ordinary cases of disease and injury, and in the use of these the women are equally expert. In more difficult cases they resort to incantations and prayers addressed to good or evil spirits. To produce dreams they resort to fasting and bodily penance, carried often to the utmost power of endurance, and by these means a disturbed state of the mind is induced, which gives rise to visions of more or less coherence. Great confidence is placed in these dreams; and this circumstance affords a sufficient temptation to cunning men to feign them, while it points out to sagacious chiefs an efficient mode through which a secret though powerful influence may be exerted over the people.

Tshizunhaukau was not a regular medicine-man, but he practised the art when it suited his convenience, and had the reputation of possessing the gift. He was a sagacious man, who knew and thought more than those around him. He noticed the seasons and changes of the atmosphere, and had a strong memory for dates and events. The portrait represents him holding in his hand a rod, which was an invention of his own, and was covered with marks and figures representing the divisions of time, and certain changes of the seasons, to which were added signs, indicating the results of certain calculations he had made respecting the weather. It was a curious and original invention, the fruit of an inquisitive and active mind, and the indication of a spirit that rose above the sluggish incuriousness of his race. He had noticed the phenomena, which took place around him, with deep attention, and had recorded upon the tablet of a retentive memory all that seemed worthy of remark. He had endeavoured, to the extent of his limited knowledge and means of information, to trace effects to their causes, and to find out the reasons of uncommon events. The results of these inquiries were carved upon his wand, which became thus an almanac, and doubtless as complete a one, in reference to his wants, as our common almanacs are to the enlightened astronomer. He maintained a high character as a warrior, and was one of the deputation who accompanied Nawkaw, the principal chief of the Winnebagoes, to Washington, in 1828.



WAKECHAI,

A SAUKIE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY DANIEL RICE & JAMES G. CLARK, PHILADA.
Drawn, Printed & Coloured at the Lithographic & Print Colouring Establishmt. 94, Walnut St. Phil.
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WAKECHAI,

A SAUKIE CHIEF.

WAKECHAI, or the Crouching Eagle, was one of the village chiefs, or civil magistrates, of the Saukie nation, and resided at the principal town of that people, near the confluence of Rock river with the Mississippi, in one of the most beautiful regions of Illinois. This neighbourhood has been abandoned by its Indian inhabitants, who have recently removed to the Iowa Territory, on the opposite shore of the Mississippi; but it will always be considered as classic ground, by those who shall be engaged in researches into the history of the Aborigines, as well on account of the unrivalled beauty of the scenery, as from the many interesting recollections connected with the soil.

The subject of this notice was a person of low stature, with a stooping and ungraceful form, a shuffling gait, a stern savage expression of countenance, and a deportment altogether displeasing and undignified. Though named after the noble bird, regarded by the Indians as the most warlike of the feathered tribes, and whose plumage is appropriated to the decoration of the warrior's brow, this chief never acquired any reputation as a brave, nor do we know that he ever performed any warlike feat worthy to be mentioned. That he has been upon the war-path, is most probable, for among a people so entirely military, some service is expected of every individual. But it is certain, that the Crouching Eagle, or as we should interpret the name, *the Eagle stooping upon his prey*, gained no laurels in the field, and never rose to be a leader in any expedition. Neither did he excel in manly sports, or in the ceremonious dances, so highly esteemed in savage life.

It may be very naturally inquired, by what means a person destitute of the qualities which are held in the highest repute among his people, became a chief and a person of influence among them. Without the physical powers which are so greatly valued in savage life, with no reputation for valour, nor any trophy snatched from the enemy by force or cunning, it would not seem that there was any community of feeling between him and his associates, through which he could conciliate their kindness, or command respect.

The answer to the inquiries which we have suggested, shews the vast superiority of mind over any and all endowments that are merely physical. Even in the savage state, under all the disadvantages which surround it, prevent its culture, and cramp its exercise, the intellect silently asserts its supremacy, and the warrior, while he affects to despise it, unconsciously yields to its sway. The Eagle was a man of vigorous and clear mind, whose judicious counsels were of more advantage to his tribe, than any services he could have rendered in the field, even supposing his prowess to have been equal to his sagacity. If nature denied him the swift foot, and the strong arm of the warrior, it endowed him with a prompt and bold heart, and a cool judgment to direct the energies of others. He was not an orator, to win the admiration of multitudes, nor had he those popular and insinuating talents and manners, which often raise individuals of little solid worth to high station and extensive influence. He was a calm and sage man. His nation had confidence in his wisdom; he was considered a prudent and safe counsellor. He gave his attention to public business, became skilled in the affairs of his people, and acquired a character for fidelity, which raised him to places of trust. Perhaps the braves and war chiefs, the hot-blooded, turbulent, and ambitious aspirants for place and honour, submitted the more readily to the counsels of one who was not a rival, and cheerfully yielded him precedence in a sphere in which they were not competitors.

It is recorded of Tecumthe and of Red Jacket, that each of them in his first engagement with the enemy shewed discreditable symptoms of fear; the former became afterwards the most distinguished Indian leader of his time, and both of them enjoyed deservedly the most unlimited influence over their respective nations. These facts are interesting from the evidence they afford of the supremacy of the intellectual over the physical man, in savage as well as in civilized life.

The man of peace, however valuable his services, seldom occupies a brilliant page in history; and Wakechai, though a diligent and useful public man, has left but little trace of his career. The only striking incident which has been preserved in relation to him, is connected with his last moments. He had been lying ill some days, and was labouring under the delirium of a fever, when he dreamed, or imagined, that a supernatural revelation directed him to throw himself into the water, at the spot where Rock river unites with the Mississippi, where his good *Manito*, or guardian spirit, would meet him, and instantly restore him to health. The savage who knows no God, and

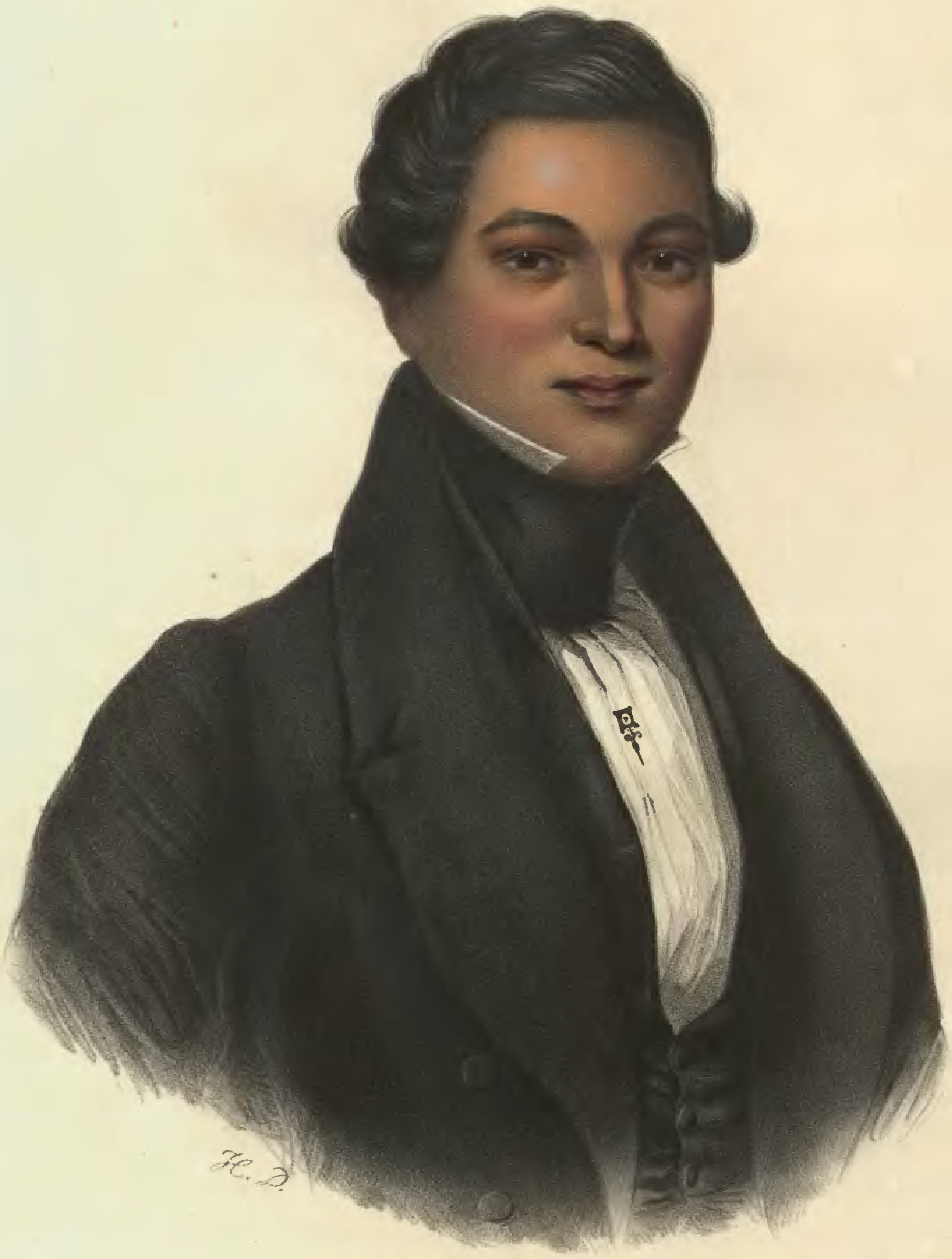
> "Whose soul proud science never taught to stray,
> Far as the solar walk, or milky way,"

is easily deluded by the most absurd superstitions. Every human spirit looks up to something greater than itself; and when the helplessness induced by disease or misfortune, brings an humbling sense of self-abasement, the savage, as well as the saint and the sage, grasps at that which to each, though in a far different sense, is a religion—the belief in a superior intelligence. The blind credulity of the Indian in this respect, is a singular feature in his character, and exhibits a remarkable contrast between the religion of the savage and that of the christian. In his intercourse with men, whether friends or enemies, the savage is suspicious, cautious, and slow in giving his confidence; while in regard to the invisible world, he yields credence to the visions of his own imagination, and the idlest fables of the ignorant or designing, not only without evidence, but against the plain experience of his own senses. In the instance before us, a man of more than ordinary common sense, a sagacious counsellor, accustomed to the examination of facts, and to reasoning upon questions of difficulty, suffered himself to be deceived into the belief that he could plunge with impunity into the water, while enfeebled by disease, and that in the bosom of that element he should meet and converse with a supernatural being, such as he had not only never seen, but of which he could have heard no distinct, rational, or credible account. We cannot avoid the persuasion, that such a fact, while it evinces the imbecility of the human intellect, in reference to the contemplation of the hidden things of another life, does also strongly indicate an innate belief working in the natural mind, and a want, which nothing but a revelation can rightly direct, or fully satisfy.

Wakechai believed and obeyed the vision, nor did any venture to interpose an objection to the performance of that which seemed a religious duty. He arose, and with much difficulty proceeded to the margin of the river. He paused for a moment at that romantic spot, which presents one of the loveliest landscapes ever offered to the human eye. Perhaps he paused to contemplate the great river, which, rising in far distant lakes on the one hand, and rolling away to the ocean on the other, and washing far distant, and to him unknown lands in its course, may have figured to him his own existence, the beginning and the end of which were equally beyond his comprehension. The fatal plunge was made, with undaunted courage, and doubtless with unaltered faith, and the deluded man awoke to the consciousness that he was deceived. The clear stream received and enclosed him in its cold embrace, but no mysterious form met his eye, nor did any friendly voice impart the desired secret. The limbs that should have been renovated, scarcely retained sufficient strength to enable the deluded sufferer to rise again into his native element; he regained the shore with difficulty, where he sunk exhausted, and being carried back to his lodge, died in the evening of the same day.

Wakechai was a popular and respected chief, and was a great favourite of the whites, who found him uniformly friendly, honest, and disposed to maintain peace between his own nation and the American people. He was a person of steady mind, and may be regarded as one of the few statesmen of this little republic who watched and reflected over its interests, and directed its affairs, while others fought its battles. His death was greatly regretted by his own people, and by the American residents of Rock Island.

He was one of the delegation who accompanied General Clarke to Washington in 1824, when his portrait was taken.



KA-NA-PI-MA,

AN OTTAWA CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY DANIEL RICE & JAMES G. CLARK, PHILAD
Drawn, Printed & Coloured at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic Establishment, Nº 94, Walnut Street.
Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1842 by J. T. Bowen, in the Clerk's Office of the Dist Court of the Eastern District of Pennª.

KANAPIMA,

AN OTTAWA CHIEF.

THIS is an admirable likeness, by Otis, of the ruling chief of the Ottawas, a tribe which was formerly numerous and powerful, but is now dwindled to a comparatively small number. They once occupied as hunting grounds the finest lands of Ohio, and are mentioned by the early writers as among the most warlike of the nations with whom the Europeans held intercourse, in the first settlement of the country. With the common fate of their race, they were driven from their former haunts to the sterile and inclement shores of Lake Superior, where a portion of them now derive a precarious subsistence by fishing and hunting, while the remainder have emigrated to the far west.

One of the most celebrated of all the northern Indians was Pontiac, the head chief of this tribe, whose daring exploits and able opposition against the early British settlements on the lakes, are too well known to require repetition in this place. He lived on the south bank of the river St. Clair, above Detroit. His son Tisson, with a part of the tribe, lived on the lands at the junction of the Maumee with Lake Erie, since, and perhaps before, the revolutionary war. Tisson led his people in an expedition against the post of Vincennes, about the time of the first settlement of Kentucky. The Indians were defeated; and the chief, with a number of his warriors, were taken prisoners, and sentenced or threatened to be shot, according to the usages of retaliation too often practised at that period. Tisson was rescued by a stratagem put in operation by a Frenchman named Navarre, and after being concealed by the latter for some time, was enabled to make his escape. For this service, the Ottawas granted to the Navarre family eight hundred acres of choice land at the mouth of the Maumee river, on which they now live. We are indebted for these, and some other particulars, to the politeness of a friend, who received them from Peirre Navarre, grandson of the man who rescued Tisson.

Waskonoket, *A cloud far off*, the only surviving son of Tisson, was dwelling on the reserve land of his tribe, on Maumee Bay, at the mouth of the river of that name, a few years ago. His mother was a French half-breed, and he exhibited in his countenance and complexion strong indications of the European blood which ran in his veins. He was five feet nine inches in height, erect, and well made for action or fatigue, with a round body and full chest. His forehead was large and inclining backward, his nose straight, but rather broad, his eyes a dark grey, and his lips prominent. He was affable, courteous, and hospitable in his intercourse with the whites, but dignified, firm, and somewhat reserved in his manners towards his own people, by whom he was much beloved, and over whom he maintained a strict rule. When the government purchased the lands of this band of the Ottawas, with a view to their removal to the west, he received twenty-five hundred dollars for his proportion, after which he became profuse in his expenditures. He had two wives, who lived together in perfect harmony. Our intelligent correspondent adds, "He, and this branch of the tribe, have moved over the Mississippi, to the lands appropriated for them by the government. When about leaving his inheritance, he appeared sometimes thoughtful, but neither expressed hope, nor joy, nor regret. Near the time of his departure, I observed him standing in the principal street of the town we had laid out on a part of their council-ground and burial-place, with his arms folded on his breast, looking on the land, the river, and the bay, with that deep composure of features which the Indian so commonly preserves, but which is so difficult to describe, for the closest observer could not discover in his countenance the indication of a single passion that moved in his breast."

The larger portion of the Ottawas dwell in the province of Upper Canada. At the commencement of the war between the United States and Great Britain, the Canadian Ottawas joined the British, and were received into service, and they required the bands residing within the American boundaries to repair to the same standard. The latter gave an evasive answer; and shortly after sent a message to General Hull, offering to fight under his command, if he would engage to protect them from the Canadian tribes. The General, in pursuance of the humane policy adopted by the American government, informed them that he did not require their assistance, and advised them to remain peaceably at home, without embroiling themselves in a war in which they had no interest. But neutrality is by no means a condition suited to the Indian taste; and the Canadian tribes, on the defeat of General Hull, compelled their American friends to join them. They were, however, not very active; they had no chief of any energy to lead them, and little relish for the British service. Tisson died by poison, administered by some of his tribe, in the gratification of revenge or jealousy, and was buried on the east bank of the Maumee, in sight of the present town of Manhattan, in Ohio.

The subject of this sketch, Kanapima, or *One who is talked of*, is the chief of another branch of the Ottawas, who are settled at *L'Arbre Croche*, in Michigan, about forty miles south of Michilimackinac. He is otherwise called Augustin Hamelin, jr. He was born at the place of his present residence, on the 12th of July, 1813. In 1829, he was sent to Cincinnati, in company with a younger brother, named Maccoda Binnasee, *The Blackbird*, to be educated at the Catholic Seminary at that place. They remained here three years, not making any remarkable progress, that we can learn, but still receiving instruction with a degree of profit which encouraged the benevolent persons who had undertaken their education to persevere in their generous design. Kanapima was said to be the more sprightly of the two, but the brother was probably the better scholar. They both exhibited much restlessness under the confinement of the school, and a decided fondness for athletic exercises. They loved the open air; when the sun shone they could scarcely be restrained from wandering off to the romantic hills which surround this beautiful city; and when it rained, however hard, they delighted to throw off their upper garments and expose themselves to the falling showers.

It has been a favourite project with the Roman Catholic Missionaries, to rear up a native priesthood among the American Indians, and they have taken great pains to induce some of their converts to be educated for the holy office. It seems strange, that so rational a project, and one which would appear to promise the most beneficent results, should have entirely failed, especially when undertaken by a church of such ample means and persevering spirit—yet it is a fact, that not a single individual of this race in North America, among the many who have been educated, and the still larger number who have been converted to christianity, has ever become a minister of the gospel.

Kanapima and his brother were of the number upon whom this experiment was tried, and they were accordingly sent to Rome in 1832, to prosecute their studies in the Propaganda Fide. After remaining there about two years, Maccoda Binnasee died, and Kanapima immediately afterwards returned to this country, became the chief of his tribe, and resumed the costume and habits of his people. His manners have much of the ease and polish of civil life; but his feelings, his affections, and his opinions have resumed their native channels. In the latter part of 1835, he conducted a party of his tribe to Washington City, and was one of those who were specially appointed by the Ottawas to make a treaty.

The affecting circumstance of the death of the young Ottawa student at Rome, has been commemorated in the following beautiful lines by the Rev. Edward Purcell of Cincinnati.

ON THE DEATH OF MACCODA BINNASEE, AT ROME.

The morning breaks, see how the glorious sun,
Slow wheeling from the sea, new lustre sheds
O'er the soft climes of Italy. The flower
That kept its perfume through the dewy night,
Now breathes it forth again. Hill, vale, and grove,
Clad in rich verdure, bloom, and from the rock
The joyful waters leap. Oh! meet it is,
That thou, Imperial Rome, should lift thy head,
Decked with the triple crown, when cloudless skies
And lands, rejoicing in the summer sun,
Rich blessings yield.

But there is grief to day:
A voice is heard within thy marble walls,
A voice lamenting for the youthful dead;
For o'er the relics of her forest boy
The "Mother of dead Empires" weeps. And lo!
Clad in white robes, the long procession moves;
Youths throng around the bier, and high in front,
Star of our hopes! the glorious cross is reared,
Triumphant sign! The low sweet voice of prayer,
Flowing spontaneous from the spirit's depths,
Pours its rich tones, and now the requiem swells,
Now dies upon the ear.

But there is one
Who stands beside the grave, and though no tear
Dims his dark eye, yet does his spirit weep.
With beating heart he gazes on the spot
Where his young comrade shall forever rest;
For they together left their forest home,
Led on by him, who to their fathers preached
Glad tidings of great joy, the holy man,
Who sleeps beneath the soil his labours blessed.
How must the spirit mourn, the bosom heave,
Of that lone Indian boy! No tongue can speak
The accents of his tribe, and as he bends,
In melancholy mood, above the dead,
Imagination clothes his tearful thoughts
In rude but plaintive cadences:

"Soft be my brother's sleep!
At Nature's call the cypress here shall wave,
The wailing winds lament—above the grave
The dewy night shall weep.

"And he thou leavest forlorn,
Oh! he shall come to shade thy bed with moss,
To plant, what thou didst love, the mystic cross,
To hope, to pray, to mourn.

"No marble here shall rise;
But o'er thy grave I'll teach the forest tree
To lift its glorious head, and point to thee,
Rejoicing in the skies:

"And when it feels the breeze,
I'll think thy spirit wakes the gentle sound;
Such was our father's thought, when all around
Shook the old forest leaves.

"Dost thou forget the hour
When first we heard the Christian's hope revealed,
When fearless warriors felt their bosoms yield
Beneath Almighty power?

"Then truths came o'er us fast,
Whilst on the mound the Missionary stood,
And through the list'ning silence of the wood
His words, like spirits, passed.

"And oh! hadst thou been spared,
We too had gone to bless the father-land,
To spread rich stores around, and, hand in hand,
Each holy labour shared.

"But here thy relics lie,
Where Nature's flowers shall bloom o'er Nature's child,
Where ruins stretch, and classic art has piled
Her monuments on high.

"Sleep on, sleep peaceful here;
The traveller from thy native land will claim this spot,
And give to thee, what kingly tombs have not,
The tribute of a tear!"

END OF VOL. II.

INDIAN
TRIBES

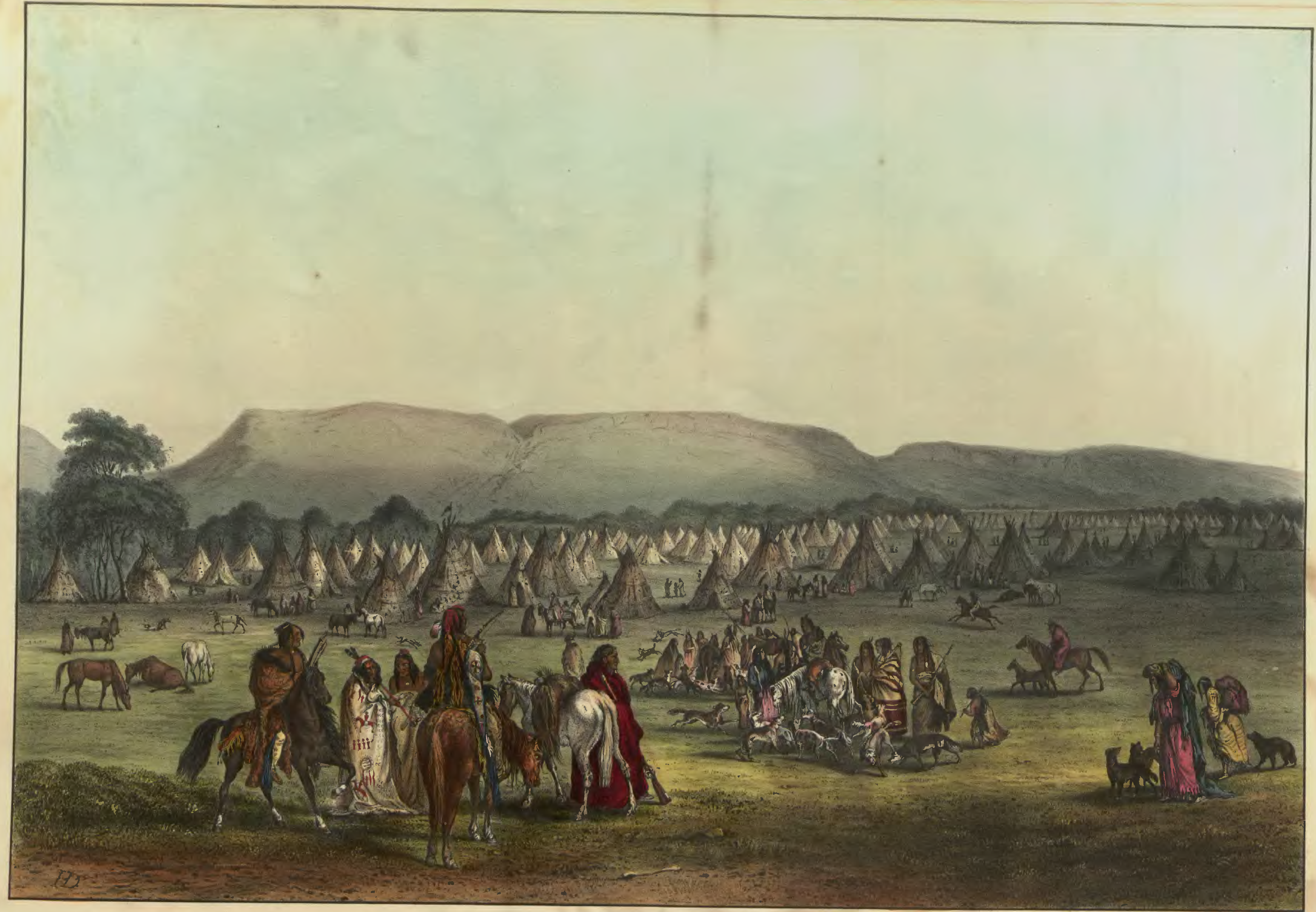
THOS. L. McKENNE
AND
JAMES HALL

VOL. III.

PHILADELPHIA
1844

HAUD IMPUNE LAESUS

W. J. De Renne.



ENCAMPMENT OF PIEKANN INDIANS,

NEAR FORT M^c KENZIE

on the Muscleshell River.

[illegible]

HISTORY
OF
THE INDIAN TRIBES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES
OF THE
PRINCIPAL CHIEFS.

EMBELLISHED WITH ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY PORTRAITS,
FROM THE
INDIAN GALLERY
IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF WAR, AT WASHINGTON.

BY THOMAS L. M'KENNEY,
LATE OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
AND JAMES HALL, ESQ.
OF CINCINNATI.

VOLUME III.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY DANIEL RICE AND JAMES G. CLARK,
132 ARCH STREET.
1844.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1843, by James G. Clark, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court, for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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☞ "Part Fourth" of the Essay revised and corrected by Thos. L. McKenney.

ERRATA.

At page 175, second paragraph, first line, for "to which we shall allude more at large," read "to which we have alluded more at large in the Biography of Sequo-yah. The following names on plates, Jtcho-Tustinnuggee, page 104; Julcee Mathla, page 120, read as in Contents.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE PORTRAIT OF POCAHONTAS.

THE Portraits in this work are not merely pictorial, but exact likenesses of the individuals they represent, and of the costumes in which they are attired. Many have doubted whether a genuine likeness of Pocahontas existed,—indeed, we had long abandoned all hope of procuring one, but by dint of constant effort, having got upon a trail, some years ago, one has been found. That it may be contemplated with the interest that we all take in viewing portraits of distinguished persons—an interest always greatly increased in proportion as our confidence in the fidelity of the artist, and in the close resemblance which his production bears to the individual, is established—we state, that this is an exact copy of an original portrait of Pocahontas, painted between the years 1616 and 1617, during her visit to England, in company with her husband, Mr. Rolfe. The remains of the original are at this time, November 20, 1843, in possession of Doctor Thomas Robinson, in Petersburg, Virginia. Mr. R. M. Sully, the artist who made the copy from the original, from which copy the portrait in this work was taken, employed great labour in attaching the decaying parts together, so as to bring the whole within his power, and he succeeded.

We proceed to state the proofs on which the genuineness of this beautiful picture rests. The original documents are in our possession, from which we copy the following:—

1st, A letter from Richard Randolph, Esq., of Virginia, written and dated in Washington, 1st April, 1842.

"Pocahontas and Mr. Rolfe, her husband, arrived at Plymouth on the 12th June, 1616. Their portraits were taken whilst they were in England, where their son Thomas was born. Pocahontas died at Gravesend in the early part of the year 1617; her husband returned to Virginia, leaving his son to the care of Mr. Henry Rolfe, his brother.

"Thomas Rolfe returned to Virginia, and there married, and died, leaving an only child, Jane, who married Col. Robert Bolling, and died, leaving an only child, John Bolling, whose daughter Jane, married Richard Randolph, of Curles, in the county of Henrico, State of Virginia. Their son Ryland, who owned and resided on the patrimonial estate, after receiving his education in England, was informed that the portraits of Pocahontas and Rolfe, were in the possession of a gentleman in England, whose name is now forgotten.

"He wrote to his friend in England, to endeavour to purchase them for him: when the gentleman was applied to, and informed that Mr. Randolph was a descendant of Pocahontas and Rolfe, he presented the portraits to Mr. Randolph, whose friend sent them to Virginia, where they arrived safely, and were hung up in Mr. Randolph's mansion, Turkey Island.

"Mr. Randolph died in the year 1784. Soon after his death, his estate was publicly sold, and these portraits were purchased by Mr. Thomas Bolling, of Cobbs, in the county of Chesterfield, at twenty shillings each, that being the appraised value; owing to the following agreement:—Mr. Thomas Bolling, and four other descendants of Pocahontas, were each anxious to purchase the pictures; and a proposition was made to decide by lot, which of the five should have them, and Mr. Bolling, being the nearest, was permitted to purchase them without opposition.

"This statement was made to me by my father, David Meade Randolph, who was the executor of Ryland Randolph, and sold the pictures.

"The inventory and account of sales may be seen in the office of the county court of Henrico.

"*Washington*, 1*st April*, 1842. "RICHARD RANDOLPH."

2d, Copy of a letter to Mr. R. M. Sully, from Mr. W. F. Simpson, of Virginia.

"*Friday*, 13*th August*, 1830.

"DEAR SULLY:—You requested me a few days ago to call and see the portrait of Pocahontas you have lately been busy upon, from the one which you borrowed from her descendants at Cobbs. I did so last evening while you were from home, and feel much pleasure in bearing testimony to the style in which you have executed your trust, a task so difficult from the mutilated state of the original picture, that I really thought it almost impossible for you to succeed as completely as you have done. It is faithful to a letter, perhaps more so than is *politic*, since had you made some little alteration in her ladyship's position, and dressed her rather more in accordance with the taste of this after age, I have no doubt the picture would tell better with the majority of those who may hereafter see it. I of course think you quite right in sticking as rigidly to the 'letter of the law' as you have done."

3d, Copy of a statement from Doctor T. Robinson, of Petersburg, Virginia, August 20th, 1843.

"The Indian picture copied by Mr. Sully, the original of which is now in my possession, was shown to me at Cobbs, some seventeen or eighteen years ago, by Mr. Bolling, as the portrait of Pocahontas; Mrs. B., then proprietor of the portrait, was herself a descendant of Pocahontas, and widow of the representative of Powhattan. A slight inspection of the costume, satisfied me that this was the only portrait of a female painted in the reign of James I. among the family pictures.

"With very great pleasure I bear testimony to the rigid fidelity with which Mr. Sully has copied this very interesting portrait, notwithstanding the temptation to certain alterations in conformity with the romantic spirit of the history of the individual whom it represents, by which the effect might have been increased, without impairing the likeness. From every thing of this kind Mr. Sully has with great propriety abstained, while the likeness, costume and attitude have been preserved with great exactness.

"The original is crumbling so rapidly that it may be considered as having already passed out of existence.

"*Petersburg, August* 20, 1830. "T. ROBINSON."

4th, Copy of a statement from Mrs. Anne Robinson, of Virginia.

"From my earliest recollection I have been accustomed to see the picture copied by Mr. Sully in the house of my grandfather, Mr. T. Bolling, of Cobbs; it was always shown as the portrait of Pocahontas. Mr. T. Bolling was the representative of Powhattan; my grandmother, Mrs. Bitty Bolling, equally distinct from Pocahontas; neither entertained a doubt that the picture in question was a portrait of Pocahontas. My father, also a descendant of Pocahontas, was well acquainted with the history of the picture.

"ANNE ROBINSON."

PORTRAIT OF POCAHONTAS.

5th, Extract of a letter from D. M. Randolph to R. M. Sully.

"*Yorktown*, 10*th September*, 1830.

"About the year 1788–9, I resided at Presque Isle, one mile from Bermuda Hundred. Occasionally interchanging visits of hospitality with the masters of vessels while in that port, it was my good fortune to become intimate with a captain Joseph Watson, of the brig Jane, of Washington.

"This Captain Watson brought Mr. Randolph a parcel of books.

"These books were accompanied by a long letter from Jonah Wheeler, of the respectable commercial house of Gerard, Preston, Winder & Wheeler, then existing in Liverpool. The books were presented by Mr. Wheeler, from his having understood my character as a farmer, and my name as a descendant of Pocahontas.

"Mr. Wheeler stated that he had heard 'his mother relate the circumstance of a Mr. Randolph or Bolling, having in their day been over to England and going down into Warwickshire, one hundred and fifty miles from London, in pursuit of the portraits of Mr. Rolfe and Pocahontas;' the gentleman, he said, offered a large price for the pictures, but the family who had them, themselves not descendants from Pocahontas, but from Rolfe, disdaining a *premium*, generously gave the same to Ryland Randolph, who satisfied them of his better pretensions to so valuable a possession. I retain a perfect recollection of their being brought over from England by my uncle, their first appearance at Turkey Island, and lastly their sale, by myself, acting as clerk to my father, the administrator, in the month of March, 1784. Our estimable fellow citizen, Fayette, was he now among us, would, I believe, identify the pictures and confirm their history, from the fact of his intimacy with Ryland Randolph, whose house served for his head-quarters a considerable time in the memorable campaign of 1781.

"Yours, &c.

"D. M. RANDOLPH."

There are additional documents before us; but we rest the genuiness of the copy taken by Mr. Sully, as also that of the original, upon the above proofs, with the assurance that the picture in this work is a perfect copy by Sully from the original.

HISTORY

OF

THE INDIAN TRIBES

OF

NORTH AMERICA.

THE earlier historians, who recorded the efforts and progress of the European adventurers that sought in the new world those favours which fortune had denied them in the old, have not left us much precise information respecting the condition of the Indian tribes who then occupied this part of the continent. The external appearance of the Indians, and their mode of life, differing so widely from every thing which Europeans had previously seen, seem to have arrested their attention, and withdrawn it from objects of inquiry, which, to us, are so much more important.

Could we bring back the three centuries that have elapsed since the discovery by Columbus, how much might we hope to recall of the history, tradition, and institutions of the Indians which have for ever passed away! Still much remains—and if all who have opportunities for observation would devote themselves to these researches, a race of men not more insulated in their position, than peculiar in their opinions and customs, would be rescued from that comparative oblivion in which we fear they are destined, under present circumstances, speedily to become involved.

Whence the Indians of America derived their origin, is a question long discussed; and although the particular causes, and route, and circumstances of their migration can never be ascertained, yet there is little doubt, at this day, that they are branches of the great Tartar stock. In arriving at this conclusion, we do not give much weight to any casual coincidences that may be discerned between the Asiatic and American dialects. Of all the sources of information by which the descent of nations can be traced, we consider the deductions of comparative etymology, when applied to a written language, the most uncertain. It is difficult in such cases to fix, with accuracy, the true sound of words; and it is well known that coincidences exist in many languages radically different from one another, and spoken by communities whose separation from any common stock precedes all historic monuments. Such coincidences are either accidental, or the analogous words are the common relics of that universal tongue which was lost in the miraculous interposition upon the plains of Shinar.

There is a fact illustrative of this position, within our own knowledge, which demonstrates the futility of any conclusion drawn from such premises. It is well known that the practice of dividing fields in England, by ditches, was introduced in the last century. When it was first adopted, the common people were suddenly arrested in their walks upon the brink of these ditches, without being aware of their existence, until they approached them. Their surprise was manifested by the exclamation, "*ha, ha*," and eventually the ditches themselves were denominated *ha, ha.* Among the *Sioux,* the Falls of St. Anthony are called *ha, ha.* These falls, approached from below, are not visible, until a projecting point is passed, when they burst upon the traveller in all their grandeur. The Indians, no doubt, struck with the sudden and glorious prospect, marked their surprise, as did the English peasants, with the same exclamation—*ha, ha;* and this exclamation has become the name of the cataract. But he who would deduce from this coincidence the common origin of the English and Sioux, would reason as logically as many of those who arrange the branches of the human family into classes because a few doubtful resemblances in their vocabularies are discovered.

Some curious observations on this topic were made by the celebrated American traveller, John Ledyard. The wide extent of his travels among savage nations in almost every region of the globe, together with his remarkable sagacity in discriminating, and facility in recording, the peculiarities of savage manners and character, give a value to his opinions and remarks on this subject, which those of few other persons can claim. The following extract is from his Journal, written in Siberia:

"I have not as yet taken any vocabularies of the Tartar language. If I take any, they will be very short ones. Nothing is more apt to deceive than vocabularies, when taken by an entire stranger. Men of scientific curiosity make use of them in investigating questions of philosophy as well as history, and I think often with too much confidence, since nothing is more difficult than to take a vocabulary, that shall answer any good ends for such a purpose. The different sounds of the same letters, and of the same combinations of letters, in the languages of Europe, present an insurmountable obstacle to making a vocabulary, which shall be of general use. The different manner, also, in which persons of the same language would write the words of a new language, would be such, that a stranger might suppose them to be two languages.

"Most uncultivated languages are very difficult to be *orthographized* in another language. They are generally guttural; but when not so, the ear of a foreigner cannot accommodate itself to the inflection of the speaker's voice soon enough to catch the true sound. This must be done instantaneously; and even in a language with which we are acquainted, we are not able to do it for several years. I seize, for instance, the accidental moment, when a savage is inclined to give me the names of things. The medium of this conversation is only signs. The savage may wish to give me the word for *head*, and lays his hand on the top of his head. I am not certain whether he means *the head*, or *the top of the head*, or perhaps *the hair* of the head. He may wish to say *leg*, and puts his hand to the calf. I cannot tell whether he means *the leg*, or *the calf*, or *flesh*, or *the flesh*. There are other difficulties. The island of Onalaska is on the coast of America, opposite to Asia. There are few traders on it. Being there with Captain Cook, I was walking one day on the shore in company with a native, who spoke the Russian language. I did not understand it. I was writing the names of several things, and pointed to the ship, supposing he would understand that I wanted the name of it. He answered me in a phrase, which in Russ meant, *I know*. I wrote down, *a ship*. I gave him some snuff, which he took, and held out his hand for more, making use of a word which signified in Russ, *a little*. I wrote *more*."—See *Sparks's Life of John Ledyard*, p. 148, first edition.

The claims of our primitive people to an Asiatic descent are founded upon other and stronger testimony;—upon the general resemblance which they bear, in many points of character, manners, customs, and institutions—circumstances not easily changed, or easily mistaken—to the various tribes occupying the great table lands of Tartary. We feel no disposition to examine the details of this question. It has been long before the literary world, and all the facts and considerations connected with it have been carefully investigated, discussed, and considered. To revive it were idle, for its interest can never be revived, nor is there reason to suppose that any new or more accurate views of the subject will ever be presented.

After stating many curious particulars and striking facts on this subject, Ledyard adds, by way of conclusion from the whole—

"I know of no people among whom there is such a uniformity of features, (except the Chinese, the Jews, and the Negroes,) as among the Asiatic Tartars. They are distinguished, indeed, by different tribes, but this is only nominal. Nature has not acknowledged the distinction; but, on the contrary, marked them, wherever found, with the indisputable stamp of Tartars. Whether in Nova Zembla, Mongolia, Greenland, or on the banks of the Mississippi, they are the same people, forming the most numerous, and, if we must except the Chinese, the most ancient nation on the globe. But I, for myself, do not except the Chinese, because I have no doubt of their being of the same family."

Again, he says, "I am certain that all the people you call *red* people on the continent of America, and on the continents of Europe and Asia, as far south as the southern parts of China, are all one people, by whatever names distinguished, and that the best general name would be *Tartar*. I suspect that *all* red people are of the same family. I am satisfied that America was peopled from Asia, and had some, if not all, its animals from thence."—*Life of Ledyard*, pp. 246, 255.

Equally idle would it be to indulge in speculations concerning the causes, or motives, or circumstances, which led to this exodus from the eastern to the western continent. How long it had occurred previously to the discovery, is, and must remain a matter of conjecture—the facts in our possession are not sufficient to enable us to form even a plausible conjecture upon the subject. It is evident, however, that many ages must have passed away between the first settlement of America and its discovery by Europeans.

With the exception of the half civilised empires of Mexico and Peru, the aboriginal inhabitants were roving barbarians, little advanced from a state of nature, and depending solely upon the chase for the means of subsistence. They seem to have been spread pretty equally over the continent, leaving no portion of the country without inhabitants, nor any with a dense population. Barbarous tribes, under such circumstances, increase slowly. The life of a hunter is not favourable to a rapid increase of population. If he sometimes possesses abundance, he is often exposed to famine.

In forming a correct estimate of the early condition of the Indians, much allowance must be made for the spirit of exaggeration visible in the narratives of the first travellers and adventurers. They seem to have surveyed the objects before them under the influence of a mirage, which not only distorted the features, but increased their numbers and proportions. In addition to this predisposition, the fault in some measure of the age, the soldiers of fortune who hazarded life and fame in their efforts to subdue the native inhabitants, were led, in the statement of their own claims and services, to overrate the number, and power, and resources of their enemies. There are many evidences of this spirit, particularly among the Spanish conquerors, and he who reads the account of their expeditions, and compares them with the habits and condition of the people they describe, as these are now known to us, must be satisfied, that if the leading facts are true, the details are entitled to little credit. It is difficult, at this distance of time and place, to point to particular instances of this habit of misrepresentation. The conclusion must be deduced rather from a general view of the subject, than from single facts. But there is one gross exaggeration which we are able to detect, by a comparison of the descriptions which have come to us, with the actual customs of the Indians of the present day.

Every one must recollect the wonderful accounts which have been given of the hieroglyphical pictures of the Mexicans, and these have been often referred to, as evidence of the advances made by those people in knowledge and civilisation. In Dr. Robertson's History of America, accurate representations are given of those paintings; and they resemble, in every particular, the rude drawings made by the *Sioux*, and other western Indians, upon the fleshy side of their buffalo skins. The exact resemblance cannot be mistaken, as every one may satisfy himself who will compare the reduced fac similes given by Dr. Robertson, with those which accompany Dr. James's account of Colonel Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains.

In the region extending from the Atlantic ocean to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, there were numerous tribes wandering over the country, and dividing it among them by very indefinite boundaries, and an imperfect possession. It is impossible to form an enumeration of these tribes, as they existed at the era of the discovery. We have ourselves collected not less than two hundred and seventy-two names* of different tribes which are found in the early narratives and histories; and how many more would have been disclosed by further research, we presume not to say. Upon what principle these appellations were originally given, it is impossible to ascertain. They far exceed any atcual divisions among the Indians, either social or political, which could have existed; and it would be vain to inquire to what tribe or bands many of them were given. Then, as now, the Indians were doubtless separated into many communities, occupying different regions, and with interests which were, or were supposed to be, various and sometimes adverse. Whether

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* Dubois,
Cheveux relevez,
Quatoghies,
Adnondecks,
Capiga,
Bull heads,
Mussisakies,
Esopus,

Cheveuz ou Port leué,
Andata honoto,
Oneidas,
Canastoga,
Calmawas,
Arogisti,
Sinodouwas,
Dewagamas,
Lenehas,
Onondagos,
Cayugas,
Wayanoak,
Chictaghicks,
Iwikties,
Utawawas,
Ouyslanous,
Kaskaskias,
Mitchigamaus,
Renais,
Outagamies,
Sioux,
Saks,
Kickapoos,
Tamawas,
Chactas, or Choctaws,
Peauguicheas, or Peahushaws, supposed to be Peanguicheas, or Piankeshaws,
Alibamous,
Taskikis,
Outachepas,
Tomeas,
Abchas,
Talapenches,
Conchakus,
Pakauds,
Kaoutyas, or Cowetas,
Ouanchas,
Chenakisses,
Escaamba,
Souriquois,
Cambas,
Peskadaneeoukkanti,
Twightwes,
Salanas,
Shawanous,
Outagamies,
Kehabous,
Maskuticks,
Mahekandes,
Potawatimies,
Walhominies,
Puans,
Dionoudadic,
Owenagungas,
Ouiagies,
Ponacocks,
Schahooks,
Agonnousioni,
Canabas,
Etcheneus, or Etchmins,
Malicetes,
Baisimetes,
Papinachois,
Oumamioucks,
Eves, or Chats,
L'Ecureuil,
Mohingaus, supposed to be Mohingans or Mohicans,
Nez percez,
Kareses,
Mousonis,
Cawittas,
Tallpoosas,
Coosas,
Apalachias,
Coushaes, or Coosades,
Oakmulgis,
Oconis,
Ockhoys,
Alibam,
Weetumkees,
Paleanas,
Tacusas,
Chacsihoomis,
Alickas,
Odsinachies,
Aunies,
Tuscaroras,
Nehkereages,
Tahsagroudie,
Conestogoe,
Canoyeas, or Nantihokes,
Conoyucksuchroona,
Cochnewwasroonaw,
Tehoanoughroonaw,
Sachdagughroonaw,
Catawbas,
Chenkus,
Conoy, living among the Tuscaroras,
Aquelon pissas, or Colla pissas,
Tiaoux,
Oaktashippas,
Wyogtami,
Shogleys,
Musquakey,
Assinais,
Adaies, or Adayes,
Pammahas,
Epesengles,
Avoyelles,
Chatots,
Thomez,
Chacci Oumas,
Oufe Agoulas,
Tapoussas,
Bayouc Agoulas,
Oque Loussas,
Avoyels,
Otheues,
Wampano,
Wamanus,
Chihokokis,
Wapingeis,
Connecedegas,
Rondaxes,
Wasses, mentioned by Long,
Hawoyazask, or Musquash,
Minisuk,
Shawendadies,
Wateree,
Eano,
Charah,
Chowan,
Nachee,
Yamasee,
Coosah,
Callapipas,
Oumas,
Tomkas,
Natches,
Anhawas,
Pehenguichias,
Pr,
Casco,
Pigwachet,
Piscataquas,
Newickawanacks,
Wiscasset,
Passamaquoddy,
St. Francois,
Quinaquous,
Ipati,
Hannetons,
Oua,
Tentouha,
Nadouesteaus, supposed to be Nadowessies,
Arsenipoits,
Chougaskabees,
Aisnous,
Tagibao,
Ouabachees,
Biscatonges,
Chininoas,
Choumaus,
Nassonis,
Quanoatinos,
Tarahas,
Palaquessous,
Nabari,

they all descended from a common stock is a question not easily answered. Even at this day, our information concerning the Indian languages is very imperfect. The principles which regulate them are but partially known, and much more severe investigations into their construction will be necessary before we are enabled to ascertain all the points of resemblance which they bear to one another, and all the anomalies they exhibit when compared with the more methodised and finished tongues of the old world. Many of the Indian languages are evidently cognate dialects, but in attempting to ascend to their common origin, we soon become involved in uncertainty.

The great division of the French writers was into the Huron, or Wyandot, the Algonquin, and the Sioux stocks. These comprehended almost all the tribes known to them, and they yet comprehend much the larger portion of the tribes known to us. But besides these, the present state of our information upon the subject leads to the conclusion that there are three primitive languages spoken by the southern tribes. Of these the Chactaws and Chickasaws form one; the Creek, or Muskogee, another; and the Cherokee a third. West of the Mississippi the primitive dialects appear to be the Minataree, the Pawnee, the Chayenne, the Blackfeet, and the Padoucee, making eleven original stocks between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Rocky Mountains. But it is by no means certain that all these great families are radically different one from another. Further investigations may exhibit resemblances not yet discovered, and reduce to cognate dialects, languages now supposed to be radically dissimilar.

Montagnes, supposed to be Montagnard, or Montagues,
Ochasteguins,
Ontaouonones,
Andastonez,
Bussenmeus,
Altihamaguez,
Gaspesiens,
Iroquets,
Nation neuht,
Sokoki,
Abenaquis,
Ozembogus,
Tangeboas,
Ostonoos,
Mausalea,
Mousa,
Ossotoues,
Chachachouma,
Yataches,
Onodo,
Napgitache,
Quonantino,
Epicerinis, or Sorciers,
Kiscakous,
Mosookees,
Ouachas,
Caouachas,
Chitimachas,
Hoomas,
Mobilians,
Pasca Oocolos,
Hattahappas, supposed to be Atakapas,
Uchees,
Biloxis,
Ybitoopas,
Mistapnis,
Pascagoulas,
Bayagoulas,
Quinnepas,
Mongontatchas,
Tonicas,
Otchagras,
Sahohes,
Amikones, or Castor,
Malecites,
Poualakes,
Onyapes,
Apineus,
Mattaugwessawacks,
Nihanticks,
Nepnet,
Dassa Monpeake,
Chickahominies,
Yamassecs,
Nipmuck,
Nianticks,
Norredgewock,
Wemenocks,
Androscoggins, or Anasaguntacooks,
Tomez,
Corrois,
Offogoulas,
Teoux,
Castachas,
Atakapas,
Ounontcharonnous,
Plats cotez de chiens,
Savanois,
Gaspesiens,
Bersiamitts,
Papenachois,
Montagnez,
Naausi,
Naichoas,
Ouadiches,
Cabinoios,
Mentous,
Ozotheoa,
Dogenga,
Panivacha,
Pera,
Panaloga,
Malatautes,
Tichenos,
Nepissings,
Tamescamengs,
Têtes de boule,
Nation du Castor,
Têtes plates,
Octotates,
Aïouez,
Omaus,
Montagnais,
Torimas,
Topingas,
Sothoues,
Kappas.

It is highly probable that duplicates occur in this list. Montagnez, for example, may mean the same as Motagnais, &c.

This great diversity of speech among a race of men presenting in other respects features almost identical, is a subject of curious and interesting speculation. Every one who has surveyed the Indians must have been struck with the general resemblance they bear to each other. In all those physical characteristics which divide them from the other great branches of the human family, they form one people. The facial angle is the same, and so is the colour, general stature, form of the face, appearance, and colour of the eyes, and the common impression which is made, by the whole, upon the spectator. These facts indicate a common origin. But we find among a people occupying the same general region, and with similar habits and modes of life, and unbroken communication, eleven languages, among which no verbal resemblance has been discovered. And yet, as far as we are acquainted with them, one common principle of construction pervades the whole. Whence this unity of form and diversity of expression? Are they to be traced to the facility with which the words of unwritten languages are changed, and to the tenacity with which we adhere to the process by which our ideas are formed and disclosed? If so, these languages have descended from a common origin, and the tribes must have separated from one another at periods more or less remote, as their dialects approach, or recede from each other. But this conjecture does not accord with the local relations and established intercourse between many of the tribes. Some of those speaking languages radically different live, and have lived for ages, in juxtaposition, and the most confidential relations have been established among them. This is particularly the case with the Winnebagoes speaking a dialect of the Sioux stock, and the Menominies speaking a dialect of the Algonquin stock; and such is also the case with the Hurons, or Wyandots, and the Ottawas. And it is well known that the Shawanese, whose language is similar to that spoken by the Kickapoo, and other northern tribes, emigrated from the south, and were, when they became first known to the Europeans, planted among the Creeks upon the streams flowing through Florida. The patronymic appellations used by the various tribes indicate a connection very different from that which we should be led to deduce from a comparison of their dialects. We cannot trace these claims of affinity to any known source; but like many usages which have survived the causes that gave birth to them, they were doubtless founded upon established relations existing at the time. The Wyandots claim to be the uncle of all the other tribes; and the Delawares to be the grandfather. But the Delawares acknowledge themselves to be the nephew of the Wyandots, and these two tribes speak languages which have not the most remote resemblance. Whether we shall ever be able to settle these questions is doubtful. At any rate we can only hope to do it by observation, and by a rigid abstinence from idle speculations until our collection of facts shall be greatly enlarged.

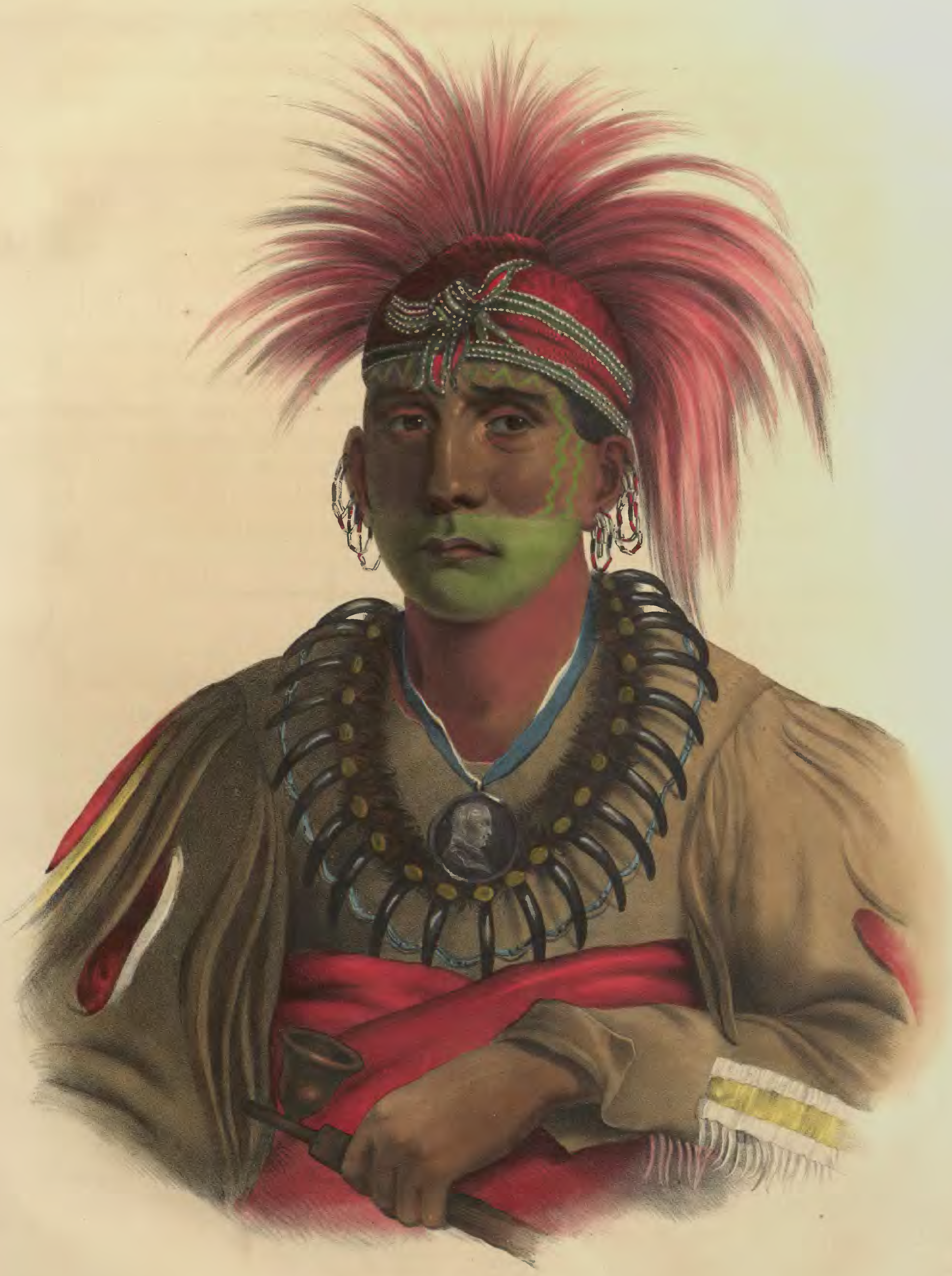
In looking back upon the condition of the Indians previously to the arrival of the Europeans, and to the introduction of their manufactures among them, we shall find that He who "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb" had provided them with means of subsistence, and sources of enjoyment suited to their situation and wants. They were divided, as we have seen, into many different tribes, subdivided into various bands or families. This subdivision was an important branch of Indian polity. It would be idle to recount the traditions respecting the origin and objects of this institution. We must be satisfied with surveying them, as they are, or rather as they were, leaving the causes which induced them, whether accidental or designed, among the mysteries of the fabulous period of their history.

The number of these bands among the various tribes was different, and perhaps indefinite. They usually extended, however, from five or six, to twelve or fifteen. Each had a distinct appellative, derived from some familiar animal, as the bear tribe, &c.; and the figure of the animal giving name to the tribe became the *totem*, or armorial bearing of every individual belonging thereto. When it became necessary to identify a person in any of their rude drawings, or to affix his mark to any instrument prepared by the white man, his totem was first made, and then any particular characteristic added which might apply individually to him. The animal itself thus selected for a manitou, or guardian spirit, or at least certain parts of it, were not used for food by any of the tribe, although free for any other person. All those belonging to the same tribe were considered as near relations, and intermarriage among them was strictly prohibited. Among some of these Indian communities, the village or peace chiefs of one tribe were chosen by the other tribes; and these subdivisions had an important operation upon their government and institutions.

In the autumn, when the flesh and furs of the animals used by the Indians became in season, the various bands or families separated, and repaired to their proper districts for hunting. Huts were erected of bark, or logs, in favourable and sheltered situations, and here the families resided, the different individuals following their respective employments. The men devoted themselves to the chase, with zeal and assiduity. And while the game was abundant they provided a surplus, which in cold weather was preserved by freezing, and in moderate weather by drying or jerking it. No man was excused from this first and great duty. Boys were anxious to become hunters, and old men to remain hunters. The pride of both was enlisted, for both were despised, if uneqal to the task.

With the necessary supply of food, however, the labour of the men ceased. All other duties devolved on the women. These, as may well be supposed, were arduous enough. Such has always been the fate of the weaker sex among barbarous tribes, and it was probably never more severe than among the North American Indians. They procured the fuel, which was cut with stone tomahawks, and transported it to the camps upon their backs. They cooked the provisions, dressed the skins, made the canoes, and performed all the labour not directly connected with those hunting or hostile excursions which constituted the occupation of the men. In these employments the winter was passed away, and industrious and provident families generally accumulated a considerable stock of dried meat, and a quantity of furs and skins sufficient for their wants during the year.

As the spring approached the hunting camps were evacuated, and the various families collected together in their villages. These were generally situated upon small streams,



NO-WAY-KE-SUG-GA

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where the land was of the best quality. Here corn was planted, rudely, and in small quantities, but still enough to supply them with food for a short time in the latter part of the summer, and the beginning of autumn. The corn was cultivated entirely by the women. Indelible disgrace would have attached to the warrior who could so far forget himself as to aid in the performance of this, or any other duty requiring manual labour. As they had no domestic animals, no fences were necessary; and the rude instruments then in use allowed them to do little more than plant and cover the seed.

This was the principal season for amusements, for business, and for warlike expeditions. Their whole population was brought together. Days and nights were frequently devoted to feasts, to dances, and athletic games. The young men were engaged in these pastimes, and the others in the discussion and consideration of affairs involving the general interest or security. Difficulties and feuds in the tribe were terminated. If war existed it was prosecuted with vigour, or proposals for peace were made or received. These few months formed, indeed, the social life of the Indian. At all other periods he was a solitary animal, engaged like most other animals in the great duty of self-preservation.

It is easy to conceive that this annual round of employment might be occasionally interrupted—it, no doubt, was so. A successful or a disastrous war changed essentially the condition of a tribe, stimulating or depressing them. An unfavourable season for hunting increased the labour of the men, and added to the privations of their families. There can be little doubt also that all tribes, before the discovery, lived in a state of great insecurity. No fact in their whole history is better established than the universal prevalence of war among them; and their wars were too often wars *ad internecionem.* They fought, like the animals around them, to destroy, and not to subdue. The war-flag was always flying, and the war-drum sounding. Their villages were generally enclosed with palisades, composed of the trunks and limbs of trees, burnt at the proper length, and secured, not by being placed in a ditch, but by having earth carried and deposited against them. This earth was doubtless taken from the soil around, equally, and not by making holes, (because in these an enemy could shelter himself,) and was carried to the place of deposit by the squaws in skins. And in this way, by an accumulation of earth for a succession ages, we are satisfied, that the earthen parapets, which so often strike the traveller with wonder in the solitary forests of the West, have been formed. They are certainly monuments of aboriginal labour, but of labour expended for safety and existence during many generations. In the narrative of Carter's voyage to the St. Lawrence, is a minute description of one of these fortified villages, occupying the present site of Montreal, and there called *Hochelaga.* The process of attack and defence is stated, and the whole corresponds with the account we have given, and with all we know of the manners and condition of the Indians.

Their government was then, as it is now, essentially a government of opinion. It is not probable that any punishments were ever judicially affixed to crimes. But their circumstances were such, that few crimes could be committed. Ardent spirits, the bane of civilised and of savage life, were unknown among them. No facts have come down to us indicating that any intoxicating liquor was ever used by them, consequently their passions were never excited or inflamed, as they now are, by this destructive habit. Of real property they had none—for theirs was a perpetual community in the possession of their lands; and their personal property was of very trifling value, consisting of little more than the skins in which they were clothed. There were no motives, therefore, to violate the rights of property, and few to disturb the rights of persons. Murder was almost the only offence which, by universal consent, was followed by punishment; and this punishment, if such it can be called, was the right which the friends of the deceased person possessed to take the life of the offender, or to commute, by receiving some valuable article.

Each tribe had two descriptions of officers, performing different duties, and acting independent of one another. The village, or peace chiefs, directed the civil concerns of the government. They were usually hereditary, or elected from particular families. Among some of the tribes the descent was in the direct line from father to son; among others it was in the collateral line, from the uncle to the nephew—the son of his sister—and where this was the case, the reason given was to insure the succession to the blood of the first chief, which object was certainly attained by selecting the sister's son to succeed each chief. Women were sometimes, but not often, eligible to authority. All these elections and successions were regulated by established rules, as were the ceremonials attending them. The rank of these chiefs was fixed, and generally one of them was the acknowledged head of the tribe, and the others were his counsellors. The external form of the government was arbitrary, but in its practical operation it was a democracy. No question was decided but upon full discussion and deliberation among the chiefs, and doubtless the public opinion produced its effect upon them. These chiefs adjusted any disputes existing among the individuals or families of the tribe; assigned to all their proper hunting districts; received and transmitted messages from and to other tribes; conducted and controlled their great feasts and religious festivals, and concluded peace.

But with the declaration of war terminated these duties, and all the authority of these conscript fathers. Like the decree of the Roman senate, which declared the republic in danger, and prostrated all other power before the dictator, the commencement of hostilities suspended all the authority of the village chiefs, and substituted that of the war chiefs. In the selection of these warriors the accident of birth had no influence. Reckless valour; the ability to do and to suffer; the power to lead and command, all proved and displayed in many a bloody combat, could alone elevate an Indian to the command of his countrymen, which dignity conferred little else than the right to lead, and to be the first in every desperate enterprise. Their tactics embraced no combination of movement, none of that system of manœuvres which teaches every combatant that he is a part of a great machine, ruled and regulated by one presiding spirit. Their battles, like those described by Homer, were single combats, in which physical force and courage prevailed.

It is not easy to ascertain their mythological opinions, or their religious doctrines. Almost all the tribes have been more or less the objects of instruction by the missionaries sent among them by various religious societies, established among the Christian nations who have planted colonies on the continent. The effect of the doctrines taught by these missionaries upon the traditions and opinions of the Indians is visible; and it is difficult to separate what they have thus received, from what they have inherited from their forefathers. Nothing can be more crude than these fables and notions, which are certainly their own, and which constitute their system of theology. They probably had an indistinct idea of a future existence, but it was doubtful, shadowy, unproductive, the mere wreck of a revelation made in the early ages of the world, adhered to without knowledge and without hope. Every object in nature had a familiar spirit, some for good and some for evil. And the Creator, in their view, seems to have been a gigantic undefined being, contending with the elements, sometimes subduing, and sometimes subdued by them.

It is impossible to reconcile the inconsistent opinions of his power and other attributes, to be deduced from the traditionary fables which they repeat and believe. Under the name *Nanibujo*, or some similar appellative, he is known to the tribes of the Algonquin stock, and the idlest and wildest tales are told of his prowess and contests, sometimes with the deluge, which seems to form an era in all traditions, and sometimes with the imaginary animals with which the water and the land were filled.* We feel no disposition to repeat these stories here. They would scarcely serve the purpose of amusing the reader, and only add to the many existing proofs of the folly to which man is prone in an unenlightened state.

The intellectual acquirements of the Indians were as low as they are recorded to have been among any people on the face of the earth. They had no letters and no learning. Not the slightest rudiments of a single science were known among them. The sun, and moon, and stars, were balls of light set in the heavens. The earth was an island. Their pathology referred every disorder to a spirit which was to be driven out by the noise and incantations of the jugglers, which constituted their whole medical science. Their arithmetic enabled them to count to a hundred, and here, generally, their power over numbers ceased. Their arts consisted in making a bow and arrow and canoe, and in taking their game upon the land and in the water. We presume there was scarcely an Indian on the continent who could comprehend an abstract idea, and at this day the process is neither common nor easy. The great business of their lives was to procure food, and devour it; and to subdue their enemies, and scalp them.

Such, in general, was the condition of the Indians when the Europeans arrived among them. Their sources of enjoyment were few and simple, and it is possible, notwithstanding the state of their society was such as we have depicted it, that they enjoyed some proportion of happiness. Why they had advanced so little in all that constitutes the progress of society, it is not so easy to conjecture. The question presents one of the most difficult problems to be found in the whole history of mankind. Here was a people in the rudest condition, knowing nothing, and attentive to nothing but their physical wants; without metallic instruments, agriculture, manufactures, or education; and with the means only of supplying their most indispensable animal necessities. Such, doubtless, had been their condition for ages. It certainly could not have been worse at any period of their previous history; if it had been, they must have been more helpless than the animals around them, and from entire improvidence, and the absence of power to protect and perpetuate existence, have become extinct.

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* See M'Kenney's Tour to the Lakes, pp. 302, 3, 4, 5, &c.

What then prevented their advancement? Why was experience lost upon them? Knowing that the alternations of the seasons would bring with them abundance and scarcity, why did they not provide for the one when they possessed the other? The accumulation of knowledge forms the distinguishing characteristic between men and brutes. The boundary which divides reason and instinct is not always well defined, nor easily ascertained. Indeed, who can determine where instinct terminates and reason begins? In some important respects instinct is a less fallible guide than reason. But as instinct was at the creation, so it is now. It exerts the same influence over the same varieties of living beings, and under the same modifications now as heretofore:—whereas reason is now, and has always been, susceptible of indefinite, perhaps infinite improvement. The treasures of knowledge accumulated by those who have gone before us have descended to us. Their experience has become our experience, and we are taught by it what to embrace and what to avoid. But of all this the aboriginal inhabitants of America exhibited no example. They were stationary, looking upon life as a scene of physical exertion, without improving, or attempting to improve. With the exception of the half civilised empires of Mexico and Peru, the condition and improvement of which we are satisfied were grossly exaggerated by the early adventurers, all the primitive inhabitants, from the straits of Magellan to Hudson's bay, were in this state of helpless ignorance and imbecility. Whether they inhabited the mild and genial climates, were burned by the vertical sun of the tropics, or by a still harder fate were condemned to the bleak and sterile regions of the north, all were equally stationary and improvident. Ages passed by and made no impression upon them. The experience of the past, and the aspiration of the future, were alike unheeded. Their existence was confined to the present. We confess our inability to explain this enigma, and we leave it without further observation.

Their previous history and progress are utterly lost—lost in that long interval of darkness which precedes authentic history amongst all nations—it rests, and probably will ever rest, upon the Indians.

In what direction the current of emigration traversed the continent, and when and where it sent out its lateral branches to form distinct communities, and eventually to speak different languages, we have no means of ascertaining. Some of the Indian traditions refer to an eastern, and some to a western origin, but most of the tribes trace their descent to the soil they inhabit, and believe their ancestors emerged from the earth. Nothing can be more uncertain, and more unworthy, we will not say of credit, but of consideration, than their earlier traditions; and probably there is not a single fact in all their history, supported by satisfactory evidence, which occurred half a century previously to the establishment of the Europeans. It is well known that important incidents are communicated, and their remembrance preserved, by belts of wampum formed of strings of beads originally made of white clay, in a rude manner, by themselves, but now manufactured for them from shells. These beads were variously coloured, and so arranged as to bear a distant resemblance to the objects intended to be delineated. The belts were particularly devoted to the preservation of speeches, the proceedings of councils, and the formation of treaties. One of the principal counsellors was the *custos rotulorum;* and it was his duty to repeat, from time to time, the speeches and narratives connected with these belts; to impress them fully upon his memory, and to transmit them to his successor. At a certain season every year they were taken from their places of deposit, and exposed to the whole tribe, while the history of each was publicly recited. It is obvious, that by the principles of association these belts would enable those whose duty it was, to preserve with more certainty and facility the traditionary narratives; and they were memorials of the events themselves, like the sacred relics which the Jews were directed to deposit in the ark of the covenant. How far the intercourse between the various tribes extended cannot be known. There is reason to believe that the victorious Iroquois carried their arms to Mexico. It has been stated by Mr. Stickney, an intelligent observer, well acquainted with the Indians (having been formerly Indian agent at Fort Wayne,) that he once saw a very ancient belt among the Wyandots, which they told him had come from a large Indian nation in the southwest. At the time of its reception, as ever since, the Wyandots were the leading tribe in this quarter of the continent. Placed at the head of the great Indian commonwealth by circumstances which even their tradition does not record, they held the great council fire, and possessed the right of convening the various tribes around it, whenever any important occurrence required general deliberation. This belt had been specially transmitted to them, and from the attendant circumstances and accompanying narrative, Mr. Stickney had no doubt but it was sent by the Mexican emperor, at the period of the invasion of that country by Cortez. The speech stated, in substance, that a new and strange animal had appeared upon the coast, describing him like the fabled centaurs of antiquity, as part man and part quadruped; and adding, that he commanded the thunder and lightning. The object seemed to be to put the Indians on their guard against this terrible monster, wherever he might appear.

Could a collection of these ancient belts be now made, and the accompanying narratives recorded, it would afford curious and interesting materials, reflecting, no doubt, much light upon the former situation and history of the Indians. But it is vain to expect such a discovery. In the mutations and migrations of the various tribes, misfortunes have pressed so heavily upon them, that they have been unable to preserve their people or their country, much less the memorials of their former power. These have perished in the general wreck of their fortunes—lost, as have been the sites of their council fires, and the graves of their fathers.

When the French first entered the St. Lawrence, the great war had commenced between the Wyandots and the Iroquois, which terminated in the entire discomfiture of the former, and produced important effects upon all the tribes within the sphere of its operation. The origin of this war is variously related, but the more probable account refers it to the murder of a small party of Iroquois hunters by some of the young Wyandots, jealous of their success. Previously to this event, the Iroquois had been rebuked by the superior genius and fortune of their rivals, and lived peaceably in their vicinity, without competition, if not without envy, and devoting themselves to the chase. This unprovoked outrage roused their resentment, and finding that no satisfaction could be obtained; that their representations were slighted, and themselves treated with scorn, they took up arms. No contest at its commencement could have appeared more hopeless. Experience, character, influence, numbers, all were in favour of their enemies. And yet this war, commenced under such inauspicious circumstances, ended in the utter prostration, and almost in the extinction of the Wyandots; entailed upon them a series of calamities unexampled in any history, and elevated the Iroquois to the summit of aboriginal power and fame. It produced, also, the most important consequences upon the whole course of Indian events during more than a century of desperate valour and enterprise. Little did they think, who commenced this war with arrows pointed with flints, and with war-clubs rudely made from the hard knots of trees, that before its termination a new race of men would arrive among them, destined to exert a final and decisive influence upon their fate, and bringing with them new weapons, terrific in their appearance and sound, and more terrible still by their invisible operation and bloody effects.

In the sunlight of the Indian condition, there were redeeming circumstances which did much to balance the evil resulting from their peculiar condition and institutions. Their solemn assemblies and grave deliberations around their council fires presented imposing spectacles. From some of the facts incidentally stated by the early French historians, it is obvious that the chiefs were then treated with much more respect than is now paid them. It was the duty of the young hunters to provide them with the food and furs necessary for the support and clothing of their families. It was, in fact, a tax levied under the conciliatory name of present. The sieur Perot, who was sent in 1671 with messages from the governor-general of Canada to many of the western tribes, states that the great chief of the Miamies then lived at Chicago, upon Lake Michigan. That he was constantly attended by a guard of forty young warriors, as well for state as for security, and the ceremonies of introduction to him were grave and imposing. All this evinces the consideration then attached to the chiefs, which gave to them much personal influence, and to their opinions much weight and authority. This deference served to counteract the democratic tendency of their institutions, and operated in the same manner as the more artificial checks in civilised governments. Age, and wisdom, and experience, were thus protected from rude interruption, and the rashness of youth, as well as from those sudden tempests of passion, to which they are as easily exposed as their own lakes to the tempests that sweep over them.

In comparing the present situation of the Indians with their condition before the discovery, great allowances must be made for the changes which have been produced, and for their general deterioration in manners, in morals, and in extrinsic circumstances. There are, and no doubt always have been, radical defects in their institutions—defects peculiar to themselves, and which have made them a phenomenon among the human family. That there are varieties in the human race, is a physiological truth which will not be questioned. The controversy begins only when the causes of this diversity are investigated, and their extent and effects are estimated. This wide field of discussion we shall not enter. And it must be left to future inquirers to ascertain whether the physical difference so obviously discernible in comparisons between the Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, Malay, and other varieties, are the cause or the consequence of the peculiar moral characteristics by which the various races of men are distinguished.

The aboriginal inhabitants of America are marked by external features peculiar to themselves, and which distinguish them from all the other descendants of Adam. They are marked too by peculiar opinions, habits, manners, and institutions. The effect of the coming of the Europeans among them cannot be doubted. They have diminished in numbers, deteriorated in morals, and lost all the most prominent and striking traits of their character. It were vain to speculate now upon the position they would have occupied, had they abandoned their own institutions, and coalesced with the strangers who came among them.

But these more general observations can give but an indefinite idea of the circumstances and situation of the Indians. We must not only survey them as one people, possessing similar characteristics, but we must view them also in detached groups, as they actually lived, and occupied different portions of the country, each pursuing their course independent of, and too often at war with, their neighbours. But in this general sketch we shall not attempt to trace the history of all the tribes whose names have come down to us. Such a task would be alike hopeless and unprofitable. We shall confine ourselves to the more prominent divisions, whose progress, condition, and fate, are best known to us.

The tribes occupying that part of the United States east of the Hudson river, were known to the other Indians under the general name of *Wabenauki*, or men of the east. Their languages were cognate dialects, branches of the Algonquin stock, and bearing a very perceptible resemblance to one another. It cannot be doubted that all these tribes had one origin; and that their separation into distinct communities had taken place at no very remote period when our acquaintance with them first commenced.

Heavily indeed have time and circumstances pressed upon them. They may all be considered as extinct, for the few wretched individuals who survive have lost all that was worth possessing of their own character, without acquiring any thing that is estimable in ours. As the great destroyer has thus blighted the relations which once existed between these Indians and our forefathers, it does not fall within our plan to review their former condition, and to trace the history of the numerous small bands into which they appear to have been divided. Little besides the names of many of them is now known, and these have probably been multiplied by the ignorance and carelessness of observers but imperfectly acquainted with them. The Narragansets and the Pequods are the two tribes with whose names and deeds we are most familiar. The former from their skill in the manufacture of wampum, earthen vessels, and other articles, originally used by the Indians; and the latter from their prowess in war, and from the desperate resistance they made to the progress of the white men. Their principal chief, known to us by the English name Philip, appears to have been an able and intrepid man, contending under the most discouraging circumstances against invaders of his country, and falling with the fall of all that was dear to him, when further resistance was impracticable. His name, with the names of Pontiac and Tecumthe, and a few others, seem alone destined to survive the oblivion which rests upon the forest warriors, and upon their deeds.

The Mohegans occupied most of the country upon the Hudson river, and between that river and the Connecticut. Conflicting accounts are given of their language and origin, but since more accurate investigations have been made into the general subject of our Indian relations, we know that they are a branch of the Delaware family, and closely connected with the parent stocks. So far as our information extends, this was their original country, for the wild traditions which have been gravely recorded and repeated, respecting the migrations and fortunes of this great aboriginal family, are unworthy of serious consideration. A few hundreds of this tribe are yet remaining, but they abandoned their primitive seats many years ago, and attached themselves to some of their kindred bands. A few of them have passed the Mississippi, and others are residing in Upper Canada, but the larger portion have established themselves at Green Bay.

The Six Nations, known to the French as the Iroquois, and to the English as the Mingoes, were the most powerful tribe of Indians upon the continent. They originally occupied the country north of Lake Ontario, but after the commencement of hostilities between them and the Wyandots, and their allies, the Algonquins, they removed to the south of that lake, and established their residence in what is now the western part of the state of New York. At the commencement of this contest, they were so unequal to their adversaries that they withdrew beyond the sphere of their operations, and engaged in hostilities with the Shawanese, then living upon the southern shore of Lake Erie. Their efforts were here successful, and they expelled this tribe from their country, and took possession. Emboldened by success, and having acquired experience in war, from which they had long refrained, they turned their arms against their enemies to revenge the injuries they had received. A long and bloody contest ensued, and it was raging when the French occupied the banks of the St. Lawrence. They took part with the Wyandots and Algonquins, and Champlain accompanied a war party in one of their expeditions, and upon the shore of the lake which bears his name, fought a battle with the Iroquois, and defeated them by the use of fire-arms, which then became first known to these aborigines. But the latter were soon furnished with the destructive weapon of European warfare by the English and Dutch, and their career of conquest extended to

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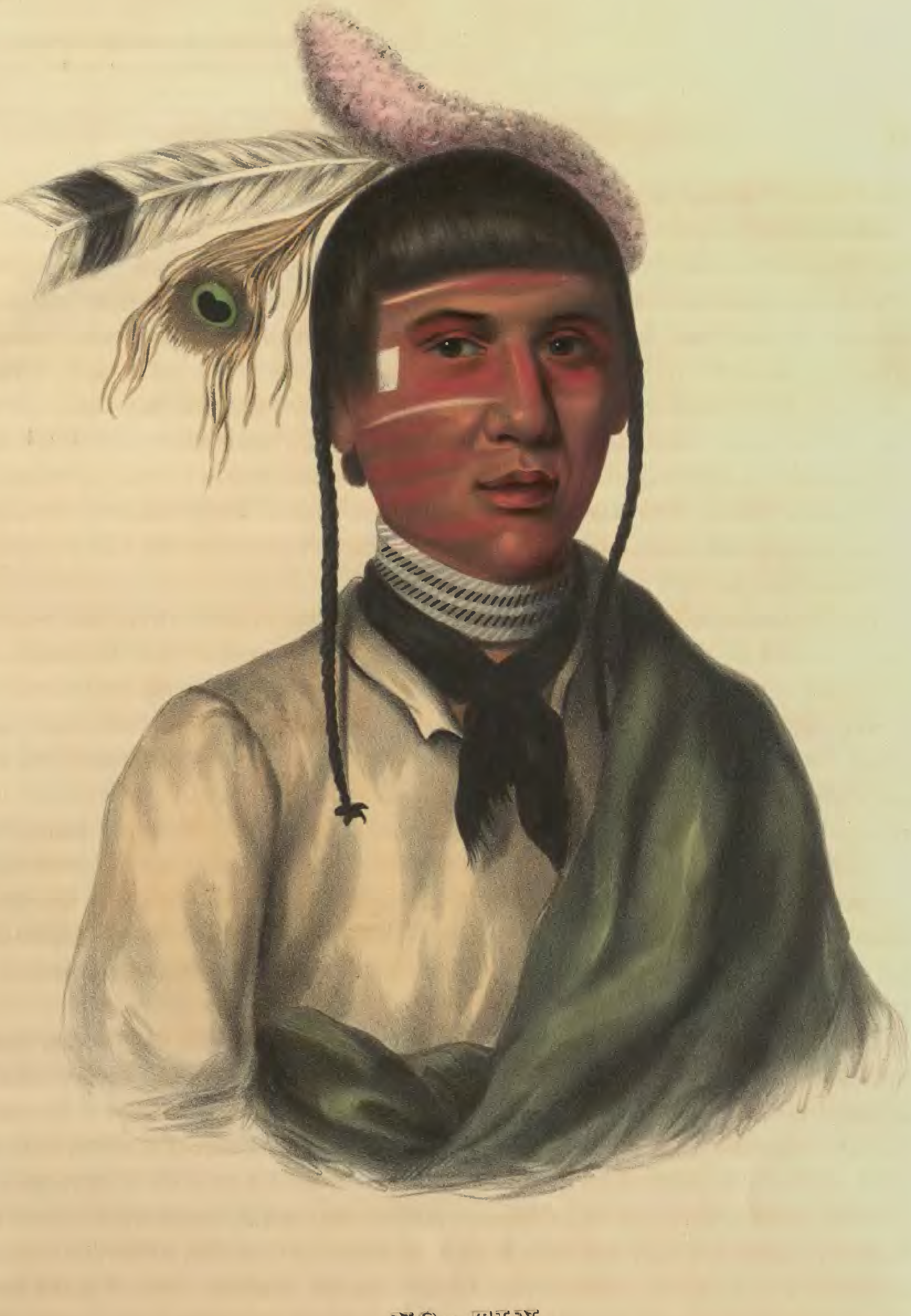

NO-TIN

A CHIPPEWA CHIEF

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the Mississippi. The Wyandots and Algonquins were almost exterminated, and the feeble remnant were compelled to seek refuge in the Manitoulin Islands, which line the northern coast of Lake Huron. Their inexorable enemies followed them into these secluded regions, and finally compelled them to flee among the Sioux, then living west of Lake Superior.

During almost a century they harassed the French settlements, impeded their progress, and even bearded them under the walls of Quebec. It has been thought that Champlain and his successors in authority, who controlled the destiny of New France, committed a great political error in identifying their cause with that of either of the hostile parties. But a neutral course was impracticable. Aboriginal politics necessarily associated with the great contest for supremacy, then pending between the Iroquois and their enemies. It was the absorbing topic of discussion, and those who were friendly to one party, were of course hostile to the other. Had the French declined the overtures of both, they would have acquired the confidence of neither, and probably have furnished another proof of the inefficacy of temporising measures in great questions of public policy. They naturally attached themselves to those of their own immediate vicinity, and the others were as naturally thrown into the arms of the English. During the long contest between these two European powers for supremacy upon the continent, the Iroquois were generally found in the English interest, and the other tribes in the French.

History furnishes few examples of more desperate valour, more daring enterprise, or more patriotic devotion, than are found in these wars, first waged by the Iroquois for that revenge which they regarded as justice, but afterwards for conquest.

Those Indians present the only example of intimate union recorded in aboriginal history. They consisted originally of five tribes, namely, the ***Mohawks***, the ***Onondagos***, the ***Senecas***, the ***Oneidas***, and the ***Cayugas***. About the year 1717, the ***Tuscaroras*** joined the confederacy, and formed the sixth tribe—from this period the Iroquois were sometimes known as the Five Nations, and sometimes as the Six Nations.

The origin of this confederacy is unknown to us. It existed when they became first known to the whites. So imperfect were the investigations made into these subjects, that the principles of their union are but little understood. Each tribe probably managed its internal concerns independent of all the others. But the whole seem to have formed an Amphictyonic league, in which subjects of general interest were discussed and determined. The Tuscarora tribe had occupied a portion of North Carolina, but they became involved in difficulties with the people of that province, and after a series of disasters were compelled to abandon it. Their language resembles that spoken by the other tribes of the confederacy, and there is little doubt but at some former period they had been united by an intimate connection, and probably by the ties of consanguinity. They must have separated from the kindred stock, and been led by circumstances, now unknown, to migrate to North Carolina; and thence perhaps after a lapse of ages, they were driven back to their ancient possessions. Dr. Williamson has observed, that "this migration of the Tuscarora Indians, and other migrations of

Indian tribes, well attested, do not accord with Lord Kames's observation, that 'savages are remarkably attached to their native soil.'" There are many instances in the history of the Indians where their primitive country has been abandoned, and a new one obtained by favour or by power. These migrations, however, have seldom, perhaps never, been voluntary, but the result of untoward circumstances, submitted to with great reluctance. They are certainly far from drawing in question the accuracy of the observation referred to.

Of this once powerful confederacy, about six thousand individuals now remain. The larger portion of them live upon a reservation near Buffalo in the State of New York: a few are found in Pennsylvania, and some in Ohio, at Green Bay, and in Canada.

The Delawares were situated principally upon tide-water in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Their own appellation of *Lenne Lenape*, or original people, has been almost forgotten by themselves, and is never used by the other tribes. This is the family about which so many fables have been related, and credited. Occupying the country between the Hudson and Potomac rivers, and between the eastern slope of the Alleghany Mountains and the ocean, they became early known to the Moravians, and engaged the care and attention of the zealous missionaries employed by those exemplary Christians. The whole subject of Indian relations was fresh and new to them. They seem never to have known, or to have heeded, that enterprising, sagacious, and learned men, had long preceded them in these investigations, and had traversed the continent, surveying the condition of its inhabitants, and inquiring into the changes they had undergone. All that the Delawares told of themselves seems to have been received without suspicion, and recorded and repeated without scrutiny. It is easy for those who have formed much acquaintance with the Indians, to trace the circumstances which gave to the legends of the Delawares such authority, and to the teachers of the Delawares such credulity.

The Moravians were first planted among these Indians. Their inoffensive lives, and disinterested efforts to improve them, soon created mutual confidence and attachment. The Moravians followed them in their various migrations, from the Susquehannah to the Ohio, from the Ohio to the Muskingum, from the Muskingum to Lake St. Clair, and thence in many of their wanderings, that have at last terminated in their passage across the Mississippi, which, like the fabled river, dividing the living from the dead can never be recrossed by an Indian community.

During this long, frequently perilous, and always pious intercourse, the attention of the missionaries was directed exclusively to their neophytes. The manners, customs, and condition of the other tribes were a sealed book to them. And when the old Delaware chiefs recounted their transactions, dwelling with fond regret upon the fallen fortunes of their nation, and explaining the subtle policy of the Iroquois, by which the Delawares were reduced to the condition of women, it was perhaps natural that the tale should be believed. Its utter inconsistency with the whole course of Indian conduct, and with the authentic series of events, as they appear in the early French narratives, before this pretended self-abasement, was unknown to these unsuspecting, worthy men. He who has heard Indian traditions, related by age, and listened to by youth, in the midst of an Indian camp, with every eye upon the speaker, and "all appliances to boot," must be sensible of the impression they are calculatd to make. And we may well excuse the spirit in which they were received.

The Delawares, at the period when our knowledge of them commenced, had yielded to the ascendancy of the Iroquois; and were apparently contented with their submission. The circumstances of the conquest are entirely unknown to us. But of the result there is no doubt. The proceedings of a council, recorded by Colden, held with the Iroquois and Delawares, at Philadelphia, in 1742, by the governor of Pennsylvania, is conclusive upon this point. The Iroquois appealed to the governor, as the acknowledged paramount authority, to remove the Delawares from a tract of land which they had ceded to Pennsylvania many years before, but the possession of which they refused to relinquish. The complaint was made in open council, at which the Iroquois and Delawares were both present, and at the next sitting it was answered by the former in these words:—"We have concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the river Delaware, &c.;" and then turning to the Delawares, the speaker said:—"Cousins, let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and stretched severely till you recover your senses and become sober. But how came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women, and is it fit that you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it? The land you claim is expended; you have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like children, as you are. And for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you the liberty to think about it. Don't deliberate, but remove away, and take this belt of wampum."

"This being interpreted by Conrad Wesir into English, and by Cornelius Spring into the Delaware language, Canepitigo, taking a string of wampum, added further:—

"After our just reproof, and absolute order to depart from the lands, you have now to take notice of what we have further to say to you. This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children, and grandchildren, to the latest posterity, for ever, meddling in land affairs; neither you, nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any land. For which purpose you are to preserve this string, in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren, (the whites,) and therefore depart the council, and consider what has been said to you."

He who can believe, after this, the idle tales related of the power and prowess of the Delawares, must be left to his credulity.

The principal portion of this tribe emigrated from Pennsylvania many years since, and established themselves in Ohio. Thence they removed to White river, in Indiana; a few years ago they crossed the Mississippi, and now occupy a reservation secured to them in the southwestern part of Missouri.

The Wyandots stood at the head of the great Indian confederacy. How this pre-eminence was acquired, or how long it had been enjoyed there are none to tell. They were originally established on the St. Lawrence, but during their long and disastrous contests with the Iroquois they were greatly reduced, and compelled to flee before these victorious enemies. From their local position, they engaged the care and attention of the Roman Catholic missionaries at a very early period, and their history, for upwards of two centuries, is better known than that of any other tribe. After the Iroquois began to gain the ascendancy, the calamities endured by the Wyandots are unparalleled in the history of nations. Their enemies pursued them with the most unrelenting rigour, and without attempting to trace the incidents of this war, we shall merely observe, that the Wyandots were driven to seek protection from the Sioux, at the western extremity of Lake Superior. They here remained until the Iroquois were crippled by their wars with the French, when they returned to Lake Huron, and established themselves for a short time in the vicinity of Michilimackinac. Dissatisfied with that sterile region, they descended the Detroit river about the period when the French formed their first settlements in that quarter, and afterwards took possession of the Sandusky plains, in Ohio. A small portion of the tribe yet live upon the river *aux Canards*, in Upper Canada; and a still smaller portion upon the river Huron of Lake Erie, in the Michigan territory. The principal part, however, occupy the country upon the Sandusky river, in Ohio. Their entire population, at this period, is about seven hundred.

This tribe was not unworthy of the pre-eminence it enjoyed. The French historians describe them as superior, in all the essential characteristics of savage life, to any other Indians upon the continent. And at this day, their intrepidity, their general deportment, and their lofty bearing, confirm the accounts which have been given to us. In all the wars upon our borders, until the conclusion of Wayne's treaty, they acted a conspicuous part, and their advice in council, and conduct in action, were worthy of their ancient renown.

They possessed the right to convene the several tribes at the great council fire, always burning at the lodge of their principal chief, called *Sarstantzee*, who lived at Brownstown, at the mouth of the Detroit river. Whenever any subject involving the general interest of the tribes required discussion, they despatched messages to the country, demanding the attendance of their chiefs, and they opened and presided at the deliberations of the council.

The ingenuity of vengeance has perhaps never devised a more horrible punishment than that provided among this tribe for murder. The corpse of the murdered man was placed upon a scaffold, and the murderer extended upon his back, and tied below. He was here left, with barely food enough to support life, until the remains of the murdered subject above him became a mass of putridity, falling upon him, and then all food was withheld, when he perished thus miserably. There were no traces of a similar punishment among any other tribe.

The Ottawas were the faithful allies of the Wyandots, during all their misfortunes, and accompanied them in their various peregrinations. They are now much scattered, occupying positions upon the Maumee, upon the Grand river of Lake Michigan, upon the eastern and western coasts of that lake, and upon the heads of the Illinois river. Their number is about four thousand.

To this tribe belonged the celebrated Pontiac. He was born about the year 1714, and while a young man distinguished himself in the various wars in which the Ottawas were engaged. He gradually acquired an ascendency over his countrymen, and his name and actions became known to all the tribes in the northwest. He was a faithful adherent to the French interest, and a determined enemy of the English. During many years of the long contest between those powers, which terminated in the utter subversion of the French empire in America, he was present in all the important actions, stimulating his countrymen by his authority and example. Major Rogers states in his narrative, that when he marched into the Ottawa country with his first detachment, which took possession of the posts in the northwest, Pontiac met him with a party of his warriors, and told him he stood in his path, and would not suffer him to advance. By amicable professions, however, Major Rogers conciliated him, and for a short time he appeared to be friendly. But his attachment to the French, and hostility to the British, were too deeply rooted to be eradicated, and he concerted a scheme for the overthrow of the latter, and for their expulsion from the country. No plan formed by the Indians for defence or revenge, since the discovery of the continent, can be compared with this, in the ability displayed in its formation, or in the vigour with which it was prosecuted. The British had then eleven military posts covering that frontier: at Niagara, at Presque Isle, at Le Boeuf, at Pittsburgh, at Sandusky, at the Maumee, at Detroit, at Michilimackinac, at Green Bay, and at St. Joseph. Pontiac meditated a contemporaneous attack upon all these posts, and after their reduction, a permanent confederacy among the Indians, and a perpetual exclusion of the British from the country. Like Tecumthe, he called the superstition of the Indians to the aid of his projects, and disclosed to them the will of the Great Spirit, which he prevailed on them to believe had been revealed to him by the various prophets over whom he had acquired an influence. One great object was to render his people independent of the white men, by persuading them to resume their ancient mode of life.

To follow the history of Pontiac in his eventful career, would lead us too far from the course we have prescribed for ourselves. Some of the principal facts are recorded in the journals of that day, but these are the mere outlines. All that gives interest to the picture lives only in the Indian and Canadian tradition, and in the few manuscript notices of these transactions, which have been accidentally preserved.

Eight of these posts were captured. But Niagara, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, were successfully defended. The siege of the latter is by far the most extraordinary effort ever made by the Indians in any of their wars. It commenced in May, 1763, and continued with more or less vigour, until the place was relieved by General Bradstreet, in 1764. During this period many of the events seem more like the incidents of romance, than the occurrences of an Indian campaign. Among these were the attempt to gain possession of the town by treachery, and its providential disclosure; the attack upon one of the British armed vessels by a fleet of canoes, and the precipitate retreat of the assailants, after gaining possession of the vessel, in consequence of orders being given by the captain to fire the magazine, which were overheard, and communicated to the Indians by a white man, who had been taken captive by them early in life; the battle of the Bloody Bridge, well named from this sanguinary action, in which an aid-de-camp of Sir Jeffrey Amherst commanded and fell, and the desperate efforts twice made by blazing rafts to set fire to the armed vessels anchored in front of the town; these, among many events of subordinate interest, give a character of perseverance and of systematic effort to this siege, for which we shall in vain look elsewhere in Indian history. If contemporary accounts and traditionary recollections can be credited, all these were the result of the superior genius of Pontiac, and of the ascendency he had gained over his countrymen.

The subsequent fate of this warrior chief did not correspond with the heroic spirit he displayed in his efforts against the British. After their power upon the frontier was re-established, he left the country and took refuge among the Indians upon the Illinois. From some trivial cause a quarrel arose between him and a Peoria Indian, which terminated in his assassination.

Such was the respect in which his memory was held, that the other tribes united in a crusade againt the Peorias to revenge his death, and that tribe was, in effect, exterminated.

The Chippewas (or Ojibwas) reach from Lake Erie to the Lake of the Woods, possessing a country of great extent, much of which, however, is sterile in its soil, and bleak in its climate. They possess the coasts of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, the heads of the Mississippi, some of the western coast of Lake Michigan, and have a joint interest with the Ottawas and Potawatimies in the country of the Fox and Des Pleines rivers in Illinois. Their numbers are computed at fifteen thousand.

These Indians live generally upon the great lakes, and upon the streams flowing into them. Fish forms an important article of their food, and they are expert in the manufacture of bark canoes, the only kind used by them, and in their management. In cleanliness, in docility, and in provident arrangement, they are inferior to many of the other tribes; and those in the immediate vicinity of our frontier posts and settlements, furnish melancholy examples of the effect of the introduction of spirituous liquors among them. All the bands extending to the arctic circle, and occupying the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, appear to be branches of this great family. The principal seat of their power and government was formerly at Point Chegoimegon upon Lake Superior, and from the accounts of the Catholic missionaries stationed among them, they were then a prosperous and influential tribe.

The Potawatimies are situated principally in the northern parts of Indiana and Illinois, in the southwestern section of Lake Michigan, and in the country between that lake and the Mississippi. They are estimated at about six thousand five hundred.

This was formerly the most popular tribe north of the Ohio. They are remarkable for their stature, symmetry, and fine personal appearance. Their original country was along the southern shore of Lake Michigan, but they extended themselves to the White river in Indiana on the south, to the Detroit river on the east, and to the Rock river on the west. And they first interposed an effectual barrier to the victorious career of the Iroquois.

Between these three last named tribes, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatimies, a more intimate union existed than between any of the other tribes, not actually forming a strict confederacy. Their languages approach so near, that they understand one another without difficulty. They have but one council fire, in other words, but one assemblage of chiefs, in which their important business is managed. And until recently they were unwilling to conclude any important affair, unless around this common council fire. But this institution, like many of their other peculiar customs, is fast mouldering away. Many of the circumstances which gave influence and authority to these grave convocations have long since disappeared. The ashes of their council fires are scattered over the land, and the plough has turned up the bones of their forefathers.

The Shawanese for more than a century have been much separated, and their bands have resided in different parts of the country. A considerable portion of them live upon a reservation at Waupaukonetta in Ohio, but a majority have crossed the Mississippi, and have recommenced the life of warriors and hunters, in hostile attacks upon the Osages, and in the pursuit of the buffalo. This transmigration commenced during our revolutionary war. They made their first settlement, on their removal, near Cape Girardeau. This position they have since relinquished, and they are now much dispersed in Louisiana, in Arkansas, and in Missouri. The tribe numbers about two thousand persons.

Much obscurity rests upon the history of the Shawanese. Their manners, customs, and language indicate a northern origin, and upwards of two centuries ago they held the country south of Lake Erie. They were the first tribe which felt the force, and yielded to the superiority of the Iroquois. Conquered by them, they migrated to the south, and from fear or favour, were allowed to take possession of a region upon Savannah river, but what part of that river, whether in Georgia or Florida, is not known—it is presumed, the former. How long they resided there, we have not the means of ascertaining; nor have we any account of the incidents of their history in that country, or of the causes of their leaving it. One, if not more, of their bands removed from thence to Pennsylvania, but the larger portion took possession of the country upon the Miami and Sciota rivers in Ohio, a fertile region, where their habits, more industrious than those of their race generally, enabled them to live comfortably.

This is the only tribe among all our Indians, who claim for themselves a foreign origin. Most of the aborigines of the continent believe their forefathers ascended from holes in the earth, and many of them assign a *local habitation* to these traditionary places of the nativity of their race. Resembling, in this respect, some of the traditions of antiquity, and derived, perhaps, from that remote period, when barbarous tribes were troglodytes, subsisting upon the spontaneous productions of the earth. The Shawanese believe their ancestors inhabited a foreign land, which, from some unknown cause, they determined to abandon. They collected their people together, and marched to the seashore. Here various persons were selected to lead them, but they declined the duty, until it was undertaken by one of the Turtle tribe. He placed himself at the head of the procession, and walked into the sea. The waters immediately divided, and they passed along the bottom of the ocean, until they reached this "*island.*"

The Shawanese have one institution peculiar to themselves. Their nation was originally divided into twelve tribes or bands, bearing different names. Each of these tribes were subdivided, in the usual manner, into families of the Eagle, the Turtle, &c.; these animals constituting their *totems.* Two of these tribes have become extinct, and their names are forgotten. The names of the other ten are preserved, but only four of these are now kept distinct. These are the Makostrake, the Pickaway, the Kickapoo, and the Chilicothe tribes. Of the six whose names are preserved, but whose separate characters are lost, no descendants of one of them, the Wauphauthawonaukee, now survive. The remains of the other five have become incorporated with the four subsisting tribes. Even to this day, each of the four sides of their council houses is assigned to one of these tribes, and is invariably occupied by it. Although, to us, they appear the same people, yet they pretend to possess the power of discerning, at sight, to which tribe an individual belongs.

The celebrated Tecumthe, and his brother *Tenskwatawaw,* more generally known by the appellation of the Prophet, were Shawanese, and sprung from the Kickapoo tribe. They belonged to the family, or *totem,* of the Panther, to the males of wihch alone was the name *Tecumthe,* or *Flying across,* given.

Their paternal grandfather was a Creek, and their grandmother a Shawanese. The name of their father was Pukeshinwau, who was born among the Creeks, but removed with his tribe to Chilicothe upon the Sciota. Tecumthe, his fourth son, was born upon the journey. Pukeshinwau was killed at the battle at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kenhawa, in 1774, and the Prophet was one of three posthumous children, born at the same birth, a few months afterwards.

We shall not here relate the incidents of the lives of these two men, who exercised, for many years, such a powerful influence over the minds of their countrymen—one by his prowess, and reputation as a warrior, and the other by his shrewdness, and by the pretensions to a direct intercourse with the Great Spirit, and to the character and qualifications of a prophet. The elevation and authority of Tecumthe resulted from the operation of causes which are felt among all nations, and at all times—resource and energy in war, and success in battle.

This is the Tecumthe who fell in the late war between the United States and Great Britain, in the memorable battle of the Thames, in Upper Canada, and, as we believe, by the hand of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

The influence acquired by the Prophet arose from circumstances peculiar to the Indians, characteristic of the state of their society, and of the superstitious notions prevalent among them. The title of prophet, as conferred by us upon this sagacious impostor and fanatic, conveys a very inadequate idea of his pretensions. Every tribe

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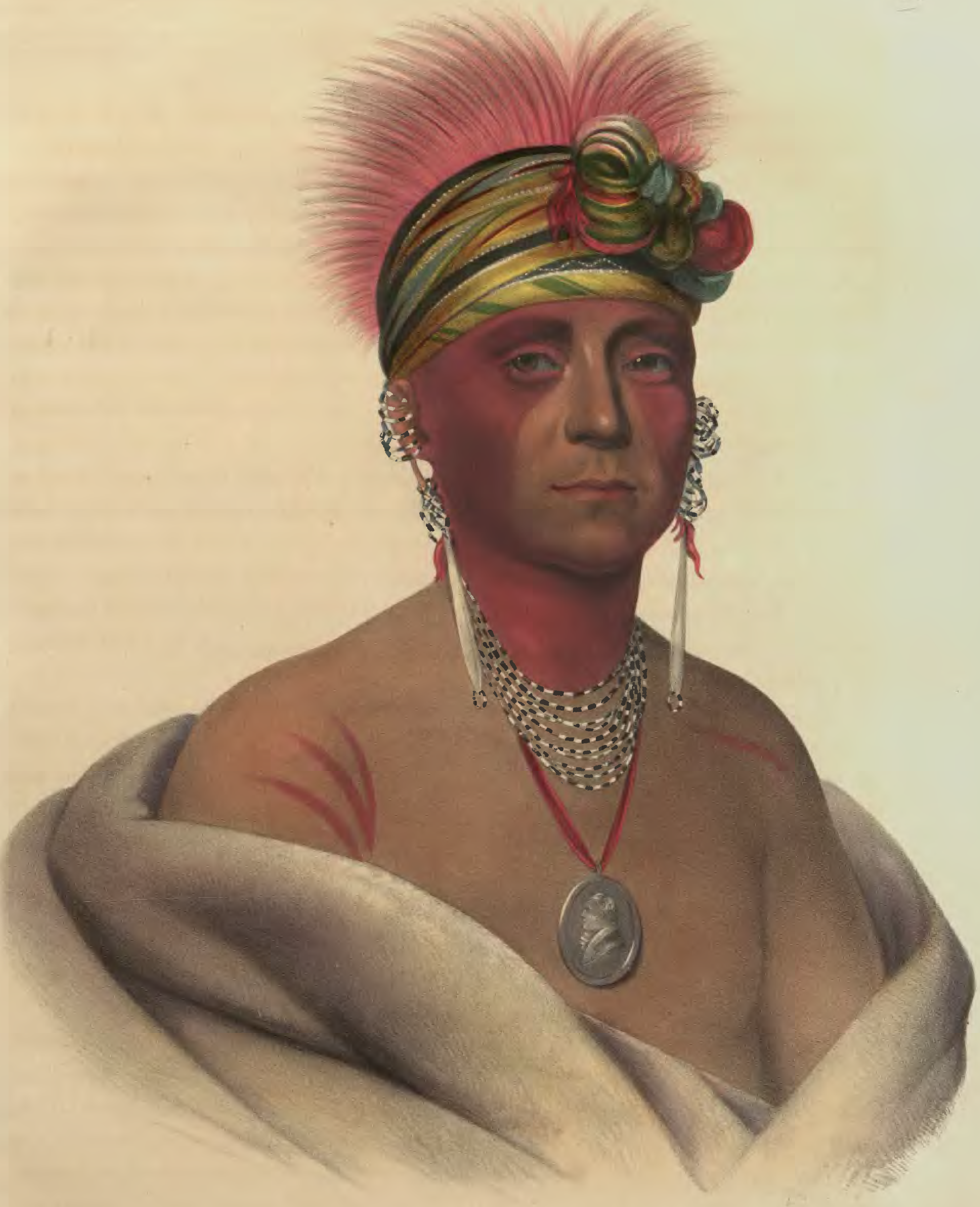

MON-CHONSIA.

A KANSAS CHIEF.

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has its prophets, who perform distinguished parts in all public transactions. Their celebrity and influence are sometimes confined to their own tribe, and sometimes extended to those which are circumjacent, depending upon the success of their power of vaticination. But of all these magicians or prophets, no one ever attained equal fame, or exercised equal authority with the Shawanese prophet, at first called Sautewasekaw, but afterwards Tenskwawtawaw, or the *open door*. His name, and the accounts of his miracles, spread from Lake Superior to Florida, and there was not a tribe of Indians in all this vast extent, that did not steadily direct their attention to this man, looking for some signal interposition to check the ascendency of the whites, and to restore the Indians to their former and better condition. During a few of the first years of this century, great agitation prevailed among the Indians, and they were evidently looking for some great and immediate crisis in their affairs. This feeling was manifested in the alarm upon the frontiers, and, united with other causes, the most prominent of which was foreign influence, led to the battle of Tippecanoe, and eventually to the co-operation of some of the tribes with the British.

The history of this paroxysm of fanaticism would exhibit many curious and interesting traits of human character, and might be compared with similar delusions which have prevailed in more civilised communities. The Prophet established himself at Greenville, upon the Miami of the Ohio, where he was attended by delegates from various tribes. He recommended to the Indians to refrain from the use of whiskey, and to free themselves from all dependence upon the whites, by resuming, as far as possible, their ancient habits of life. Under the pretence of extirpating witchcraft, he inflamed the minds of the Indians against every enemy or rival, and procured their destruction. He gathered round him a band of faithful believers, prepared to execute his orders upon friend or foe. Universal panic prevailed among the Indians, and had not still stronger apprehensions overpowered their delusion, by the critical relations between the United States and Great Britain, and the evident approach of war, the Shawanese prophet might have become the ***Mahamet*** of his race.

In how much of all this he was an impostor, and how much a fanatic, it is impossible to tell, and was perhaps unknown to himself. The progress of delusion over ourselves is established by the whole history of mankind, and the confines of fanaticism and imposture are separated by imperceptible boundaries. In the relations which he gave of his intentions, opinions, and history, he appears to have been candid, and willing to disclose every thing known to him. But we shall not fatigue the reader with this narrative.

The Prophet is yet living, but has removed west of the Mississippi, and joined the Shawanese of that region. Wherever he may be, his talents will give him influence over the Indians.

The Kickapoos were doubtless united with the Shawanese at a period not very distant. The traditions of each tribe contain similar accounts of their union and separation; and the identity of their language furnishes irrefragable evidence of their consanguinity. We are inclined to believe that when the Shawanese were overpowered by the Iroquois, and abandoned their country upon Lake Erie, they separated into two great divisions; one of which, preserving their original reputation, fled into Florida, and the other, now known to us as the Kickapoos, returned to the west, and established themselves among the Illinois Indians, upon the extensive prairies on that river, and between it and the Mississippi. This region, however, they have relinquished to the United States, and have emigrated to Missouri, near the centre of which state a reservation has been secured to them. This tribe numbers about two thousand two hundred.

The Miamies, when first known to the French, were living around Chicago, upon Lake Michigan. It was the chief of this tribe, whose state and attendance were depicted by the Sieur Perot in such strong colours; Charlevoix, without vouching for the entire accuracy of the relation, observes, that in his time there was more deference paid by the Miamies to their chiefs, than by any other Indians.

This tribe removed from Lake Michigan to the Wabash, where they yet retain an extensive tract of country upon which they reside. A kindred tribe, the Weas, more properly called the Newcalenous, long lived with the Miamies. But they have recently separated from them, and crossed the Mississippi. Their whole number does not exceed three hundred and fifty. Of the Miamies, about one thousand yet remain.

This tribe was formerly known to the English as the Twighwees. They appear to have been the only Indians in the west, with the exception of one other tribe, the Foxes, who at an early period were attached to the English interest. The causes which led to this union are unknown, but for many years they produced a decisive effect upon the fortunes of the Miamies.

That strangest of all institutions in the history of human waywardness, the man-eating society, existed among this tribe. It extended also to the Kickapoos, but to how many others we do not know. It appears to have been the duty of the members of this society to eat any captives who were taken, and delivered to them for that purpose. The subject itself is so revolting at this day, even to the Indians, that it is difficult to collect the traditionary details concerning this institution. Its duties and its privileges, for it had both, were regulated by long usage, and its whole ceremonial was prescribed by a horrible ritual! Its members belonged to one family, and inherited this odious distinction. The society was a religious one, and its great festivals were celebrated in the presence of the whole tribe. During the existence of the present generation, this society has flourished, and performed its shocking duties, but they are now wholly discontinued, and will be ere long forgotten.

The various tribes on the Illinois river were known to the French as the Illinois Indians, but the appellation was rather descriptive of their general residence, than of any intimate union, political or social, subsisting among them. And it is not easy to ascertain precisely the tribes which were included under this term. The Kaskias, the Cahokias, the Peorias, the Michigamies, the Tamorias, the Piankeshaws, inhabited that region, and all spoke dialects bearing a close resemblance to one another, and nearly allied to the language of the Miamies and Weas. Some of these tribes are extinct, and others are reduced to a few individuals. The Piankeshaws are the most numerous, and they number but three hundred and fifty individuals. The whole have passed over the Mississippi.

When the French first explored the country on the Illinois, the buffalo were so numerous that they were denominated the Illinois ox. All the accounts of that early period concur in representing the aboriginal population as abundant. One of the tribes, called the Mascontires, or people of the prairie, has disappeared. They make a considerable figure in the earlier journals, and were probably a branch of the Potawatimies.

The Illinois river furnished, for many years, the principal communication between the lakes and the Mississippi, and was the connecting ligament which held together the French possessions in Canada and Louisiana. The Indians, therefore, upon this line, were early known to the French, who devoted great care and attention to them. No circumstance ever occurred to interrupt their mutual harmony, and the Illinois Indians appear to have been among the mildest of the aboriginal race. They gathered round the French posts, anxious to secure protection—but a series of calamities pursued them, unexampled even in the aboriginal history, and which finally led to their entire destruction. Before the power of the Iroquois was broken, these fierce people carried their victorious arms to the prairies of the Illinois, as well as to the sands of Florida, the rugged hills of New England, and the deep forests of Canada. The villages and camps of these comparatively mild people were frequently attacked, and the inhabitants destroyed; and for many years it was considered dangerous to pass along the Illinois river, lest the *Mengue* should start from some secret covert, or projecting point, to do their deeds of horror. After the decline of the confederacy, a war commenced between the Illinois Indians and the Winnebagoes, and the latter sent many war parties into the territories of their enemies. In one of these, which took the route of Lake Michigan in canoes, tradition says that a violent storm arose, in which six hundred Winnebago warriors perished. Mutual exhaustion, however, led to the decline of this contest, but peace did not visit these fair and fertile regions. The Saukies and Foxes, unable to live a life of peace, after their signal discomfiture by the French and their confederated allies upon Fox river, took up the tomahawk against the Illinois tribes, and prosecuted the warfare with equal vigour and fury. They poured their war parties over the whole country—burning, murdering, and destroying. The Illinois Indians were almost exterminated. The feeble remnant that survived endeavoured to interest the French in their favour, and they sought protection under the guns of their posts. But the French did not consider it politic to interfere between the contending parties, or perhaps felt unable to stay the tide of victory, and these unfortunate Indians were abandoned to their merciless enemies.

The Sauks and Foxes, known to the French as the Saukies and Ottagamies, were originally distinct tribes. Circumstances have produced an intimate union between them, and in their relations with the other Indians, they may be considered as forming but one tribe. The distinction between them is every day giving way to time and to mutual intercourse, and in a few years all difference will be unknown. Their country is upon the Mississippi, extending from the *Des Moines* to the Ioway river, and stretching westwardly beyond the Council Bluffs upon the Missouri, and into the immense prairies* periodically visited by the buffalo. The Sauks and Foxes, like all the Indians occupying regions where these animals resort, annually hunt them in the proper season. This is their harvest, yielding them abundance of meat, which they dry and transport to their villages for the subsistence of their families. At those periods those immense level plains are literally alive with countless thousands of those animals, when the whole Indian population engages in the animating task of hunting them. Their flesh is the Indians' food; and their skins furnish clothing and tents. With the unconquerable aversion of the Indians to labour, it is difficult to conceive how they could subsist, were it not for these living and abundant harvests, sent in the hour of need.

The principal residence of the Foxes is about Dubuque's mines on the Mississippi; of the Sauks, near the mouth of Rock river. The mineral region designated by the above title, extends westward of the Mississippi. The Indians have learned the value of lead ore; their women dig it in considerable quantities, and sell it to the traders. These Indians are remarkable for the symmetry of their form, and fine personal appearance. Few of the tribes resemble them in these particulars; still fewer equal their intrepidity. They are, physically and morally, among the most striking of their race. Their history abounds with daring and desperate adventures and romantic incidents, far beyond the usual course of Indian exertion. Their population is about six thousand six hundred.

By the earliest accounts of those tribes that have come down to us, they appear to have occupied a part of the peninsula of Michigan. Saginau Bay is named from the Sauks, *Saukienow*, or Sauk Town—that having been the principal seat of their power. The Foxes, or Ottagamies, were always restless and discontented Ishmaelites of the lakes, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them. From some cause unknown to us, probably from their own turbulent and jealous disposition, they were early dissatisfied with the French, and avowed their attachment to the English. They intrigued with the other tribes to expel the French from the country, and by their efforts a British detachment under Major Gregory, towards the close of the seventeenth century, entered Lake Huron with a view to establish trading regulations with the Indians. They were, however, attacked, though in a time of peace, by their vigilant rivals, and compelled to abandon the country.

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* Prairies, as the reader knows, are extensive, uncultivated tracts of unwooded, level country. They abound in grass, and in flowers of every hue. So extensive are most of them, as to present nothing but the horizon for the eye to rest upon, save here and there a grove of trees, resembling small islands in the ocean; and sometimes a tongue of woodland, looking like a cape stretches in upon the unbroken surface. These serve the traveller for landing places. He rejoices at sight of them, as does the mariner at sight of land. They shelter him from the sun and dews, and supply his fuel.

Few sights are so beautiful as these savannas, when their luxuriant crop is put in motion by the wind. The undulations are literally flowery billows.

The growth of the prairies we have crossed, averaged in height about five feet. Sometimes, however, it reaches to six and seven feet.

The French commenced a permanent establishment upon the Detroit river in 1701, and the attempt was early regarded with jealousy by the Foxes. In 1712 they attacked the place, then weak, both in its defences and its garrison. They were, however, repulsed in an effort to carry it by a *coup de main;* and then endeavoured to set it on fire by discharging lighted arrows into the roofs, which were thatched with straw. In this too they were frustrated by the vigilance of the French, but not discouraged. They took a position adjoining the town, determined to harass the garrison, and eventually to compel their surrender. This position they fortified, and in it secured their families and provisions. But while this was doing the French were not idle. They despatched messengers to the various tribes upon whom they could rely—to the Wyandots, the Ottawas, Potawatimies, and the Chippewas, stating their perilous condition, and requiring their assistance. These tribes soon collected their warriors, and poured them in to the assistance of the French. The Foxes were driven into their entrenched positions, and reduced to extremity. At the moment of their greatest hazard, a violent storm arose, during which they abandoned their fort and fled to a *presque isle,* which advances into Lake St. Clair. Here, however, they were pursued, and after a vigorous resistance their enemies overcame them, put a thousand of their warriors to death, and led the women and children into captivity. From the narrative of these occurrences it appears that at this time an intimate union did not exist between these tribes, for a part of the Sauks had joined the Foxes, and a part of them took up arms with the allied tribes for the defence and relief of the French.

After this severe calamity, the remainder of the Foxes, together with the Sauks, migrated to the country between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and established themselves upon Fox river. But it is as difficult for them to change their habits, as it would be for the buffalo of their own plains to submit its neck to the yoke. Their turbulent spirit accompanied them, and in a short time their war parties were sent out in all directions, and they seriously menaced the safety, if not the existence, of the French power. A formidable expedition was prepared for their reduction, and the neighbouring Indians were invited to accompany it. To this they cheerfully assented, and the confederated forces invested the principal fort of the Sauks and Foxes, at the *Butte des Morts,* or the hill of the dead, so called from the signal chastisement they received, and the numerous bodies of the slain that were buried in a mound there. The survivors were here reduced to unconditional submission, and their power and spirits wholly broken.

By their valour and enterprise they have secured a desirable region for themselves. But they are involved in almost perpetual hostilities with the Sioux. More than one peace has been concluded between these tribes under the auspices of the United States, but they have really been but temporary terms, broken by the ever restless disposition of the Sauks and Foxes. Their numbers are much inferior to those of the Sioux, but they are better armed, and their force is more concentrated. The Sioux are divided into large bands, without a very intimate political connection, and their power is spread over a very extensive region. The Sauks and Foxes have the farther advantage of greater courage and confidence, a higher reputation, and greater experience in war. It is probable, therefore, that hostilities will long continue between them, without any very decided advantage on either side.

The Menominies, or ***Folles Avoines***, occupy the country upon Fox river, and generally roam over the district between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and by permission of the Chippewas and Sioux, extend their periodical migrations into the prairies in pursuit of the buffalo. Few of our tribes have fallen from their high estate more lamentably than these Indians. They are, for the most part, a race of fine looking men, and have sustained a high character among the tribes around them. But the curse of ardent spirits has passed over them, and withered them. They have yielded to the destructive pleasures of this withering charm, with an eagerness and a recklessness beyond the ordinary career of even savages. There is, perhaps, no tribe upon all our borders so utterly abandoned to the vice of intoxication as the Menominies; nor any so degraded in their habits, and so improvident in all their concerns.

Their language has long furnished a subject of doubt and discussion, among those engaged in investigations into the philology of the Indians. By many it has been supposed that their language is an original one, peculiar to themselves, and having no affinity with those spoken by the Indians of that quarter; and that in their communication with the neighbouring tribes, they use a dialect of the Chippewa language, which among the northwestern Indians, is what the French language is upon the continent of Europe—a general medium of communication. We are, however, satisfied that the proper Menominie is itself but a branch of this great stock. Its mode of pronunciation among themselves gives it a peculiar character, and almost conceals its resemblance to the cognate dialect. It is accompanied by singular guttural sounds, not harsh, like that of the Wyandots or the Sioux, but rather pleasant; and the accent is placed differently from that of all the other families of this stock. Those who are not aware of the change which can be made in a language, by changing the accent upon every word, may easily satisfy themselves by making the experiment in English. It will be found that in our polysyllabic words particularly, the accent may be so changed as to disguise them entirely, and to render it difficult to discern the original form. When to this peculiar guttural sound, and this system of accentuation, are added the other causes, constantly operating upon the Indian languages, and producing their recession from one another, we shall find all the circumstances that have contributed to the existing characteristics of the Menominie language.

These Indians derive their name, ***Folles Avoines***, or false oats, from the means of subsistence furnished to them by the wild rice. Their country abounds with it. Providence has given this vegetable to the northern regions. It is sown without hands, raised without care, and gathered with little trouble. It is an annual plant which delights in the still, shallow lakes, formed by numerous streams that wind their way through the level countries of the northwest. When ripe the grain falls into the water, and gradually sinking to the bottom, remains there during the winter, when it germinates. It rises above the water to ripen, but does not possess the quality which belongs to many aquatic plants, of accommodating itself to the rise and fall of the waters, and thus coming to perfection equally well in dry and in wet seasons. It sometimes happens that the waters rise above the grain, when it perishes, which produces great distress among the Indians. This grain ripens in the last of August and beginning of September. It is gathered by the females, who move amidst this harvest in bark canoes, and bending the stalks over their sides, shake the grain from the ear, or beat it off with sticks. They separate the husk by putting the whole in a skin, where, after it is dry enough, it is trodden out.

We have traversed these lakes in the same kind of vessels employed by the Indians, when to the eye they put on the appearance of immense fields, the surface of the water being entirely invisible, except immediately around the canoe, as it was forced through this rich and waving harvest. The grain is very palatable, and makes a nutritious article of food, and when threshed out without being placed in a skin, or submitted to the action of smoke, it is as pleasant as the cultivated rice.

Although the labour of gathering and preserving this article is very little, yet such is the indolence of those to whom it has been sent, that the few bags full which each family may secure, become soon exhausted. It rarely happens, however, that any thing is gained by the experience of these people, for the wants of one season never operate to produce greater exertions in gathering the rice, or additional economy in the use of it, in a succeeding one. The produce of millions of acres of this precious production annually perishes. It is allowed to waste itself upon the waters, because the Indians are too indolent and too improvident to receive it from the hand of nature. They have less industry and provident arrangement than the beaver or the ant. He who is enamoured of savage life, or who believes that all the misery of our aboriginal people is owing to the coming of the whites among them, may easily change these opinions by surveying their condition, starving and dying during the winter, because they are too lazy to stretch out their hands in autumn, and gather the harvest which a beneficent Providence has placed before them.

The Menominies occupy the same situation now that they did when they first became known to the whites. They seem to be favourites with all the adjoining Indians, and hunt upon their own land, and upon that of others, without hesitation and without complaint. They are reduced to about four thousand two hundred persons.

All the tribes whose history we have slighty sketched, belong to two different stocks—the Wyandot, or Huron; and the Chippewa, or Algonquin. But the Sioux appear to have not the slightest affinity with either of these families, and include a separate class of tribes and languages. Their original, and even to this day their principal residence, is west of the Mississippi, but the patronymic tribe itself occupies considerable territories east of that river; and one of the cognate branches, the Winnebagoes, is entirely east of it. These two tribes, therefore, are brought within the geographical limits we have prescribed to ourselves.

The Sioux seem to occupy a similar position with relation to the tribes west of the Mississippi which the Chippewas occupy to those east of that river. Both extend over an immense region of country, and the language spoken by each appears to be the root from which the affiliated dialects of the stock have sprung. With a knowledge of the Chippewa, a traveller might hold communication with most of the tribes within the original territory of the United States; and with a knowledge of the Sioux, he might also communicate with a great majority of the tribes in the trans-Mississippi country. Their languages, however, are radically different, and in the present state of our knowledge of the subject, may be considered primitive.

The Sioux, so called by the French, from the last syllable of ***Naudawessie***, the Chippewa term for enemy, and emphatically applied by the Chippewas to their hereditary enemies, are known to themselves, also, under the designation of ***Dahcotah***.

This nation is now divided into two great and independent families, with no political connection, and, until very recently, engaged in a long course of hostilities. There are the Dahcotah proper, and the Assiniboins, or, as they call themselves, ***Hohay***. The separation took place at no distant period, and, no doubt, originated in one of those domestic feuds to which all barbarous people, having no regular code of law, morals, or religion, are peculiarly liable. The story is very freshly remembered, and each party repeats its own version of it. The Assiniboins detached themselves from their kindred bands, and emigrated to the country upon the Assiniboin river. Here they reside, stretching into the Hudson Bay territories on the one side, and to the Missouri on the other. Their numbers are estimated at eight thousand. In their habits they are erratic. They raise no agricultural article, but subsist entirely on the buffalo, whose countless herds roam over those trackless regions, obeying the invariable laws of nature, which impel them from south to north, and from north to south, as the great processes of subsistence and reproduction require. The mode described by travellers, of driving these animals into a kind of enclosure made by poles stuck into the ground, each pole surrounded by a piece of turf, and diverging into two lines from a point, seems to have originated with the Assiniboins, if it is not peculiar to them. These poles are placed in the ground at the distance of about six feet from each other. It is upon these the powerful and furious animal rushes, and becomes imprisoned, without any effort to pass the feeble barrier. The Indians follow on horseback, and slaughter them in immense numbers.

The Sioux, or Dahcotah proper, occupy the country between the Missouri and Mississippi, extending from the possessions of the Sauks and Foxes, to those of the Assiniboins and Chippewas, touching west upon the Omahaws, the Arichares, and Mandans. They are divided into seven great bands—the Mendewahkautoan, or Lower Sioux, or ***Gens du Lac;*** the Waukpakoote, or people who shoot in the leaves; the ***Gens de la Feuillestirees;*** the Waukpatone; the Sistasoons, or people who travel on foot; the Yanctons, or people who live out of doors; the Tetons, or people of the prairies, and the Eahpawaunetoter, or people who never fall. By others, however, these divisions are differently represented, and the names are rather indicative of local situation, or some accidental habit, than of any political associations. The Sioux are one people, perfectly homogeneous in their language, character, habits, and institutions.

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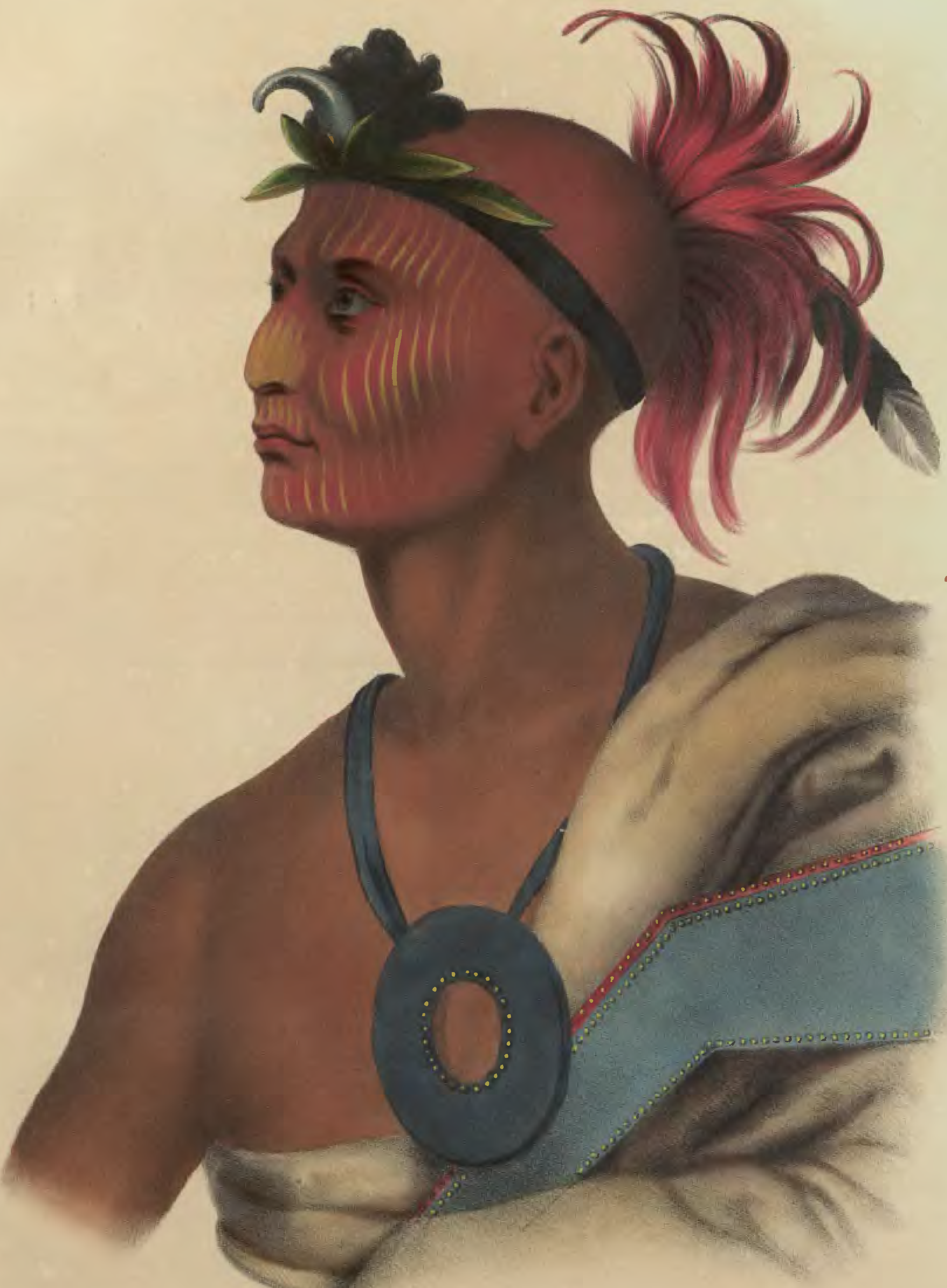

TAH-COL-O-QUOIT.

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They are wanderers over the prairies, pursuing the buffalo as constantly as the Assiniboins. Only one of their bands, the Lower Sioux, has any fixed villages, or permanent habitations. The others are restless, reckless, and homeless, traversing a region almost as extensive and unbroken as the ocean itself. Owing to their remote position, and wandering habits, it is difficult to ascertain their numbers. They are generally estimated at fifteen thousand.

A beneficent Providence has made provision in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, under every variety of situation, suited to the climate, and adapted to the wants and support of men. Before civilisation, that great destroyer of natural distinctions, has taught them the value of industry, and the comfort of prudent foresight, barbarous tribes having few objects to engage their attention, and being chiefly engaged in the supply of their physical wants, soon acquire a perfect knowledge of the animals that roam with them over the country, and of the best methods of taking and killing them. Their own customs are strongly marked by their dependence upon these sources, and their domestic institutions partake of the character thus impressed upon them. It is difficult to conceive how the arid deserts of Asia and Africa could be traversed without the aid of the patient and docile camel; how the Laplander could subsist, if nature had not given him the reindeer; or the miserable Esquimeau, who warms his snow hut with train oil, and subsists upon the carcasses of the aquatic monsters stranded upon his coast, could live amidst his inhospitable wilds, were not these supplies providentially sent for his support.

In like manner, the buffalo has been provided for the aboriginal tenants of our great western prairies. These animals supply houses, clothing, food, and fuel. So numerous are they, as to defy the quickest eye, follow them as it may over these vast plains, to count them. Nor are they less regular in their habits and movements, than the shoals of migratory fishes, which, coming from the recesses of the deep, visit different coasts, furnishing a cheap and abundant supply of food.

The Indians of all those regions depend entirely upon the buffalo for subsistence, and are very expert in the destruction of them. Mounted on fleet horses they pursue these animals, and seldom fail to transfix them with their arrows. Thus equipped they pursue a herd until as many are killed as are wanted, when they return, and collecting the tongues, and bunches upon the back, which are esteemed the most precious parts, they leave the carcass to the beasts and birds of prey.

In stature, the Sioux exceed our other northwestern tribes. They are, in general, well formed, with rather slender limbs, and exhibit, as is usual among the Indians, few examples of deformity, either natural or accidental. Until lately they were clad entirely in buffalo skins, as are yet many of their remote tribes. But those in the vicinity of our posts and settlements, have learned the superiority of woollen clothing, and the means of acquiring it by the traffic in furs. The habit which prevails among many of them of wearing the hair long, and dividing it into separate braids, gives them a singular and repulsive appearance.

Their domestic animals are the horse and the dog; of these they have great numbers.

When they remove their encampments, their tents of skins, poles, and other articles are packed up by the women, and drawn by the horses and dogs. All are employed in this labour, except the men. As such business would be dishonourable to them, they precede the caravan, without labour and without trouble.

Most of their political institutions resemble those of the other tribes. They have little of either law or government. The chiefs can advise, but not command—recommend, but not enforce. There is a sort of public opinion which marks the course a person should pursue under certain circumstances. If he conform, it is well; and if he do not, except when an act is committed exciting revenge, or requiring expiation, it is equally well. In such an emergency, the law of the strongest too often decides the controversy. Much, however, depends upon the personal character of the chief who happens to be at the head of the band. If he is a man of prudence and firmness, his representations will generally have weight, and his interference will go far towards checking, or satisfying the injury. The chieftainship is hereditary, rather in families than in direct descent. If a son is well qualified he succeeds his father; if he is not, some other member of the family takes the post without any formal election, but with tacit acquiescence, induced by respect for talents and experience.

The same uncertainty, which rests upon the religious opinions of the great Algonquin family, rests also upon those of the Sioux, and their cognate tribes. Indeed, it is a subject upon which they seem not to reflect, and which they cannot rationally explain. Some undefined notion appears to be entertained that there are other beings, corporeal, but unseen, who exert an influence upon the affairs of this life, and these they clothe with all the attributes that hope and fear can supply. They are propitiated with offerings, and contemplated as objects of terror, not of love—they are feared, but never adored. The storm, the lightning, the earthquake, is each a *Wah-kon*, or spirit, and so is every unusual occurrence of nature around them. They have not the slightest conception of an overruling Providence, controlling and directing the great operations of matter and of mind: nor do their notions upon these subjects, such as they are, produce the slightest favourable effect upon their sentiments or conduct. If the hunter sees a large stone of unusual appearance, he recognises a Wah-kon, makes an offering of a piece of tobacco, and passes on. If a canoe is in danger, he who has charge of it throws out, as a sacrifice, some article, to appease the offended spirit, and often the frail vessel glides down, leaving no memorial of the danger, or the rescue. A rattlesnake is a Wah-kon, and must not be killed: even after he has inflicted his terrible wound he is suffered to live, lest his kindred should revenge his death! It is doubtful whether any Indian, whose original impressions had not been changed by intercourse with white men, ever voluntarily killed a snake. To call this religion, is to prostitute the term. It produces no salutary effect upon the head or heart. These puerile observances or superstitions, are insulated facts. They form no part of any system, but are aberrations of the human understanding, conscious of its connection with another state of being, and mistaking the delusions of imagination for the instinctive dictates of reason.

The Sioux have occupied, since they first became known to the Europeans, much of the country where they now reside. For a long period they have been engaged in hostilities with the Chippewas, and although truces have been often made, no permanent reconciliation has been effected. In this long contest, the advantage seems to have been on the side of the Chippewas, for we are told by the French travellers, that the Sioux at one time occupied the coasts of Lake Superior. From this region they have been driven for generations, and the Chippewas have obtained permanent possession of the upper Mississippi, and will probably push their rivals still farther west. In that direction also the buffalo is receding; and where he goes, the Sioux must follow, for without these animals, the plains of the Mississippi and Missouri would be as uninhabitable to the Indians as the most sterile regions of the globe.

The Winnebagoes occupy the region between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and a considerable extent of country upon this river, above Prairie du Chien. Here seems to have been, during a century and a half, the period that they have been known to us, the seat of their power and population. The early French travellers found them at Green Bay, and they were here when Carver performed his adventurous journey. They have been long known among the Canadians by the designation of *Puans*, which has become their familiar appellation, and doubtless owes its origin to their filthy and unseemly habits, which have given them a disgusting pre-eminence among all the tribes that roam over the continent.

If their own tradition can be credited, they came originally from the southwest; and some of their peculiar manners and customs, together with their language, indicate that they are not now among the tribes with whom they have been most nearly connected. The Chippewas, Menominies, Sauks, Foxes, and Pottawatimies, by whom they are almost surrounded, and with whom they are in habits of daily intercourse, are all tribes of the Algonquin stock, speaking dialects more or less removed from that parent tongue. While the Winnebagoes are evidently a branch of the Sioux family, their language is allied to that spoken by the numerous tribes of this descent who roam over the immense plains of the Missouri and Mississippi. It is barsh and guttural, and the articulation is indistinct to a stranger. It is not easily acquired by persons of mature age, and there are few of the Canadians who live among them, by whom it is well spoken.

As a people their physical conformation is good. They are large, athletic, and well made—not handsome, but with symmetrical forms, rather fleshy than slender. They will bear a favourable comparison, in these respects, with any of the aboriginal family.

Their country is intersected with numerous streams, lakes, and marshes, in which the wild rice abounds. The same subsistence is offered to them as to the Menominies, and the same use is made of it. Equally indolent and improvident, they are the subjects of the same wants and sufferings.

The Winnebagoes are fierce and desperate warriors, possessing high notions of their own prowess, and when once engaged in warlike enterprises, reckless of all consequences. During the difficulties upon the Mississippi, a few years ago, there were instances of daring and devotion among them, which may bear a comparison with the loftiest descriptions of Indian magnanimity that have been recorded.* In former times they were engaged in hostilities with the Illinois tribes, and, associated with the Sauks and Foxes, they carried dismay even to the gates of Kaskaskias. In this long and active warfare the Illinois Indians were almost exterminated. Many of their bands have

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* Certain murders were committed at Prairie du Chien, on the upper Mississippi, in 1827, by a party of Indians, headed by the famous Winnebago chief, Red Bird. Measures were taken to capture the offenders, and secure the peace of the frontier. Military movements were made from Green Bay, and from Jefferson Barracks, on the Mississippi—the object being to form a junction at the Portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers, and decide upon ulterior measures. Information of these movements was given to the Indians, at a council then holding at the Butte des Morts, on Fox river, and of the determination of the United States government to punish those who had shed the blood of our people at Prairie du Chien. The Indians were faithfully warned of the impending danger, and told, if the murderers were not surrendered, war would be carried in among them, and a way cut through their country, not with axes, but guns. They were advised to procure a surrender of the guilty persons, and by so doing, save the innocent from suffering. Runners were despatched, bearing the intelligence of this information among their bands. Our troops were put in motion. The Indians saw, in the movement of the troops, the storm that was hanging over them. On arriving at the Portage, distant about one hundred and forty miles from the Butte des Morts, we found ourselves within nine miles of a village, at which, we were informed, were two of the murderers, Red Bird, the principal, and We-kaw, together with a large party of warriors. The Indians, apprehending an attack, sent a messenger to our encampment. He arrived, and seated himself at our tent door. On inquiring what he wanted, he answered, "*Do not strike. When the sun gets up there,* (pointing to a certain part of the heavens) *they will come in.*" To the question, who will come in?—he answered, "*Red Bird, and We-kaw.*" Having thus delivered his message, he rose, wrapped his blanket around him, and returned. This was about noon. At three o'clock another Indian came, seated himself in the same place, and being questioned, gave the same answer. At sundown another came, and repeated what the others had said.

The amount of the information intended to be conveyed in this novel manner, was that the Red Bird and We-kaw had determined to devote themselves, by surrendering their persons and their lives, rather than by a resistance, involve the peace of their people, or subject them to the consequences of an attack. The heroic character of this act will be more clearly perceived, when we assert, on our own knowledge, that the murders committed at Prairie du Chien, were in retaliation for wrongs which had been long inflicted on the tribes to which those Indians and their warriors belonged. It is true, those killed by them at Prairie du Chien were innocent of any wrong done to the Indians. But Indian retaliation does not require that he, who commits a wrong, shall, alone, suffer for it.

The following extract of a letter, written on the occasion of this voluntary surrender, is introduced in this place for the purpose of making the reader acquainted with the details of that interesting occurrence, and the ceremonies attending it. It was addressed to the Honourable James Barbour, then Secretary of War, though not as forming any part of the official correspondence. We have omitted parts of the extract, as published at the time, and supplied additional incidents, which, in the hurry of the preparation, were omitted.

Portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin Rivers,
Monday, 4th September, 1827.

My dear sir:—It would afford me sincere pleasure, did the circumstances, by which I find myself surrounded, allow me better opportunities and more leisure, because I could then, and would most cheerfully, enter into those minute details which are in some sort necessary to exhibit things and occurrences to you as they are seen by me. I will, notwithstanding, in this letter, from the spot on which the *Red Bird* and *We-kaw* surrendered themselves, give you some account of that interesting occasion, and of *every thing* just as it occurred. It all interested me, and will, doubtless, you.

You are already informed of our arrival at this place on the 31st ultimo, and that no movement was made to capture the two murderers, who were reported to us to be at the village nine miles above, on account of an order received by Major Whistler from General Atkinson, directing him to wait his arrival, and mean time to make no movement of *any* kind. We were, therefore, after the necessary arrangements for defence and security, &c. idly, but anxiously waiting his arrival, when, at about one o'clock to-day we descried, coming in the direction of the encampment, and across the Portage, a body of Indians, some mounted and some on foot. They were, when first discerned, on a mound, and descending it; and, by the aid of a glass, we could discern three flags—two appeared to be American, and one *white*. We had received information, the day before, of the intention of the band at the village to come in with the murderers to-day; and therefore expected them, and concluded this party to be on its way to fulfil that intention. In half an hour they were near the river, and at the crossing entirely disappeared, and those that remain are reduced to a few individuals. The Winnebagoes came out of this war a conquering and powerful people, but what their enemies could not accomplish, the elements did. Tradition says that six hundred of their warriors perished in canoes upon Lake Michigan during a violent storm.

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place, when we heard singing; it was annonnced by those who knew the notes, to be a *death song*—when, presently, the river being only about a hundred yards across, and the Indians approaching it, those who knew him said, "it is *the Red Bird singing his death song*." On the moment of their arrival at the landing, two *scalp yells* were given; and these were also by the Red Bird. The Menominies who had accompanied us, were lying, after the Indian fashion, in different directions all over the hill, eyeing, with a careless indifference, this scene; but the moment the yells were given, they bounded from the ground as if they had been shot out of it, and, running in every direction, each to his gun, seized it, and throwing back the pan, picked the touch-hole, and rallied. They knew well that the yells were *scalp yells;* but they did not know whether they were intended to indicate two scalps *to be taken*, or two *to be given*—but inferred the first. Barges were sent across, when they came over; the Red Bird carrying the white flag, and We-kaw by his side. While they were embarking, I passed a few yards from my tent, when a rattlesnake ran across the path; he was struck by captain Dickeson with his sword, which, in part, disabled him, when I ran mine, it being of the sabre form, several times through his body, and finally through his head, and holding it up, it was cut off by a Menominie Indian with his knife. The body of the snake falling, was caught up by an Indian, whilst I went towards one of the fires to burn the head, that its fangs might be innoxious, when another Indian came running, and begged me for it. I gave it to him. The object of both being to make *medicine of the reptile!*[*] This was interpreted to be a good omen; as had a previous killing of one a few mornings before on Fox river, and of a bear, some account of the ceremonies attending which, and of other incidents attending our ascent up that river, I may give you at another time.

By this time the murderers were landed, accompanied by one hundred and fourteen of their principal men. They were preceded and represented by *Caraminie*; a chief, who earnestly begged that the prisoners might receive good treatment, and under no circumstances, be put in irons. He appeared to dread the military, and wished to surrender them to the subagent, Mr. Marsh. His address being made to me, I told him it was proper that he should go to the great chief, (Major Whistler;) and that so far as Mr. Marsh's presence might be agreeable to them, they should have it there. He appeared content, and moved on, followed by the men of his bands; the Red Bird being in the centre, with his white flag, whilst two other flags, American, were borne by two chiefs, in the front and rear of the line. The military had been previously drawn out in line. The Menominie and Wabanocky Indians squatting about in groups, (looking curious enough,) on the left flank—the band of music on the right, a little in advance of the line. The murderers were marched up in front of the centre of the line—some ten or fifteen paces from which seats were arranged, which were occupied by the principal officers attached to the command, &c.: in front of which, at about ten paces, the Red Bird was halted, with his miserable looking companion We-kaw, by his side, whilst his band formed a kind of semicircle to their right and left. All eyes were fixed upon the Red Bird; and well they might be; for, of all the Indians I ever saw, he is decidedly the most perfect in form, and face, and motion. In height he is about six feet, straight, but without restraint; in proportion, exact and perfect from his feet to his head, and thence to the very ends of his fingers; whilst his face is full of expression and of every sort to interest the feelings, and without a single, even accidental glance, that would justify the suspicion that a purpose of murder could by any possible means conceal itself there. There is in it a happy blending of dignity and grace; great firmness and decision, mixed with mildness and mercy. I could not but ask myself, can this be the murderer—the chief who could shoot, scalp, and cut the throat of *Gagnier?* His head too—nothing was ever so well formed. There was no ornamenting of the hair after the Indian fashion; no clubbing it up in blocks and rollers of lead or silver; no loose or straggling parts; but it was cut after the best fashion of the most refined civilised taste. His face was painted, one side red, the other a little intermixed with green and white. Around his neck he wore a collar of blue wampum, beautifully mixed with white, sewn on a piece of cloth, and covering it, of about two inches width, whilst the claws of the panther, or large wild cat, were fastened to the upper rim, and about a quarter of an inch from each other, their points downward and inward, and resting upon the lower rim of the collar; and around his neck, in strands of various lengths, enlarging as they descended, he wears a profusion of the same kind of wampum as had been worked so tastefully into his collar. He is clothed in a *Yankton dress*, new, rich, and beautiful. It is of beautifully dressed elk, or deer skin; pure in its colour, almost to a clear white, and consists of a jacket, (with nothing beneath it,) the sleeves of which are sewn so as to neatly fit his finely turned arms, leaving two or three inches of the skin outside of the sewing, and then again three

[*] The noise of the rattles of a rattlesnake when excited, is precisely that of a repeating watch in the intervals between the strokes.

The Winnebagoes are computed at five thousand eight hundred persons. It has been supposed by some, that latterly they have been increasing. There is, however, no good reason to believe this. The opinion has probably grown out of a comparison of different estimates of their population made by various persons, and under various circumstances.

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or four inches more which is cut into strips, as we cut paper to wrap round, and ornament a candle. All this made a deep and rich fringe, whilst the same kind of ornament, or trimming, continued down the seams of his leggings. These were of the same material, and were additionally set off with blue beads. On his feet he wore moccasins. A piece of scarlet cloth about a quarter of a yard wide, and half a yard long, by means of a slit cut through its middle, so as to admit the passing through of his head, rested, one half upon his breast, and the other on his back. On one shoulder, and near his breast, was a large and beautifully ornamented feather, nearly white; and on the other, and opposite was one nearly black, with two pieces of wood in the form of compasses when a little open, each about six inches long, richly wrapped round with porcupines' quills, dyed yellow, red, and blue; and on the tip of one shoulder was a tuft of red dyed horse hair, curled in part, and mixed up with other ornaments. Across his breast, in a diagonal position, and bound tight to it, was his war pipe, at least three feet long, richly ornamented with feathers and horse hair, dyed red, and the bills of birds, &c.; whilst in one hand he held the white flag, and in the other the pipe of peace. There he stood. He moved not a muscle, nor once changed the expression of his face. They were told to sit down. He sat down, with a grace not less captivating than he walked and stood. At this moment the band on our right struck up and played Pleyel's Hymn. Every thing was still. The Red Bird looked towards the band, and eyeing it with an expression of interest, and as if those pensive notes were falling softly and agreeably on his heart. When the hymn was played, he took up his pouch, and taking from it some *kinnakanic* and tobacco, cut the latter after the Indian fashion, then rubbed the two together, filled the bowl of his beautiful peace pipe, struck fire with his steel and flint into a bit of spunk, and lighted it, and smoked. All this was done with a grace no less captivating than that which had characterised his other movements. He sat with his legs crossed.

If you think there was any thing of affectation in all this, you are mistaken. There was just the manner and appearance you would expect to see in a nobly built man of the finest intelligence, who had been escorted by his armies to a throne, where the diadem was to be placed upon his head.

There is but one opinion of the man, and that is just such as I have formed myself, and attempted to impart to you. I could not but speculate a little on his dress. His white jacket, with one piece of red upon it, appeared to indicate the purity of his past life, stained with but a single crime; for, all agree, that the Red Bird had never before soiled his fingers with the blood of the white man, or committed a bad action. His war pipe, bound close to his heart, appeared to indicate his love of war, which was now no longer to be gratified. Perhaps the red, or scarlet cloth, may have been indicative of his name—the *Red Bird.*

All sat, except the speakers, whose addresses I took down, but have not time to insert them here. They were, in substance, that they had been required to bring in the murderers. They had no power over any, except two, and these had voluntarily agreed to come in and give themselves up. As their friends, they had come with them. They hoped their white brothers would agree to receive the horses, (they had with them twenty, perhaps,) meaning, that if accepted, it should be in commutation for the lives of their two friends. They asked kind treatment for them, earnestly begged that they might not be put in irons, and that they all might have some tobacco, and something to eat.

They were answered, and told, in substance, that they had done well thus to come in. By having done so, they had turned away our guns, and saved their people. They were admonished against placing themselves in a similar situation in future, and told, that when they should be aggrieved, to go to their agent, who would inform their great father of their complaints, and he would redress them; that their friends should be treated kindly, and tried by the same laws that their great father's children were tried; that, for the present, they should not be put in irons; that they all should have something to eat, and tobacco to smoke. We advised them to warn their people against killing ours; and endeavoured also to impress them with a proper conception of the extent of our power, and of their weakness, &c.

Having heard this, the Red Bird stood up; the commanding officer, Major Whistler, a few paces in advance of the centre of his line, facing him. After a pause of a minute, and a rapid survey of the troops, and a firm, composed observation of his people, the Red Bird said—looking at Major Whistler—"*I am ready.*" Then advancing a step or two, he paused, and added—"I do not wish to be put in irons. Let me be free. I have given my life, it is gone, (stooping down and taking some dust between his finger and thumb, and blowing it away,) like this—(eyeing the dust as it fell and vanished out of his sight.) I would not have it back. It is gone." He then threw his hands behind him, to indicate that he was leaving all things behind him, and marched up to Major Whistler, breast to breast. A platoon was wheeled backwards from the centre

Such estimates are too loose and uncertain to furnish data for any calculations of this nature, more particularly when they contradict our uniform experience upon the subject of the aboriginal population. All the tribes with which we are acquainted are in a state of progressive and rapid diminution; and although those which are most remote are not within the sphere of the operation of the causes which result from their contact with a civilised people, yet a scanty and precarious subsistence, continued and active warfare, exposure to the elements and to the accidents of a hazardous life, are pressing with restless severity upon their spare population.

In manners and customs, the Winnebagoes resemble the other members of the aboriginal family. Like the Algonquin tribes they are divided into bands, each designated by the name of some animal, or of a supposed spirit, such as the bear, the Devil, or bad spirit, the thunder, &c. These divisions were originally an important feature in their polity, but they are now little more than nominal, having yielded, like many others of the peculiar traits, to the untoward circumstances which have for ages surrounded them.

Their village chiefs are hereditary in the lineal descent, and where the direct line fails, in the collateral descent. Female chiefs are not at present known among them, although Carver states, that when he visited this tribe, in 1767, a queen was at their head, and exercised her authority with much state, and without opposition. It is certainly a singular inconsistency in human nature, that rude and uncivilised people who hold

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of the line, when Major Whistler stepping aside, the Red Bird and We-kaw marched through the line in charge of a file of men, to a tent that had been provided in the rear, over which a guard was set. The comrades of the two captives then left the ground by the way they had come, taking with them our advice, and a supply of meat and flour.

I will now describe, as well as I can, *We-kaw*, the miserable, butcher-looking being who continued by Red Bird. He is, in all respects, the opposite of the Red Bird; and you will make out the points of comparison by this rule: Never was there before, two human beings brought together for the same crime, who looked so totally unlike each other. Red Bird seemed a prince, and fit to command, and worthy to be obeyed; but We-kaw looked as if he was born to be hanged. Meager, cold, dirty in his dress and person, and crooked in form—like the starved wolf, gaunt, and hungry, and blood-thirsty—his whole appearance indicates the existence of a spirit, wary, cruel, and treacherous; and there is no room left, after looking at him, for pity. This is the man who could scalp a child no more than *eleven months old*, and cut it across the back of its neck *to the bone*, and leave it, bearing off its fine locks, to suffer and die upon the floor, near its murdered father! But his hands, and crooked and miserable looking fingers, had been wet, often, with blood before.

The *Red Bird* does not appear to be over thirty—yet he is said to be over forty. We-kaw looks to be forty-five, and is, perhaps, that old.

I shall see, on my arrival at the Prairie, the scene of these butcheries; and as I may write you upon all the points of my tour that may have any interest, I will introduce you to that. The child, I forgot to say, by the latest accounts, yet lives, and promises to survive the wounds on its head and neck. The widow of *Gagnier* is also there, and I shall get the whole story from her own mouth, and then shall, doubtless, get it truly. You shall have it all, and a thousand things besides, that when I left home I never expected to realise—but once entered upon the scenes I have passed, there was no giving back. I see no danger, I confess, especially now; but my way is onward, and I shall go.

I write in haste, and have only time to add the assurance of my friendship.

THOMAS L. M'KENNEY.

The Red Bird and We-kaw were delivered over to General Atkinson, who commanded the expedition from Jefferson Barracks. He arrived with his command at the Portage, by way of the Ouisconsin, two days after the surrender. The prisoners were conveyed to Prairie du Chien. The Red Bird died in prison. We-kaw, and others who were taken as accomplices in the murder, were tried and convicted, but became the subjects of executive clemency—the president, Mr. Adams, extending a pardon to them.

women in contempt, and assign to them the performance of all those duties which are least honourable and most laborious, should yet admit them to the exercise of civil authority in supreme or subordinate situations.* The custom may have originated in another and more advanced state of society, and may have survived the wreck in which their early history has perished.

The southern Indians are consolidated into four great families, the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Chactaws, and Chickasaws. The Catawbas, and many other tribes, once scattered over the country from North Carolina to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, are now either extinct, or so nearly extinct, that any investigation into their condition would be inconsistent with the object we have in view—which is, an exhibition of the actual state of the Indian tribes at the present day. Nor is it easy to trace the history and progress of the declension and extinction of these Indians, or their incorporation into the other communities which yet survive so much of what has perished in our aboriginal memorials. The materials that have reached us are not satisfactory. The early French travellers and historians furnish us with the most valuable information on these subjects. If they did not examine them with more severity, they were more careful to record their observations, and by the facility of intercourse with the Indians, better enabled to collect them. With the southern tribes, however, their intercourse was not extensive, and the accounts which they have left us of their history and condition are meager and unsatisfactory.

Adair, an English trader, published a book purporting to be a history of the four southern tribes, or rather it was published for him; and if human ingenuity had been taxed to compile a work, which, in a large compass, should contain the least possible information respecting the subject about which it treats, we might be well satisfied with Adair's quarto. He sees in the Indians the descendants of the Jews, and blind to the thousand physical and moral proofs adverse to this wild theory, he seizes upon one or two casual coincidences, and with an imagination which supplies every thing else, he furnishes his reader with his speculations.

Over this region, and among the predecessors, or ancestors of some of these tribes, De Soto rambled with his followers in pursuit of gold, if the narrative of his expedition be not as fabulous as the El Dorado he was seeking. How precious would be a judicious and faithful account of the Indians written almost during the lifetime of Columbus, by a man of observation and candour, travelling, as is computed in the history of this expedition, more than five thousand miles in the country; and occupied in this journey nearly five years! And proceeding in a direction, eighteen hundred miles north of the point of debarkation—six hundred miles north of Lake Superior. For this is the grave calculation made from a reduction of the courses and distances given by De la Vega, the historian of the expedition.

It were a waste of time to indulge in speculations, as some sensible men have done,

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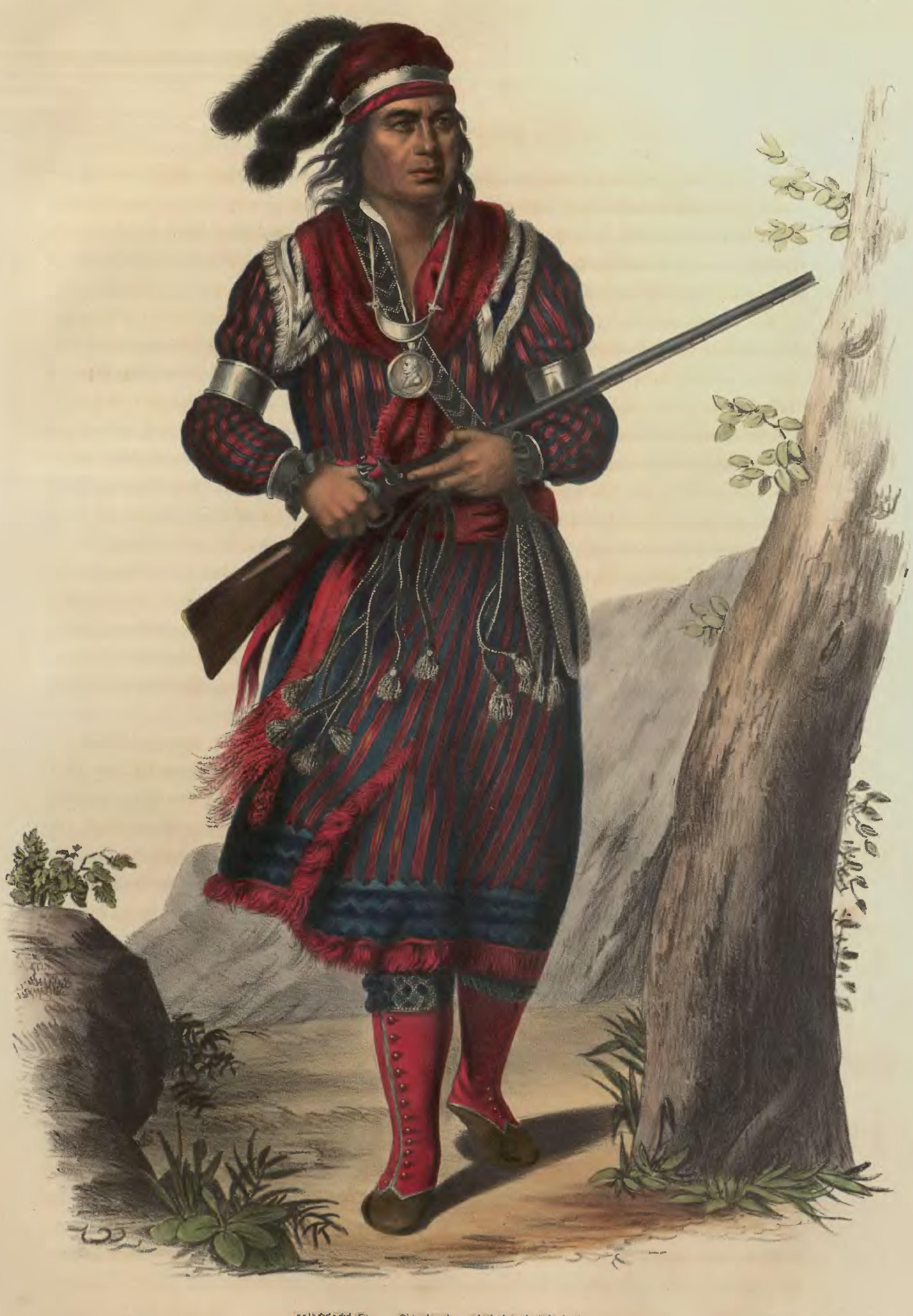
* We remember, in 1826, to have seen admitted into a council, at *Fond-du-lac Superior*, an aged woman, but she sat there as the representative of her husband, whose age and blindness prevented his attendance.



TUKO-SEE-MATHLA

A SEMINOLE CHIEF.

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respecting the causes which have depopulated these regions, *"filled with great towns, always within view of each other!"* Of all the exaggerations to which the *auri sacra fames* of the Spaniards has given birth in the new world, this narrative is the grossest. It is utterly unworthy of a moment's serious consideration. All that it records is wholly inconsistent with the institutions and resources, and not less so with every authentic account which has come down to us.

The Creeks now occupy a tract of country in the eastern part of Alabama. Many of them, however, have already removed west of the Mississippi, and others are preparing to follow. From present appearances, it is probable they will all ere long follow the same route. Their whole numbers are estimated at twenty thousand.

The Seminoles, and the remains of other broken tribes, allies or confederates of the Creeks, and identified with them in manners and feelings, occupy a reservation in Florida, and number among their population about four thousand individuals.

The Creeks were so called by the English, because their country was watered and intersected by numerous small streams, along which these Indians were situated. They have long been known as a powerful and restless confederacy, and their sway formerly extended over much of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. The principal and original band, the Muskogee, which in their own language now gives name to the whole nation, claim to have always inhabited the country now occupied by them. As other tribes became reduced in numbers and power, either by the preponderance of the Muskogee, or by other causes, they joined that band, and have in process of time become, in some measure, though not altogether, a homogeneous people. The most extraordinary among these, both as to their history, their institutions, and their fate, were the Natchez. Originally planted upon the Mississippi, near the present town of that name, if the accounts which have been given of their condition and manners can be relied on, almost all the features they present mark a striking difference between them and all the other Indians who are known to us. Some of these we shall lay before our readers; and without giving full credit to the whole account, there yet can be no doubt that some peculiar characteristics prevailed among them. It is a curious and interesting topic. The Natchez are said to have been numerous and powerful. Their principal chief was called the *Great Sun*, and the subordinate chiefs, *suns*. Their government, unlike the pure democracies, or rather the no-government of the other tribes, was strong, and even despotic. The Great Sun was an object of reverence, and almost veneration, and exercised unlimited power during his life; and in death he was attended by a numerous band who had been devoted to him from birth, and who were immolated on his shrine. The government was hereditary; but, as with the Wyandots, and some of the other tribes, the succession was in the female line, from uncle to nephew. The members of the reigning family were not allowed to intermarry with one another, but divorces were permitted at will, and libertinism fully indulged. The sun was the great object of religious adoration, and in their temples a perpetual fire was burning. Guardians were appointed for the preservation of this fire, and heavy penalties were prescribed for neglect. All this, and much more that is related of this people by respectable authors, some of them eye witnesses, is so different from all around them, that if the leading facts are true, the Natchez must have been an insulated tribe upon the continent, deriving their origin from a different stock.

The final catastrophe, which closed their history and their independence, is indicative of their fierce and indomitable spirit. The tyrannical conduct of a French commandant of the port of Natchez led to a conspiracy for the destruction of their oppressors. The French were surprised, and almost the whole settlement, amounting to seven hundred persons, massacred. When the intelligence reached New Orleans, a formidable expedition was organised against these Indians, and all the warriors of the neighbouring tribes invited to accompany it. The Natchez defended themselves with desperate valour, but in the end were utterly overthrown. Their Great Sun, with many of their principal men, was transported to St. Domingo, and sold into slavery, and the tribe itself disappeared from history.

There are among the Creeks the remains of a tribe known as the Uchees, the remnant of one of these dispersed, or conquered bands—tradition says they were conquered. Although forming part of the Creek tribe, and enjoying in common with it its honours and profits, such as they are, they speak a language entirely dissimilar, and wholly their own.

The Cherokees own a district of country, which extends into North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee. That portion of the tribe that remains east of the Mississippi, contains about nine thousand persons. Those who have emigrated to the west of that river, and are now situated west of Arkansas and Missouri, amount to about six thousand. The principal emigration has taken place since 1817.

This tribe, when first known to the French, resided in the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio. The causes which led to their emigration from that region can only be conjectured, but there is little doubt it was owing to the victorious career of the Iroquois; and that it occurred about the period when the Shawanese were driven to the same quarter.

After the settlement of the southern states, the Cherokees, instigated by the French, displayed for many years the most determined hostility, and kept the frontiers in a state of constant alarm and danger. Formidable exertions were required, from time to time, to check this spirit; nor was it fully accomplished until the near approach of the revolutionary troubles.

The language of the Cherokees, so far as we are acquainted with it, is radically different in its words from that of any other tribes. In its general structure, however, it closely resembles the dialects spoken by our whole aboriginal family.

The Chactaws reside in the state of Mississippi, and are computed at twenty thousand persons. They have recently ceded their entire country east of the Mississippi to the United States, and are removing to the west of that river.

The Chickasaws, numbering about three thousand six hundred, inhabit the northern part of Mississippi, and the northwestern corner of Alabama.

These two tribes speak dialects of the same language, and are evidently branches of the same family. There is nothing in their condition or history which requires a more particular notice, except that they, together with the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles, having outlived the game, have ceased, from necessity, to be hunters. They derive such subsistence as their manner of life, and general abandonment of portions of these tribes to ardent spirits will permit, from the soil. There is a good deal of individual comfort enjoyed, and an exception in such cases from the common plague of drunkenness, particularly among the Cherokees and Chickasaws, which is found also, though not to the same extent, among the Chactaws. There is nothing in the condition of individual families, that could lead us to hope for any improvement among the Creeks and Seminoles. The annuities derived from the government under treaties with them for cessions of their lands, are the main dependence of these latter tribes; and these it is found necessary sometimes to pledge a year in advance, for corn to subsist upon. We merely observe, in regard to the Chactaws, that the custom of flattening the heads of infants formerly prevailed among them.

The Cherokees appear to be a homogeneous tribe, originating in a different region from the one now occupied by them. The other three southern tribes have been more or less formed by the admixture of dispersed or conquered bands; and we have no evidence of their migration from any other quarter. They all, however, in general characteristics resemble the other great branches of their race. Circumstances may occasionally impress some peculiar feature upon different tribes, but in the whole extent of their manners, customs, institutions, and opinions, there is nothing which can preclude the idea of their common origin.

Latterly the southern tribes have excited more than common observation; and the critical state of their affairs has directed much of the public attention to them. Their reputed improvements in the elements of social life, and the attempt made by some of them to establish independent governments, have led to the belief with many, that the crisis of their fate is passed, and that a new era is before them. If they can be induced to pursue the course recommended by their best friends, and flee from the vicinity of the white settlements, and establish themselves permanently beyond the Mississippi, and the government will accompany them with the means of protection and improvement, this hope may be realised—if not, they will but follow the fate of too many of the tribes that have gone before them.

Such is a general view of the past condition, and present situation of the various tribes of Indians who occupy any portion of the territory of the United States, east of the Mississippi, or who have passed that great barrier, and sought, in the immense plains of the west, a land of refuge and of safety. The great outlines of their character are easily delineated. In all their essential features, they are now what they were at the discovery. Indolent and improvident, they neither survey the wants of the future, nor provide for them. The men are free, and the women are slaves. They are restrained by no moral or religious obligations, but willingly yield themselves to the fiercest passions. Lost in the most degrading superstition, they look upon nature with a vacant eye, never inquiring into the causes, or the consequences of the great revolutions of nature, or into the structure or operations of their own minds. Their existence is essentially a physical one, limited to the gratification of their appetites, and the indulgence of their passions. Mental or moral improvement is not embraced by a single desire for the one or the other. As the only occupations of the men are war and hunting, their early discipline, and their habitual exertions, are directed to these pursuits; and as their faculties are confined within narrow limits, they acquire an ardour, intensity, and power, unknown in a different state of society. Marvellous tales are related of the sagacity with which the Indians penetrate the forest, pursuing their course with unerring skill and precision, and taking all their measures with a precaution which leaves little to accident. In this application of their powers they resemble many of the inferior animals, which by some myterious process are enabled to return to places whence they have been taken, although every effort may have been made to deceive them. The Indians observe, accurately, the face of the country, the courses of the streams, the weatherbeaten sides of the trees, and every other permanent landmark which can guide them through the world of the forest. And after all due allowance for exaggeration, enough of sober truth will remain to excite our surprise at the almost intuitive sagacity displayed by these rude hunters in the toils of the chase. The splendour of victory is in due proportion to the slaughter of their enemy, and in an inverse proportion to their own loss; and it is a point of honour with all the leaders of the war parties to bring back as many *braves*, or warriors, as possible. How terrible they are to a vanquished and prostrate foe, the whole history of our warfare with them but too mournfully tells. They neither expect mercy nor yield it. Their solicitude for the preservation of life too often degenerates into rank cowardice. But when escape is impossible, and the hour of trial comes, they meet their fate with a heroic fortitude, which would not dishonour the sternest martyr of civil or religious freedom, that ever went from the stake to his reward. Their conduct in this appalling extremity has been the theme of wonder and description, since they themselves have been known to us. All that is contemptuous in expression is poured upon their enemies; all that is elevated in feeling is given to their country; all that concerns life, its joys, or terrors, is cast behind them like a worthless thing. From infancy they have looked forward to this hour of suffering and triumph as a possible event. They have heard of it in the stories of the old, and in the songs of the young. They have seen it in the triumphant death of many a fierce captive enemy, whose song of defiance has been stimulated by the impulse of his own heart.

So far as natural affections depend upon natural instinct they participate with us, as well as with the brute creation, in their enjoyment. We do not, of course, speak now of those half, or entirely civilised families, upon whose minds and hearts education and social advantages have shed their influence, but of the Indian, as such; to him who owes nothing to culture, and but little to habit. It is idle to suppose that he feels and cherishes those kindly emotions of the heart which transport us beyond the magic circle of *self*, and give us the foretaste of another existence. Their hospitality is more the hospitality of improvidence than of feeling. The kettle of the Indian, while he has any thing to put in it, is always on the fire, filled with victuals for his family, and for all who enter his wigwam.

AN ESSAY
ON THE
HISTORY
OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY

JAMES HALL.

THE North American Indians, when discovered by the Europeans, were a race of savages who had made no advances whatever towards civilization. They dwelt in the wilderness, subsisted by hunting, and had no permanent dwellings. They were lodged, either in portable tents, or in huts made of bark or earth; and had no houses or other edifices constructed of durable materials, nor any towns, or stationary places of residence; their villages being mere encampments, at spots of occasional or habitual resort. They had no governments, or national organization; being divided into families or tribes, who were independent of each other, and portions of whom occasionally united together for a season, to resist a common danger, or to join in the rites of a common superstition. They had no industry; produced nothing by labour, except a few vegetables for present use; possessed no trade nor commerce, and of course, no money, nor other medium of exchange. They kept no domestic animals, nor had they any property except in their arms and rude canoes. We have no evidence that they entertained any definite ideas of a future state, or of a Supreme Being; and although they had many vague notions of supernatural beings, and of another state of existence, yet we are certain that they professed no common faith, nor exercised any general form of religion. Each tribe had some shadowy superstitions, scarcely credited by themselves, and which we are inclined to believe seldom outlived the generations in which they were conceived. They made nothing, they erected nothing, they established nothing, which might vindicate to succeeding generations their character as rational beings; and they seem to have been distinguished from the brute creation by little else than the faculty of speech, and the possession of reasoning powers, which appear scarcely to have been exercised. Still they were human beings, as much entitled to the sympathy of mankind, as if their claims to respect had been greater; and their condition and history present curious subjects of inquiry to the philosopher and philanthropist.

Much curiosity has been excited in regard to the origin of this people, and many ingenious attempts have been made to trace their descent from some of the existing nations of Europe and Asia. All these theories have proved fallacious, and we speak the common sentiment of all rational inquirers on this subject, when we assert, that no fact has been discovered, which would lead to a just inference, that the Aborigines of North America have at any time been more civilized than they are at present; or which would render it even probable, that they are a branch of any existing people more civilized than themselves. The more reasonable opinion is, that they are a primitive people, a distinct branch of the human family, separated from the common stock at some remote period, in pursuance of the same inscrutable decree of Providence which set apart the negro from the white man. How they came to this continent cannot now be told; time has effaced the footsteps of the progenitors of the race; and it would be as impossible now to trace out their path, as it would be to unfold the still more mysterious act of the hand of God, which peopled the islands of the ocean.

In the course of these inquiries, much stress has been laid upon the discovery of certain works of art, which some have supposed to be the remains of a people more civilized than the present race of Indians, while others believe them to have been constructed by this race, in a higher state of cultivation, from which they have since receded. We think these theories equally defective, from the obvious consideration, that there is not evinced, in the construction of any of these works, a degree of skill beyond that of which the present Indian is capable. There is no mechanical skill whatever, no mathematical knowledge, nor any great display of ingenuity, evinced in any of them. They are for the most part composed of loose earth, heaped up in huge piles, more remarkable for their volume, than their form or structure. No wood nor metal has been found in them, and in the few instances where stone has been discovered, it has not borne the impress of any tool, while the remains of masonry have been so problematical, as not to afford the evidence upon which any hypothesis could be safely founded.

The mounds scattered profusely over the great central plain of the Mississippi, have attracted attention chiefly on account of their number and size; and it has been plausibly argued, that the present race of Indians, with their known indolence and aversion to labour, and their ignorance of all tools and machinery, would never have submitted to the toil requisite for so great a work. But this argument is insufficient. In order to appreciate the laboriousness of this work, it would be necessary to ascertain the numbers engaged in it, and the time employed in its completion. If we suppose that these mounds were burying places, that the bones of the dead were deposited on the ground, and earth brought in small parcels from the surrounding surface and heaped over them, and that successive layers were deposited from time to time, one above the other, it will be seen that the accumulation might eventually be great, though the labour would be gradually bestowed, and the toil almost imperceptible. When we consider the tendency of all communities to adhere tenaciously to burial places, consecrated by long use, it will not be thought strange that savages, however erratic their habits, should continue to bury their people, at the same spots, through many successive generations. Supposing this to have been the process, these mounds may have been growing through many successive ages, and neither their number, nor their bulk, would be matter of surprise. We have an example in our own times to justify the belief that such was their practice. Blackbird, a celebrated chief of the Mahas, was buried, by his own directions, on an eminence overlooking the Missouri river. He was seated on his favourite horse, dressed, painted and armed as if prepared for war, and the horse and man being placed on the surface of the ground, in the erect posture of life, the earth was heaped up around them until both were covered. A considerable mound would be made by this single interment; and is it improbable, that a spot thus signalized, would, in after generations, be sought by those who would desire to place the remains of their relatives under the guardianship of the spirit of a great warrior?

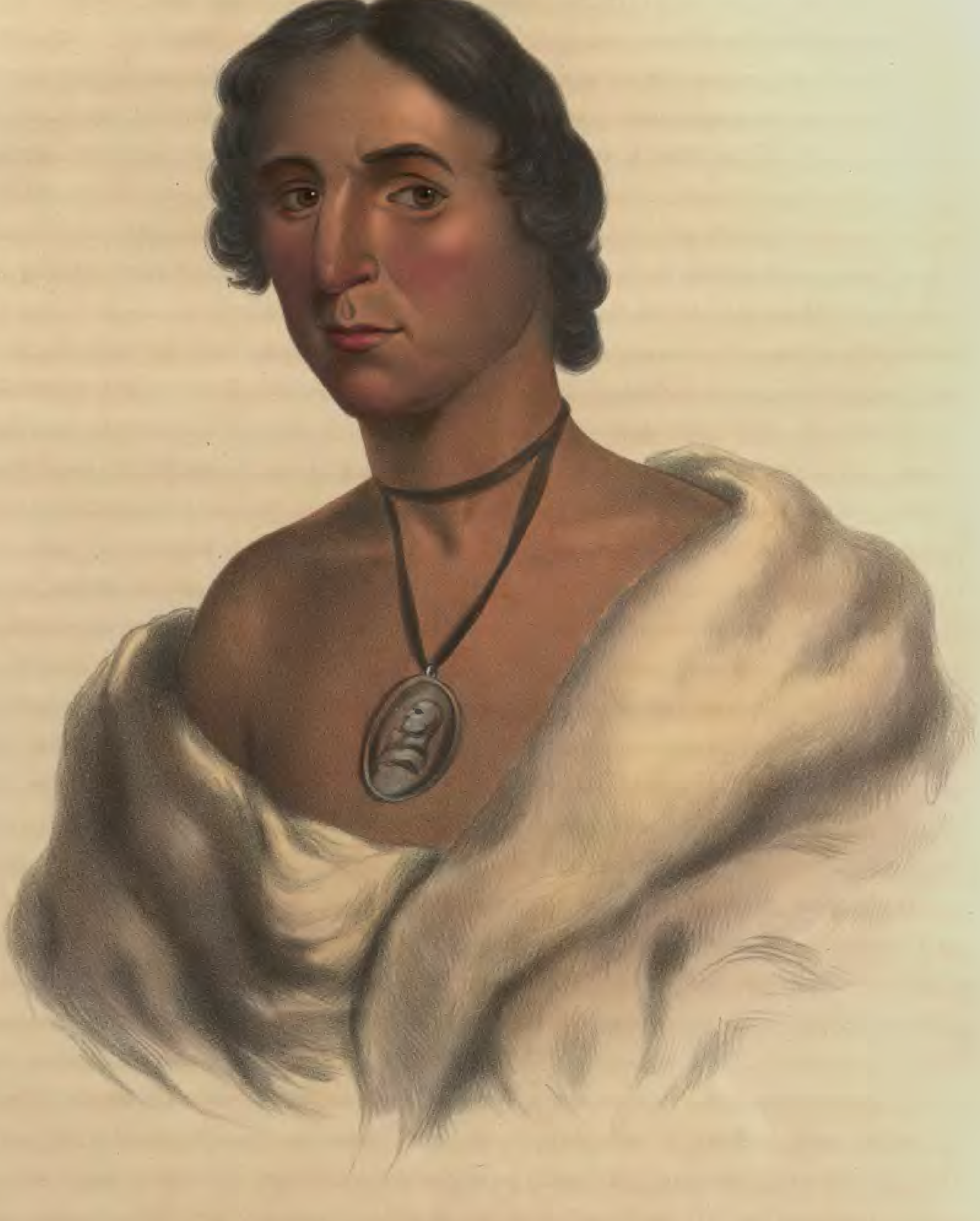
It is worthy of remark, that these mounds are usually found in places suitable for the sites of towns, and we think that the largest mounds, and the most numerous groups, always exist in the most fertile tracts of country, and on the borders of rivers. These are the points at which the productions of nature, suitable for food, would be most abundant, and where savage hordes would naturally congregate, during the inclemency of the winter season. At some of these places the evidences of former habitation still remain, but many of them are on the open prairie, covered with long grass, and exhibiting no sign of recent population, while others are concealed in the tangled forest, in all its pristine luxuriance, and overgrown with great trees, whose ages may be computed by centuries. They are, therefore, of great antiquity; and while we believe, that among the present inhabitants of the wilderness, there are traces of the custom to which we have alluded as the probable cause of these remains, we also think that the practice has gone into disuse. It is not improbable, that the pressure of the white population during the last three centuries, the use of ardent spirits, and the introduction of foreign diseases, have modified their former habits, by rendering them more erratic, fomenting wars and dividing tribes, and greatly reducing their numbers.

Another class of remains, of a highly curious character, have recently been discovered in the Wisconsin Territory. These are mounds of earth, having the outlines and figures of animals, raised in relief, upon the surface of the plain. They are very numerous, and the original forms so well preserved, that the respective species of animals intended to be represented, are easily recognised. The figures are large, as much as thirty or forty feet in length, and raised several feet above the natural surface, and the bodies, heads, limbs, and in some instances the smaller members, such as the ears, are distinctly visible. They represent the buffalo, the bear, the deer, the eagle, the tortoise, the lizard, &c., drawn without much skill, and are precisely the figures which we find traced on the dressed buffalo skins of the present race of Indians, and displaying the same style in the grouping, and a similar degree of skill in the art of drawing. They are so peculiarly characteristic of the Indians, as to leave no doubt of their origin; nor do we question the fairness of the inference which would impute them to the same people, and the identical period, which produced the class of mounds supposed to have been sepulchres for the dead. We are indebted for our knowledge of these highly curious relics, to Dr. John Locke of Cincinnati, an eminent geologist, who carefully examined, measured, and delineated them, and whose very interesting description may be found in Silliman's Journal.

The remains of ancient fortifications are decidedly the most curious of all the relics of our red population which have been handed down to us; and they have caused great doubt, in regard to their origin, in consequence of their magnitude, and the degree of skill evinced in their construction. That they were military defences, well adapted to the purpose for which they were intended, and exhibiting much ingenuity, are points which may be conceded; but some, whose opinions are entitled to great respect, have maintained further, that these works exhibit a knowledge of the science of engineering, as applied in modern warfare, far beyond the powers of combination and extent of knowledge, of any savage people, and which prove them to be the production of a more civilized people. We think these inferences are more plausible than just.

The discoverers of North America found the villages of the Indians surrounded by stockades, and there is scarcely a delineation of an Indian town to be found in any old book, in which there is not a representation of some form of exterior defence. This fact shews, that like their descendants, they lived on such terms with their neighbours, as made it necessary for them to be continually on their guard against surprise; and, although their habits may have been those of a wandering people, and their towns then, as now, places of periodical resort, yet there may have been periods of a more protracted abode at one spot, and occasions when it became essential to make a stand against their enemies, and to take more than ordinary precautions against the assaults of a superior force. If such was ever the case, one great difficulty is removed from this question.

The Indians are a military people. They cultivate no art of social life, and the only road to distinction is the war path. The sole ambition of their leading men is to excel in war. Whatever degree of wisdom, of cunning, or of any description of talent, may exist in the minds of the chiefs, or of aspiring men, must find its exercise in the battle-field, in plans to annoy others, or defend themselves. The intellect of such a people, while it would remain stationary and unproductive, in regard to every other kind of knowledge, and subject of reflection, would become sharpened, and to



PA-SHE-NINE
A CHIPPEWA CHIEF

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some extent cultivated, in relation to military affairs; like the trees of their native forests, the martial art would grow vigorously in the soil which gave nourishment to no other production. It is true, that even this art could arrive at no high degree of perfection among a people who had no mechanical ingenuity, no knowledge of the use of metals, nor any of the implements or engines of war or of industry belonging to a cultivated people—without, in short, any of the kindred arts or sciences. With no weapons but the bow, the spear of wood, and the war club, without magazines and the means of transporting provisions, the range of improvement in military tactics must have been confined to very narrow limits. We only contend, that so far as the scope of their knowledge and experience in war extended, it gave employment to all the ingenuity of the people which was at all attempted to be exercised. Thus we have seen, that while the Indians have resisted every effort to introduce among them our social arts, they have eagerly adopted the use of the horse and of firearms; they listen with indifference or contempt to our explanations of the comforts of life, and of the advantages of agriculture and trade, and witness, without desire, the useful qualities of the ox, the axe, and the plough; but they grasp with avidity the knife and the tomahawk.

Among the various vicissitudes of a continual warfare, it must sometimes have become necessary, even for a people habitually wandering in their habits, to make a stand against their enemies. We know that wars for the conquest of territory have been common among the Aborigines, and that tribes have often been dispossessed of their ancient hunting-grounds, and driven to seek other lands. There must have been occasions when pride, obstinacy, or a devoted attachment to a particular spot, impelled them to risk extermination rather than retreat before a superior force; or when a desperate remnant of a brave and fierce people, surrounded by foes, could only retreat from their own country into the lands of a hostile nation. In such emergencies they must have resorted to extraordinary means of defence; and necessity would suggest those artificial aids which, in all ages, and in every state of society, have been called to the support of valour and physical strength. They would be driven to the construction of fortifications; and though wholly unskilful at first, their warlike propensities, and martial habits, would render them fruitful of expedients, and lead to a rapid advancement in the art of improving the advantages and covering the weaknesses of their position. The reader of American history will readily recall numerous instances in which the Indians have protected their armies, and surrounded their towns, by breastworks of logs, and the step from those to ramparts of earth, would be natural and easy.

The evidences of military science which have been detected in some of these works deserve attention. These have been found in the convenience of the positions in reference to supplies of water—in the existence of covered ways, of traverses protecting gateways, of angles, and even bastions. As these are parts of that combination which forms a regular system, they are supposed to be the results of science; but this may be a mistake, for it is not the existence of the parts, but their combination and harmony, which afford the proof of what we term science. The perfection of science often consists in the adaptation of the most simple elements to a desired purpose, and the discovery and proper arrangement of the laws by which causes are made to produce uniform effects. The savage may know nothing of the laws, but may adopt the principles; because there are some elementary principles so inseparably connected with every mechanical operation, that it is impossible to conduct that operation conveniently without adopting those rudiments of the art. The economy of labour in connecting two points by a straight instead of a serpentine line of embankment, might readily occur even to the mind of a savage; and a military leader, however inexperienced, in planning a line of defence, would naturally consider and strengthen the points of attack. That an intelligent savage leader, watchful, crafty, and expert in devices, as we know them to be, and experienced in his own mode of warfare, should throw out a salient angle to overlook and command a line of defence, would not be surprising; and it would be still less remarkable, that he should pitch his camp near a supply of water, and construct a covered way by which the females could pass in safety to the reservoir of that indispensable element. If an opening must be left in a line of breastwork for egress, it would be natural to throw up a parapet behind it for the protection of the warriors engaged in its defence, in case of assault. All these are among the simple and obvious expedients which form the rudiments of the art of fortification: that all of them would be combined in a first attempt to fortify a savage camp, is not likely; but that some of them would be adopted on one occasion, and others be added subsequently, as necessity might suggest their expediency, does not seem improbable. It is true also, that some of the largest works, of which the remains are found, when delineated on paper, exhibit angles and bastions, and a general irregularity of outline, which appear to be the result of a plan adapted to some system of defence, when an examination of the ground would shew them to be the mere effects of necessity. On tracing some of these lines upon the spot, it has been found that the position occupies an eminence or ground higher than that around it, and that the lines enclosing the table-land of the summit follow the sinuosities of the exterior lines of plane, and keeping along the edge of the declivity, form retiring angles in passing round the heads of ravines or gullies, and again shoot out into salient angles, to occupy protruding points, and in the latter case sometimes swell into a series of angles, developing the form of a bastion.

How far the habits of the Indians have been modified by their intercourse with the whites, cannot be ascertained with certainty, but we have data from which to draw conclusions. The earliest accounts of the Indians represent them as being, intellectually, what they now are. They had no art then which they have not now; nor has any trace been found of any art which they once possessed and have since lost. The pressure of the whites has driven them from the sea-coasts to the great plains of the west, and some change must have resulted from the difference in the character of the country, and modes of procuring food. The use of the horse, of firearms, and of other weapons of metal, has not been without effect. Mounted on this noble animal, they now overtake the buffalo, and procure abundant supplies of food—the gun has added wonderfully to the facility of hunting, and their military tactics must have been entirely changed. They are proud and fearless riders, delighting in the chase, in horse-racing, and in all exercises in which that animal is the instrument or companion of man. The introduction of ardent spirits has done much to deprave and enfeeble the Indian; and the prevalency of the small-pox and other diseases communicated by the whites, has thinned their numbers with fearful havoc. With these few exceptions, there seems to be little change in their character or condition since the discovery. The moral effects of their intercourse with the whites, we shall consider more fully in another place.

Of the two parties that were brought into contact by the discovery of North America, it may be remarked that they stood on the opposite extremes of refinement and barbarism; the North American savage not having advanced a single step in civilization, while the European possessed all the learning, the cultivation, and the mechanical ingenuity of the age; the one was a heathen, the other enjoyed the Christian faith in the purest form in which it then existed. It may not be uninteresting to trace out the beginning of an intercourse between races thus opposed in character; because, in the examination which we propose to make of the relations since established, it is important to observe the foundation which was laid, and to notice the prejudices and antipathies which have pervaded and perverted that intercourse.

We do not assume to have made any new discovery, when we assert, that there are more popular errors in existence in respect to the Indians, than in regard to almost any other matter which has been so much and so frequently discussed. These have arisen partly out of national antipathies, partly out of the misrepresentations of interested persons, and to some extent are inseparable from the nature of the subject, which is intricate in itself and delicate in many of its bearings. The usual mode of disposing of the question, by asserting that the Indians are savages, not capable of civilization, nor to be dealt with as rational beings, is unchristian and unphilosophical. We cannot assent to such a conclusion, without discarding the light of revelation, the philosophy of the human mind, and the results of a vast deal of experimental knowledge. The activity of body and mind displayed by the Indian in all his enterprises, the propriety and closeness of reasoning and the occasional flashes of dignity and pathos in some of their speeches, sufficiently establish the claims of this race to a respectable station in point of intellect; and we have no reason to believe that they have worse hearts, or more violent passions, than the rest of the human family, except so far as their natures have been perverted by outward circumstances. Why is it then that they are savages? Why have they not ascended in the great scale of civil subordination? Why are they ferocious, ignorant, and brutal, while we their neighbours are civilized and polished? Why is it that, while our intercourse with every other people is humane, enlightened, just—having its foundations fastened upon the broad basis of reciprocity, we shrink with horror from the Indian, spurn him from our firesides and altars, and will not suffer the ermine of our judges to be tarnished by his presence? Why is it that while nearly all the world is united, as it were, in one great and concentrated effort to spread the light of knowledge, to burst the shackles of superstition, to encourage industry, and to cultivate the gentle and domestic virtues, one little remnant of the human family stands unaffected by the general amelioration, a dark and lonely monument of irretrievable ignorance and incorrigible ferocity?

It is in the hope of answering some of these questions that this discussion is attempted; and in order to arrive at a successful result, it is necessary to go back beyond our own times, and to examine events in which *we* are not immediately concerned as a people.

If we refer to the earliest intercourse between the existing Christian nations and the barbarous tribes, in different quarters of the world, we find the disposition and conduct of the latter to have been at first timid and pacific, and that the first breaches of harmony arose out of the aggressions committed by the former. When, therefore, we speak of our present relations with them, as growing out of necessity, and as resulting from the faithlessness and ferocity of the savage character, we assume a position which is not supported by the facts. That a great allowance is to be made for the disparity between civilized and savage nations, is true; and it is equally true, that the same degree of confidence and cordiality cannot exist between them as between nations who acknowledge a common religious, moral, and international code, which operates equally upon both parties. But this does not preclude all confidence, nor prove the Indian destitute of moral virtue and mental capacity. On the contrary, it must be admitted, that the Indians in their primitive state possessed a higher moral character than now belongs to them, and that they have been degraded in some degree by their intercourse with civilized men; and we ought, in all our dealings with them, to endeavour to atone for the injury done to them and to human nature by our departure from Christian principles, and to bring them back to a state of happiness and respectability at least equal to that in which we found them. In establishing these positions, we do not design to cast any imputation upon our own government, nor will it be necessary. The great mistakes in policy, and the monstrous crimes committed against the savage races, to which we propose to allude, were perpetrated by almost all civilized nations before our own had any existence; and no criminality can attach to us for a state of things in the creation of which we had no agency. We know of no deliberate act of cruelty or injustice towards the tribes with which we are chargeable as a people. On the contrary, our policy has been moderate and just, and distinguished, as we shall shew, by a spirit of benevolence. It is true, however, that this spirit has been misdirected, and that with the very best intentions we have done great wrong to the Aborigines, to ourselves, and to humanity.

We shall first shew how other nations have acted towards the savage tribes, what have been the examples set to us, and how far those examples have influenced our conduct.

The first discoverers were the Portuguese. Under Don Henry, a prince in point of knowledge and liberal feeling a century in advance of the age in which he lived, this people pushed their discoveries into the Canary Islands, the continent of Africa, and the East Indies. They were received with uniform kindness by the natives, who regarded them as a superior race of beings, and were willing to submit implicitly to their authority. Had the Europeans of that day, and their descendants, cultivated an amicable understanding with these simple heathens, and rigidly adhered to a system of good faith and christian forbearance, there is no calculating the advantages that might have ensued; nor is it to be doubted that those ignorant and confiding tribes would have yielded themselves, with hardly a struggle, to the teaching of their more intelligent and powerful neighbours. But so far from making the slightest effort to establish friendly relations with the savages, the very earliest discoverers exhibited a propensity for wanton mischief towards them, more characteristic of demons than of men, and which rendered them, and the religion they professed, so odious, that the benevolent exertions of statesmen and christians since that time have wholly failed to eradicate the deeply rooted prejudices so injudiciously and wickedly excited. Among a simple race, who viewed their visiters with superstitious reverence as creatures more than human, there must have been a mortifying revulsion of feeling, when they discovered in those admired strangers all the vices and wantonness which disgraced the rudest barbarians, joined to powers which they imagined were possessed only by the gods. "Their dread and amazement was raised to the highest pitch," says Lafiteau, "when the Europeans fired their cannons and guns among them, and they saw their companions fall dead at their feet without any enemy at hand or any visible cause of their destruction."

Alluding to these transactions, Dr. Johnson remarks—"On what occasion, or for what purpose muskets were discharged among a people harmless and secure, by strangers, who, without any right, visited their coast, it is not thought necessary to inform us. The Portuguese could fear nothing from them, and had, therefore, no adequate provocation; nor is there any reason to believe but that they murdered the Negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would destroy, or what would be the consternation of those that should escape. We are openly told, that they had the less scruple concerning their treatment of the savage people, because *they scarcely considered them as distinct from brutes;* and indeed the practice of all European nations, and among others of the English barbarians that cultivate the southern islands of America, proves that this opinion, however absurd and foolish, however wicked and injurious, *still continues to prevail.*"

"By these practices the first discoverers alienated the natives from them; and whenever a ship appeared, every one that could fly betook himself to the mountains and the woods, so that nothing was to be got more than they could steal; they sometimes surprised a few fishers and made them slaves, and *did what they could to offend the natives and enrich themselves.*" *(Introduction to the World Displayed.)*

These events commenced about the year 1392, which is the date of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese. Chivalry was at its zenith about the same time. It was an age of moral darkness and military violence. Tamerlane, the Tartar, was reigning in Persia, and Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, in Denmark. It was the age of Gower and Chaucer, the fathers of English poetry, and of Harry Percy, the celebrated Hotspur. About the same time Wickliffe, the morning star of the reformation, had made the first English translation of the Bible, and Huss and Jerome of Prague began to publish their doctrines. By keeping these facts in mind, we shall be at no loss to account for a course of conduct on the part of the Portuguese towards the Africans, differing but little from the intolerance, the deception, and the wanton barbarity which distinguished the intercourse of European nations with each other.

In 1492 Columbus gave a new world to European curiosity, avarice and despotism. It would be vain to attempt to follow the Spanish conquerors in their desolating progress through the islands and continent of America. Like the Portuguese, they were kindly received; like them, they repaid kindness with cruelty. Their footsteps were dyed with blood—violence and lust marked all their actions. Men seemed to be transformed into ministers of darkness, and acted such deeds in real life as the boldest and darkest imagination has never ventured to suggest in fiction, or even in poetic phrenzy. Bearing the cross in one hand, and the sword in the other, combining bigotry with military rapine, and the thirst for gold with the lust for power, they united in one vast scheme all the most terrible engines and worst incentives of crime. We do not know that there is to be found in history a recital more touching than the account of the conquest of Mexico by Cortes, or than that of Peru by Pizarro. In each of these instances the conquerors were at first received with hospitality by their confiding victims. They each found an amiable people, possessing many of the social arts, living happily under a government of their own choice, and practising fewer of the unnatural rites of superstition than commonly prevailed among the heathen.

The discovery and invasion of Mexico by the Spaniards under Hernan Cortes, occurred in the sixteenth century, and the Europeans were not a little surprised at the greatness of the population and the splendour of the cities. The city of Mexico, exclusive of its suburbs, is said to have measured ten miles in circumference, and contained, according to the Spanish writers, 60,000 houses. Dr. Robertson thinks it did not contain more than that number of inhabitants; but that point cannot now be settled, nor is it important. Enough is known to satisfy us that the people had passed from the savage state, in which the subsistence of man is chiefly derived from fishing and hunting, and had congregated in large towns. They had a regular government and a system of laws. The king lived in great state. "He had," says Cortes, "in this city of Mexico, such houses for his habitation, so deserving of admiration, that I cannot sufficiently express their grandeur and excellence; I shall therefore only say, *there are none equal to them in Spain*." One of the Spanish leaders, who is styled the "Anonymous Conqueror," writes thus: "There were beautiful houses belonging to the nobles, so grand and numerous in their apartments, with such admirable gardens to them, that the sight of them filled us with astonishment and delight. I entered from curiosity four times into a palace belonging to Montezuma, and having pervaded it until I was weary, I came away at last without having seen it all. Around a large court they used to build sumptuous halls and chambers, but there was one above all so large that it was capable of containing upwards of three thousand persons without the least inconvenience; it was such that in the gallery of it alone a little square was formed where thirty men on horseback might exercise." It is certain, from the affirmation of all the historians of Mexico, that the army under Cortes, consisting of 6,400 men and upwards, including the allies, were all lodged in the palace formerly possessed by king Axajacath; and there remained still sufficient lodging for Montezuma and his attendants.

"There were," says Gomara, "many temples in the city of Mexico, scattered through the different districts, that had their towers, in which were the chapels and altars for the repositories of the idols." "All these temples had houses belonging to them, their priests and gods, together with every thing necessary for their worship and service." Cortes says that he counted more than four hundred temples in the city of Cholula alone. They differed, however, in size; some were mere terraces, of little height, upon which there was a small chapel for the tutelary idol—others were of stupendous dimensions. In speaking of one of these, Cortes declares that "it is difficult to describe its parts, its grandeur, and the things contained in it."

It is certain that the Mexicans defended their cities by fortifications, which indicated some advance in the military art; they had walls, bastions, palisades, ditches, and entrenchments. They were very inferior indeed to those of Europe, because their knowledge of military architecture was imperfect; nor had they occasion to cover themselves from artillery, but they afforded sufficient proof of the industry and ingenuity of the people.

Taking them altogether, the Mexicans had many high and estimable traits in their national character, and they probably enjoyed in social life as much happiness as is usually allotted to man. Speaking of Lascalteca, a city of Mexico, Cortes says, "I was surprised at its size and magnificence. It is larger and stronger than Grenada, contains as many and as handsome buildings, and is much more populous than that city was at the time of its conquest. It is also much better supplied with corn, poultry, game, fresh water, fish, pulse, and excellent vegetables. There are in the market each day thirty thousand persons, including buyers and sellers, without mentioning the merchants and petty dealers dispersed over the city. In this market may be bought every necessary of life, clothes, shoes, feathers of all kinds, ornaments of gold and silver, as well wrought as in any part of the world; various kinds of earthenware, of a superior quality to that of Spain; wood, coal, herbs, and medicinal plants. Here are houses for baths, and places for washing and shearing goats; in short, this city exhibits great regularity and has a good police; the inhabitants are peculiarly neat, and far superior to the most industrious of the Africans." The city of Cholula is described by Bernal Diaz as "resembling Valladolid," and containing 20,000 inhabitants. Both of these cities were of course vastly inferior to the city of Mexico; but it is not necessary to swell our pages by a laboured attempt to prove the civilization of the Mexicans. If we except the single article of the Christian faith and the Bible, in which the Spaniards had the advantage of them, we question whether they were not, immediately previous to their subjugation, in a higher state of civilization than their oppressors; whether they had not better practical views of civil liberty, more just notions of private right, and more of the amiable propensities and softer virtues of life.

Their laws were superior to those of the Greeks and Romans, and their magistrates more just. They punished with death their judges who passed a sentence that was unjust or contrary to law, or who made an incorrect statement of any cause to the king, or to a superior magistrate, or who accepted a bribe. Any person who altered the measures established in their markets, met with the same punishment. Guardians who wasted the estates of their wards were punished capitally. Drunkenness in their youth was punished with death; in persons more advanced in life, it was punished with severity, though not capitally. A nobleman who was guilty of this vice, was stripped of his dignity, and rendered infamous; a plebeian was shaved and had his house demolished. Their maxim was that he who could voluntarily deprive himself of his senses, was unworthy of a habitation among men; but this law did not extend to the aged, who were allowed to drink as much as they pleased on their own responsibility.

They had a good police and excellent internal regulations. Couriers were maintained, by whom intelligence was regularly and rapidly transmitted. Their highways were repaired annually; in the mountains and uninhabited places there were houses erected for the accommodation of travellers; and they had bridges and boats for crossing rivers. The land was divided by appropriate boundaries, and owned by individuals, and the right of property in real, as well as personal estate, was thoroughly understood and respected.

Such is the character given to the Mexicans by those who assumed the right to plunder and oppress them, under the plea that they were savages and heathens. After making due allowance for the exaggerations incident to such questionable testimony, enough remains to shew that this singular people were advanced far beyond mere barbarism; and the recent discoveries by Mr. Stevens and others, place that question beyond all cavil. The subject is curious and highly interesting. Few are aware of the degree of civilization which existed among the Mexicans and South American nations previous to their conquest by the Spaniards—the intelligence, the kindness, the hospitality and respectable virtues of the natives, and the atrocious character of the marauders by whom they were despoiled and enslaved.

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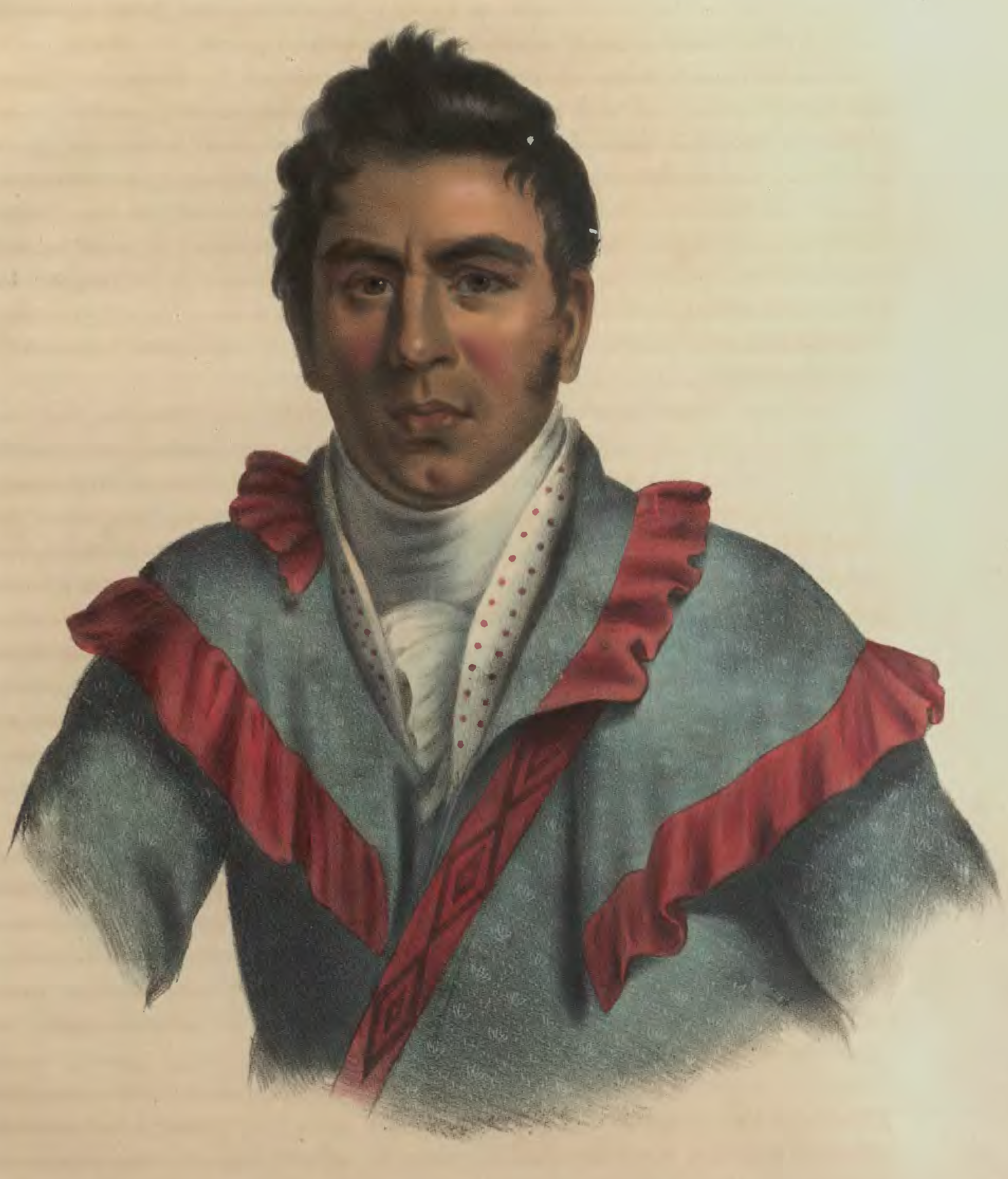

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One instance, in proof of these assertions, may be found in the fascinating work of a distinguished American writer, so affecting, and strongly in point, that I cannot forbear alluding to it. Vasco Nunez, one of the most celebrated of the conquerors of New Spain, had been hospitably received by one of the native princes. With the usual perfidy of his time and country, he made captives of the Cacique, his wives and children, and many of his people. He also discovered their store of provisions, and returned with his captives and his booty to Darien. When the unfortunate Cacique beheld his family in chains, and in the hands of strangers, his heart was wrung with despair: "What have I done to thee," said he to Vasco Nunez, "that thou shouldest treat me thus cruelly? None of thy people ever came to my land, that were not fed and sheltered, and treated with kindness. When thou camest to my dwelling, did I meet thee with a javelin in my hand? Did I not set meat and drink before thee, and welcome thee as a brother? Set me free, therefore, with my people and family, and we will remain thy friends. We will supply thee with provisions, and reveal to thee the riches of the land. Dost thou doubt my faith? Behold my daughter, I give her to thee as a pledge of my friendship. Take her for thy wife, and be assured of the fidelity of her family and people!"

Vasco Nunez felt the power of these words, and knew the importance of forming a strong alliance among the natives. The captive maid also, as she stood trembling and dejected before him, found great favour in his eyes, for she was young and beautiful. He granted, therefore, the prayer of the Cacique, and accepted his daughter, engaging moreover, to aid the father against his enemies, on condition of his furnishing provisions to the colony.

"Careta (the Indian prince) remained three days at Darien, during which time he was treated with the utmost kindness. Vasco Nunez took him on board his ships and shewed him every part of them. He displayed before him also the war-horses, with their armour and rich caparisons, and astonished him with the thunder of artillery. Lest he should be too much daunted by these warlike spectacles, he caused the musicians to perform an harmonious concert on their instruments, at which the Cacique was lost in admiration. Thus having impressed him with a wonderful idea of the power and endowments of his new allies, he loaded him with presents and permitted him to depart.

"Careta returned joyfully to his territories, and his daughter remained with Vasco Nunez, *willingly*, for **HIS SAKE**, giving up her family and her native home. They were never married, but she considered herself as his wife, as she really was, according to the usages of her own country, and he treated her with fondness, allowing her gradually to acquire a great influence over him."—*Irving.*

I envy not the man who can read this affecting passage without mingled emotions of admiration and pity. Who, in this case, displayed the vices of barbarians? Was it the daring marauder, who violated the rules of hospitality? Was it the generous chief, who opened his heart and his house with confiding hospitality to the military stranger—who, when betrayed, appealed to his treacherous guest with all the manly simplicity of an honest heart, mingled with the deep emotion of a bereaved parent and an insulted sovereign—and who, with magnanimous patriotism, gave up his child, a young and beautiful maiden, to purchase the liberty of his people? Or was it the Indian maid, adorned with graces that could win the heart of that ruthless soldier, "willingly, for his sake, giving up her family and native home," discharging with devoted fidelity the duty of the most sacred relation in life, and achieving by her talents and feminine attractions a complete conquest over her country's conqueror? Shame on the abuse of language that would call such a people savage, or their oppressors christians!

At a much later period, and when the Christian world was far more enlightened than in the days of Cortes, the British commenced their conquests in India; yet we do not find the superior light they possessed, both religious and political, had any other effect than to make them more refined in their cruelties. They acted over again in the East Indies, all the atrocities which had been perpetrated in New Spain, with this only difference, that they did not pretend to plead the apology of religious fanaticism. The Spaniards attempted to impose on others, and may possibly, in some instances, have imposed on themselves the belief, that they served God in oppressing the heathen; for their conquests were made in an age when such opinions were prevalent. But the "English barbarians," as Dr. Johnson calls them, had no such notions; for some of their best patriots and soundest divines had lived previous to the conquest of India, and the intellectual character of the nation was deeply imbued with the principles of civil and religious liberty before that period. The love of money and of dominion were their only incentives; and they pillaged, tortured, murdered, and enslaved a people as civilized and as gentle as the Mexicans, without the shadow of an excuse. Millions of wealth have been poured into England, to enrich and adorn the land, to support the magnificence of the court, and to minister to the pleasures of a proud aristocracy, which were wrung from an unoffending people by acts of violence and extortion no better than piracy. The disclosures made before the British parliament at the trial of Warren Hastings justify these assertions; and subsequent events in India, China, and other parts of the East, exhibit the same grasping and ruthless injustice on the part of that nation.

Need we pursue the navigators of these and other nations to the different quarters of the globe into which scientific curiosity, mercantile enterprise, and naval skill have penetrated? Such an investigation would but add new facts in support of the positions we have taken.

We pause here, then, to inquire how it has happened, that wherever the civilized European has placed his foot upon heathen soil, he seems at once to have been transformed into a barbarian. All the refinements of civilized life have been forgotten. His benevolence, his sensibility, his high sense of honour, his nice perception of justice, his guarded deportment, his long habits of punctuality and integrity, are all thrown aside; and not only has he been less honest than the savage in his private dealings, but has far outstripped him in the worst propensities of human nature—in avarice, revenge, rapine, blood-thirstiness, and wanton cruelty. To the caprice of the savage, and that prodigality of life which distinguishes men unaccustomed to the restraints of law, and the ties of society, he has added the ingenuity of art, and the insolence of power. The lust of empire, and the lust of money, have given him incentives to crime which do not stimulate the savage; and his intellectual cultivation has furnished him with weapons of war and engines of oppression, which have been wielded with a fearful energy of purpose and a monstrous depravity of motive.

Nor were the desperate adventurers, who led the van of discovery and conquest in heathen lands, alone implicated in the guilt of these transactions. They were sanctioned by the throne and the church. The Pope formally delivered over the heathen into the hands of the secular power; Kings abandoned them to the military leaders; and the nobles, the merchants, the wealthy and reputable of all ranks, became partners in those nefarious enterprises—sharers in the pillage, and accessories in the murder of inoffensive nations. We are struck with astonishment, when we see the people of countries professing the Christian faith, having social regulations, and respecting a code of international law among themselves, thus turned into ruthless depredators, and trampling under foot every maxim of justice, human and divine.

In searching out the moving causes of this apparently anomalous operation of the human mind, we remark, in the first place, that the age of discovery was an age of ignorance. Few of the great fountains of light had been opened to pour out the flood of knowledge which has since penetrated into every quarter of the globe, and to disseminate the principles of conduct which now regulate the intercourse of men and of nations. In Europe the great mass of the people—all of those whose united opinions make up what is called public sentiment, were alike destitute of moral culture; the ruler and the subject, the noble and the plebeian, the martial leader and the wretched peasant, were equally deficient in literature and science. All knowledge was in the hands of the priests, and was by them perverted to the forwarding of their own selfish purposes. The great secret of their influence consisted in an ingenious concealment of all the sources of knowledge. The Bible, the only elevated, pure, and consistent code of ethics the world has ever known, was a sealed book to the people. The ancient classics were carefully withheld from the public eye; and the few sciences which were at all cultivated, were enveloped in the darkness of the dead languages. No system could have been more ingenious or more successful, than thus to clothe the treasures of knowledge in languages difficult of attainment, and accessible only to the high-born and wealthy—for as the latter seldom undergo the labour of unlocking the stores of learning, and still less frequently teach to others what they have acquired, such a system amounted in practice to a monopoly of learning in the hands of the priesthood.

Not only were the people of that day destitute of education, but the intercourse of nations with each other, previous to the discovery of the mariner's compass, was extremely limited; and the wonderful facilities for gaining and diffusing intelligence, afforded by the art of navigation, had just begun to operate in the days of Columbus and Cortes.

The little knowledge that existed was perverted and misapplied. Where there was little freedom of thought, and no general spirit of inquiry, precedents were indiscriminately adopted, however inconsistent, and examples blindly followed, however wicked or absurd. The scholar found authority for every crime in the classics of heathen Greeks and Romans, who have left nothing behind them worthy of admiration, except a few splendid specimens of useful luxury and worthless refinement, and some rare fragments of magnanimity and virtue; while their literature abounds in incentives to ambition, rapine, and oppression. The few who read the scriptures wrested the precepts of revelation and the history of the primitive nations into authority for their own high-handed aggressions; and because distinctions were made between the Jews and the Heathen by whom they were surrounded, ignorantly believed, or perversely maintained, that the same relation continued to exist between the true believer and the heretic, and that the latter "were given to them for an inheritance."

The era now under contemplation was a martial age. Ambition expended all its energies in the pursuit of military glory; the fervours of genius were all conducted into this channel; and, confined in every other direction, burst forth like a volcano, in the flame and violence of military achievement. The only road to fame or to preferment led across the battle-field; the hero waded to power through seas of blood, or strode to affluence over the carcasses of the slain; and they who sat in high places, were accustomed to look upon carnage as a necessary agent, or an unavoidable incident to greatness. The people everywhere were accustomed to scenes of violence. The right of conquest was universally acknowledged, and success was the criterion of merit. Private rights, whether of person or property, were little understood, and generally disregarded; and national justice, in any enlarged sense, was neither practised nor professed. Certain chivalrous courtesies there were, practised among the military and the high-born, and gleams of magnanimity occasionally flashed out amid the gloom of anarchy, but they afforded no steady light. They were the grim civilities of warriors, or the formal politeness of the great, which did not pervade the mass of the people, and tended not to refine the age, nor to soften the asperities of oppression.

It was an age of intolerance, bigotry, superstition, and ecclesiastical despotism; when those who regulated the minds and consciences of men, were persons of perverted taste, intellect, and morals; men who lived estranged from society, aliens from its business, strangers to its domestic relations, its noblest virtues, and its kindest affections. It was, in short, the age of the inquisition and the rack, when opinions were regulated by law, and enforced by the stake and the sword, and when departures from established dogmas, were punished by torture, disfranchisement and death.

Under such auspices commenced the intercourse between civilized and savage men, and unfortunately the pioneers, who led the way in the discovery and colonization of new countries, were, with a few bright exceptions, the worst men of their time—the soldier, the mariner, the desperate seeker after gold—men inured to cruelty and rapine, and from whose codes of religion, morality, and law, imperfect as they were, the poor heathen was entirely excluded.

We shall not dwell in detail on the facts to which we have briefly alluded. It would require volumes to record the unprovoked cruelties perpetrated by civilized upon savage men. The lawless invasion of Mexico by Cortes; the horrid atrocities of the ruffian Pizarro, acted in Peru; the long series of robberies and bloodshed perpetrated by the British in India; the dreadful scenes of the slave trade; the track of carnage, and the maledictions of the heathen, which have marked the discoveries of the European in every quarter of the globe, are but too familiar to every reader of history. It is obvious that the first aggression was almost invariably committed by the whites, who have continued to be, for the most part, the offending party; yet history does not afford the slightest evidence, that any public disapprobation was manifested, either by the governments or the people of those countries, whose adventurers were overrunning the uncivilized parts of the world, in search of plunder, and in the perpetration of every species of enormity. A classic hatred of barbarians, a holy zeal against unbelievers, animated all classes of society, and sanctioned every outrage which was inflicted, in the name of religion or civilization, by commissioned freebooters, upon the unoffending inhabitants of newly discovered regions.

In the discovery and settlement of North America, the conduct of the whites was far less blameable, than in the instances to which we have alluded; still it was aggressive, and productive of the most unhappy consequences. We propose to touch on some of the prominent points of this history, and to present a few instances illustrative of its spirit, and in support of our general views.

Captain John Smith informs us, that "the most famous, renowned, and ever worthy of all memorie, for her courage, learning, judgement, and virtue, Queen Elizabeth, granted her letters patent to Sir Walter Raleigh, for the discovering and planting new lands and countries not actually possessed by any Christians. This patantee got to be his assistants, Sir Richard Grenville the valiant, Mr. William Sanderson a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions, and divers other gentlemen and marchants, who with all speede provided two small barkes well furnished with necessaries, under the command of Captaine Phillip Amidas, and Captain Barlow. The 27th of Aprill they set sayle from the Thames, the 10th of May passed the Canaries, and the 10th of June the West Indies," &c. "The second of July they fell in with the coast of Florida, in shoule water, where they felt a most delicate sweete smell, though they saw no land, which ere long they espied," &c.

Here we find, that the power delegated by the Crown to those lovers of worthy and noble actions, was simply for the discovering and planting of new lands, not actually *possessed by other Christians;* but although the rights of *other Christians,* who had no rights, were thus carefully reserved, no regard seems to have been paid to those of the aboriginal possessors of the countries to be discovered. With respect to them, the adventurers were at full liberty to act as their own judgment or caprice might dictate.

The inhabitants received them with confidence. In the History of Smith we read, "Till the third day we saw not any of the people, then in a little boat three of them appeared, one of them went on shore to whom we rowed, and he attended us without any sign of feare, after he had spoken much, though we understood not a word, of his own accorde he came boldly aboord us; we gave him a shirt, a hat, wine, and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barkes and vs, he went away in his own boat, and within a quarter of a mile of vs, in half an hour, he loaded his boat with fish, with which he came againe to the point of land, and there divided it in two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinace, and so departed."

"The next day came diuers boats, and in one of them the King's brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behaviour very ciuil." "Though we came to him well armed, he made signs to vs to sit downe without any sign of feare, stroking his head and brest, and also ours, to expresse his loue. After he had made a long speech to vs, we presented him with diuers toyes, which he kindly accepted."

"A day or two after, shewing them what we had, Grangranæmeo taking most liking to a pewter dish, made a hole in it, and hung it about his neck for a brestplate, for which he gaue vs twenty deere skins, worth twenty crownes; and for a copper kettle, fiftie skins, worth fiftie crownes. Much other trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboord, and did eat and drinke with vs very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children," &c.

"After that these women had been here with vs, there came doune from all parts great store of people, with leather, corrall, and diuers kinde of dyes, but when Grangranæmeo was present, none durst trade but himself, and them that wore red copper on their heads as he did. Whenever he came he would signifie by so many fires he came with so many boats, that we might knowe his force. Their boats but one great tree, which is burnt in the form of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would haue it. For an armour he would haue engaged vs a bagge of pearle, but we refused, as not regarding it, that wee might the better learne where it grew. He was very iust of his promise, for oft we trusted him, and would come within his day to keepe his word. He sent vs commonly every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares, and fish, sometimes mellons, walnuts, cucumbers, peas, and diuers roots. This author sayeth their corne groweth three times in fiue months; in May they sow, in Iuly reape; in Iune they sow, in August reape."

It is difficult to separate the truth from the fiction in these early histories. There seems to be an inherent propensity for exaggeration in English travellers, which has pervaded their works, and cast a shade upon their character from the earliest time to the present. We know that our own corn does not grow "three times in five months, and that it cannot be planted in May and reaped in July in any part of our country; the story of the "bagge of pearle" is very questionable; nor do we put much faith in the "corrall" or the "red copper," which the natives are said to have possessed. These were flourishes of the imagination, thrown in by the writers, for purposes best known to themselves. But we may believe the evidence of the voyagers, as to the hospitality with which they were received by the natives, because in these statements they all agree, and we have ample reason to believe that such was usually the deportment of the Aborigines towards the Europeans who first visited our shores. The historian of this voyage, sums up the whole in the expression, "a more kind loving people cannot be," and adds, "this discovery was so welcome into England, that it pleased her majestie to call this country of Wingandacoa, *Virginia*, by which name you are now to understand how it was planted, dissolued, reuned, and enlarged."

In 1585 Sir Richard Grenville departed from Plymouth with seven sail for Virginia. On his first arrival we are told, "the Indians stole a silver cup, wherefore we burned their town and spoiled their corn, and so returned to our fleet." Here we see how hostilities between the whites and Indians commenced. All the hospitality of those who were lauded as "a kind loving people," was effaced by a single depredation, committed most probably by a lawless individual, whose act would have been disavowed by the tribe; and in revenge for the stealing of a cup, a town was burned, and the cornfields of an unoffending community destroyed. Dr. Williamson, the historian of North Carolina, remarks, "the passionate and rash conduct of Sir Richard Grenville cost the nation many a life. The fair beginning of a hopeful colony was obscured, it was nearly defeated, by resenting the loss of a silver cup."

Another voyager, John Brierton, who accompanied Captain Gesnall in 1690 to Virginia, speaks of the "many signs of loue and friendship," displayed by the Indians, "that did helpe us to dig and carry saxafras, and doe any thing they could." "Some of the baser sort would steale; but the better sort," he continues, "we found very civill and iust." He considers the women as fat and well favoured; and concludes, "the wholesomeness and temperature of this climate, doth not onely argue the people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, active, strong, healthful, and very witty, as the sundry toyes by them so cunningly wrought, may well testifie."

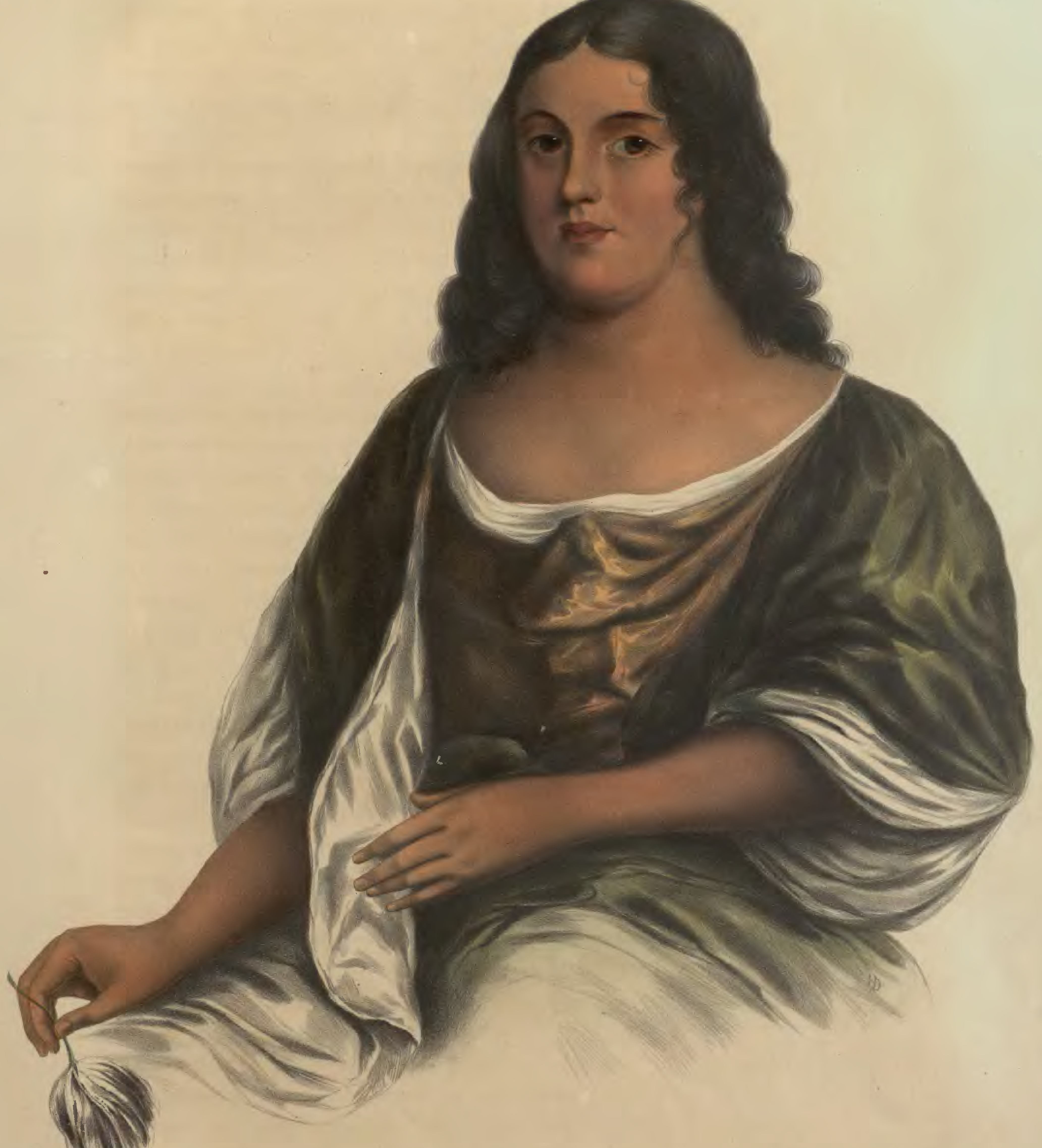
Captain Smith, in a subsequent visit to Virginia, found the people "most civill to giue entertainment." He declares that "such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea, and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition; with much adoe we restrained them from adoring us as gods." In another place he says, "They are very strong, of an able body, and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by a fire in the worst of winter, or in the weeds and grasse, in ambuscade, in the sommer. They are inconstant in every thing but what feare constraineth them to keepe.

Craftie, timourous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenious. Some are of a disposition feareful, some bold, most cautelous and savage." "Although the country people be very barbarous, yet have they among them such government, as that their magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subjection and obeying, excell many places that would be accounted very civill." *Smith's Hist., vol. i. p.* **142.**

Another early writer on the settlement of Virginia, William Timons, "doctour of divinitie," remarks, "it might well be thought, a countrie so faire (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have been quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternising of the memory of those that effected it." We need not multiply these proofs. History abounds in facts to prove the positions we have taken, and to convict the white man of being almost invariably the aggressor in that unnatural war which has now been raging for centuries between the civilized and savage races.

Several fruitless attempts were made to plant a colony in Virginia before that enterprise succeeded. "The emigrants, notwithstanding the orders they had received, had never been solicitous to cultivate the good will of the natives, and *had neither asked permission when they occupied* their country, nor *given a price for their valuable property,* which was violently taken away. The miseries of famine were soon superadded to the horrors of massacre." (See Chalmer's Political Annals, under the head Virginia.) Under all the disasters suffered by that colony, and with repeated examples and admonitions to warn them, they could never bring themselves to entertain sufficient respect for the Indians to treat them with civility, or negotiate with them in good faith. Their great error was, that they did not consider themselves, in their intercourse with savages, bound by the same moral obligations which would have governed their dealings with civilized men. They were loose and careless in their deportment; they threw off the ordinary restraints of social life; the decent and sober virtues were laid aside; and while as individuals they forfeited confidence by their irregularities, they lost it as a body politic by weak councils and bad faith. It is to be recollected that the colonists were intruders in a strange land; they had to establish a character. Their very coming was suspicious. There was no reason why the natives should think them better than they seemed, but many why they might suspect them to be worse. The Indians having few virtues in their simple code, practice those which they do profess with great punctuality; and they could not but lightly esteem those, who made great professions of superior virtue, while they openly indulged in every vice, and set all moral obligations at defiance.

The romantic story of Pocahontas, forms a beautiful episode in the history of this period. Though born and reared in savage life, she was a creature of exquisite loveliness and refinement. The gracefulness of her person, the gentleness of her nature—her benevolence, her courage, her noble self-devotion in the discharge of duty, elevate this lovely woman to an equality with the most illustrious and most attractive of her sex; and yet those winning graces and noble qualities were not the most remarkable features of her character, which was even more distinguished by



PO-CA-HON-TAS.

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the wonderful tact, and the delicate sense of propriety, which marked all the scenes of her brief, but eventful history. The mingled tenderness and heroism of her successful intercession for the adventurous Smith, presents a scene which for dramatic effect and moral beauty, is not excelled either in the records of history or the most splendid creations of inventive genius. Had she been a christian, had the generous spark of love, which is inbred in the heart of woman, been cherished by the refinements of education, or fanned by the strong impulse of devoted piety, it could not have burned with a purer or a brighter flame. The motive of that noble action was benevolence, the purest and most lofty principle of human action. It was not the caprice of a thoughtless girl, it was not a momentary passion for the condemned stranger, pleading at a susceptible heart, for her affections were reserved for another, and the purity as well as the dignity of her after life, shewed that they were truly and cautiously bestowed. By her intervention, her courage, and her talent, the colony of Virginia was several times saved from famine and extermination; and when perfidiously taken prisoner by those who owed every thing to her noble devotion to their cause, she displayed in her captivity a patience, a sweetness of disposition, and a propriety of conduct that won universal admiration. As the wife of Rolfe, she was equally exemplary; and when at the British court she stood in the presence of royalty, surrounded by the beauty and refinement of the proudest aristocracy in the world, she was still a lovely and admired woman, unsurpassed in the appropriate graces of her sex. Yet this woman was a savage! A daughter of a race doomed to eternal barbarism by the decree of a philosophy which pronounces the soil of their minds too sterile to germinate the seeds of civilization!

An authentic portrait of this lovely and excellent woman, copied from a picture in the possession of her descendants in Virginia, forms the chief attraction of this number of our work. Her original name was Matoaka, which signifies literally the *Snow feather*, or the snow flake, which was also the name of her mother; and both were represented as being remarkably graceful and swift of foot. She was afterwards called Pocahontas, *A rivulet between two hills*, a name supposed by some to be prophetic, as she was a bond of peace and union between two nations.

Her intercession for Smith is thus described by the ancient historians: "The captive, bound hand and foot, was laid upon the stones, and Powhattan, to whom the honour was respectfully assigned, was about to put him to death. Something like pity beamed from the eyes of the savage crowd, but none dared to speak. The fatal club was uplifted; the captive was without a friend to succour him, alone among hostile savages. The breasts of the multitude already anticipated the dreadful crash that would deprive him of life, when the young and beautiful Pocahontas, the King's darling daughter, with a shriek of terror and agony, threw herself on the body of the victim! Her dark hair unbound, her eyes streaming with tears, and her whole manner bespoke the agony of her bosom. She cast the most beseeching looks at her angry and astonished father, imploring his pity, and the life of the captive, with all the eloquence of mute but impassioned sorrow." *Smith.*

"The remainder of this scene," says Burk, "is highly honourable to Powhattan, and remains a lasting monument that, though different principles of action, and the influence of custom, had given to the manners of this people an appearance neither amiable nor virtuous in general, yet they still retained the noblest property of the human character—the touch of sympathy, and the feelings of humanity. The club of the Emperor was still uplifted; but gentle feelings had overcome him, and his eye was every moment losing its fierceness. He looked round to find an excuse for his weakness, and saw pity in every face. The generous savage no longer hesitated. The compassion of the rude state is neither ostentatious nor dilatory, nor does it insult its object by the exaction of impossibilities. Powhattan lifted his grateful and delighted daughter from the earth, but lately ready to receive the blood of the victim, and commanded the stranger captive to rise."

Pocahontas was born about the year 1594, and was therefore about twelve or thirteen years old, when she saved the life of Smith in 1607. She afterwards, on several occasions, rendered essential services to the English colonists. From the year 1609 to 1611, about two years, it is said that she was never seen at Jamestown, and it is supposed that her father, jealous of her kindness towards the whites, had taken means to interrupt the intercourse. "About this time," says Stith, "or perhaps earlier, the Princess was not seen for some time. Rumour said she was banished to her father's remote possessions."

It was probably during this absence from home, that she was perfidiously captured by Captain Argall, who, being on a trading expedition up the Potowmac, discovered that Pocahontas was on a visit to that neighbourhood. "He immediately conceived the project," says Burk, "of getting her into his power, concluding that the possession of so valuable a hostage, would operate as a check on the hostile dispositions of her father, the Emperor, and might be made the means of reconciliation." Having decoyed her on board of his vessel, he seized, and carried her to Jamestown. Here she became acquainted with Mr. John Rolfe, a gentleman of great respectability, who soon afterwards led her to the altar. She was converted to christianity and baptized, about the time of her marriage. The name given her in baptism was Rebecca. Shortly after her marriage, and when under twenty years of age, she accompanied her husband to England, where she was well received and greatly admired. All accounts unite in ascribing to her the gentler and more attractive virtues of her sex; she was graceful, modest, and retiring; yet had sufficient strength of character to sustain herself well in the station in which she was placed. She died at Gravesend, whither she went to embark to her native land, in 1616, after residing in England two years. She left one son, of whom the historian Stith says, "at the death of Pocahontas, Sir Lewis Steukley of Plymouth took the child; but he soon fell into disrepute, in consequence of his treacherously betraying Sir Walter Raleigh to execution. The boy, Thomas Rolfe, was sent to his uncle, Henry Rolfe, who educated him. He afterwards returned to Virginia, where he became a man of great eminence; and marrying, left an only daughter, from whom are descended many of the first families in the State."

The founders of New England were a pious race, who brought with them a political creed far more enlightened, and a much purer system of moral action, than any portion of Europe had then learned to tolerate. They were disposed to act conscientiously in their public as well as in their private concerns, and their relations with the Indians were commenced in amity and good faith. Their great fault was their religious intolerance. Theirs was an intolerant age, and they were a bigoted race; and it is not surprising that a people who persecuted each other on account of sectarian differences of opinion, should have little charity for unbelievers. They who burned old women for indulging in the innocent pastime of riding on broomsticks, fined Quakers for wearing broad brimmed hats, and enacted all the other extravagances of the blue laws, may well have fancied themselves privileged to oppress the uncivilized Indian. They could not brook the idea of associating with heathens as with equals. They looked upon them with scorn, and negotiated with them as with inferiors. However a sense of duty might restrain them from open insult or injury, they could not conceal their abhorrence for the persons and principles of their new allies. That a free, untamed race, accustomed to no superiors, should long remain in amiable intercourse with a precise sectarian people, who held them in utter aversion, was not to be expected; and accordingly we find that the hollow friendship of these parties was soon interrupted. Wars ensued, and no lasting peace was ever restored until the Indian tribes were extinguished or driven from the country.

We consider this the fairest instance that could be quoted in proof of the universal prevalence of that public sentiment in relation to savages, to which we have alluded. "The settlement of New England," says one of the most respectable of their historians, "purely for the purpose of religion, and the propagation of civil and religious liberty, is an event which has no parallel in the history of modern ages. The piety, self-denial, patience, perseverance, and magnanimity of the first settlers, are without a rival. The happy and extensive consequences of the settlements which they made, and the sentiments which they were careful to propagate to their posterity, to the church, and to the world, admit of no description." If there is any truth in this description—and we do not dispute it, extravagant as it seems—a strange discrepancy is evinced in the practice and professions of a people of such pretensions. The perversion of public opinion, which could induce such men, themselves the subjects of oppression and the propagators of civil and religious liberty, to treat the savages as brutes, must have been wide spread and deeply seated; but such was certainly their conduct.

When we remark the weakness of the first settlements in New England, and observe that their infant villages were on several occasions almost depopulated by famine and sickness, it is obvious that the Indians must have been peaceably disposed towards them, as there were several periods at which they could with ease have exterminated all the colonists. We have on this subject positive evidence. In

Baylie's Memoir of Plymouth, we are told that the Mohawks, the most powerful nation of New England, "were never known to molest the English." "They were never known to injure an Englishman either in person or property. The English frequently met them in the woods when they were defenceless, and the Indians armed, but never received from them the slightest insult." "Unbounded hospitality to strangers" is one of the qualities ascribed by this historian to the Indians generally, of that region, and his work abounds in anecdotes of their kindness to the first settlers.

Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, who has collected all the oldest authorities with great care, remarks that, "the English lived in tolerable peace with all the Indians in Connecticut and New England, except the Pequots, for about forty years." "The Indians at their first settlement performed many acts of kindness towards them. They instructed them in the manner of planting and dressing Indian corn. They carried them upon their backs through the rivers and waters; and, as occasion required, served them instead of boats and bridges. They gave them much useful information respecting the country; and when the English or their children were lost in the woods, and were in danger of perishing with cold or hunger, they conducted them to their wigwams, fed them, and restored them to their families and parents. By selling them corn when pinched with famine, they relieved their distresses and prevented them from perishing in a strange land and uncultivated wilderness." *Vol. i. p.* 57.

How did the Puritans repay this kindness, or what had they done to deserve it? They settled in the country without the permission of the inhabitants, and evinced by all their movements a determination to extend their dominion over it. One of their earliest acts was of a character to create disgust and awaken jealousy. William Holmes of Plymouth, carried a colony into Connecticut and settled at Windsor, where he built the first house that ever was erected in that state. A number of Sachems, "who were the original owners of the soil, had been driven from this part of the country by the Pequots, and were now carried home on board Holmes' vessel. *Of them* the Plymouth people *purchased the land* on which they erected their house." Intruders themselves, in a strange country, they came accompanied by persons towards whom the inhabitants were hostile, undertook to decide who were the rightful owners of the soil, and purchased from the party which was not in possession. And what was the consequence? "The Indians were offended at their bringing home the original proprietors and lords of the country, and the Dutch"—who had settled there before them—"that they had settled there, and were about to rival them in trade, and in the possession of those excellent lands upon the river; they were obliged, therefore, to combat both, and to keep a constant watch upon them."

Notwithstanding the unhappy impression which some of the early acts of the Puritans were calculated to produce upon the minds of the Indians, the latter continued to be their friends. In the winter of 1635, the settlements on Connecticut river were afflicted by famine. Some of the settlers, driven by hunger, attempted to find their way, in this severe season, through the wilderness from Connecticut to Massachusetts. Of thirteen in one company, who made this attempt, one, in passing a river, fell through the ice, and was drowned. The other twelve were ten days on their journey, and would all have perished, had it not been for the assistance of the Indians." "The people who kept their stations on the river, suffered in an extreme degree. After all the help they were able to obtain by hunting, and from the Indians, they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt, and grain." "Numbers of cattle, which could not be got over the river before winter, lived through without any thing but what they found in the woods and meadows. They wintered as well, or better, than those that were brought over." *Winthrop's Journal, p.* 88.

"It is difficult to describe, or even conceive, the apprehensions and distresses of a people in the circumstances of our venerable ancestors, during this doleful winter. All the horrors of a dreary wilderness spread themselves around them. They were encompassed with numerous fierce and cruel tribes of wild and savage men, who could have swallowed up parents and children at pleasure, in their feeble and distressed condition. They had neither bread for themselves nor children; neither habitations nor clothing convenient for them. Whatever emergency might happen, they were cut off, both by land and water, from any succour or retreat. What self-denial, firmness and magnanimity are necessary for such enterprises! How distressful, in the commencement, was the beginning of these now fair and opulent towns on Connecticut river!" *Trumbull, vol. i. p.* 63.

Yet those "wild and savage men, who could have swallowed up parents and children," did not avail themselves of this tempting opportunity to rid their country of the intruding whites. On the contrary, they proved their best friends—aided those who fled, sustained those who remained, and suffered the cattle of the strangers to roam unmolested through the woods, while they themselves were procuring a precarious subsistence by the chase. If ever kindness, honesty and forbearance were practiced with scrupulous fidelity, in the face of strong temptation inciting to an opposite course of conduct, these virtues were displayed by the Indians on this occasion.

This humane deportment on the part of the Aborigines, seems to have been considered by the Puritans as mere matter of course, and as not imposing upon them any special obligation of gratitude; for no sooner did a state of war occur, than all sense of indebtedness to the Indians appears to have been obliterated, and the whites vied with their enemies in the perpetration of wanton cruelty. Within two years after the famine alluded to, we are informed by Trumbull, that a party under Captain Stoughton "surrounded a large body of Pequots in a swamp. They took eighty captives. Thirty were men, the rest were women and children. The men, except two Sachems, *were killed*, but the women and children were saved. The Sachems promised to conduct the English to Sassacus, and for *that purpose* were spared *for the present*." The reader will doubtless feel some curiosity to know what was done with the women and children, who were saved, by those who had massacred in cold blood thirty men, save two, taken prisoners in battle. The same historian thus details the sequel. "The Pequot women and children who had been captivated, were divided among the troops. Some were carried to Connecticut, others to Massachusetts. The people of Massachusetts sent a number of the women and boys to the West Indies, and *sold them as slaves.* It was supposed that about seven hundred Pequots were destroyed."

"This happy event," concludes the historian, alluding to the conclusion of the war, by the extermination and captivity of so many human beings, "gave great joy to the colonies. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed; and in all the churches of New England devout and animated praises were addressed to him who giveth his people the victory, and causeth them to dwell in safety!"

In an old and curious work, Gookin's History of the Praying Indians, the author consoles himself on account of the atrocities practised against the Indians, by the comfortable reflection, that, "doubtless one great end God aimed at, was the punishment and destruction of many of the wicked heathen, whose iniquities were now full."

In the instructions given to Major Gibbons, who was sent from Massachusetts in 1645, against the Narragansets, are these words: "You are to have due regard to the distance which is to be observed, betwixt Christians and barbarians, as well in wars as in other negotiations."

On this passage Governor Hutchinson remarks, "It seems strange that men, who professed to believe that God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on the face of the earth, should so early, and upon every occasion, take care to preserve this distinction. Perhaps nothing has more effectually defeated the endeavours for christianizing the Indians." This is exactly the proposition we are endeavouring to establish.

We have not forgotten the Elliots, the Brainerds, and other good men who devoted themselves with zeal and fidelity to the work of christianizing the savages. Their memories will live in history, and be cherished by every friend of humanity. In every nation, and in all ages, there have existed noble spirits, imbued with a love for their species, and acting upon the highest impulses of a generous nature, or humble christians who were content to tread in the path of duty. We would not even pass them by, without the tribute of our approbation; but their deeds form no part of the history on which we are commenting, and are but slightly connected with it. Our purpose is not to treat of the good or evil conduct of individuals, whose influence was but temporary and local;—it is to shew the general current of the impressions made upon the minds of the Aborigines, by the actions of communities and public functionaries.

We have not selected these instances invidiously, but only because they are prominent and clearly attested. The same feelings and code of morals, the same disregard of the rights of the Indians, and of the obligations of justice and christian benevolence, were general. They pervaded the public sentiment of the age, and marked the conduct of all the colonists, with a few honourable exceptions, which we shall proceed to notice.

In order to make out the case which I propose to establish, it is necessary to shew, not only that the whites have abused the hospitality, trampled on the rights, and exasperated the feelings of the Indians, without any just provocation, but that a contrary course would have been practicable as well as expedient.

We are aware that it may be suggested, that in some instances the Indians were the first aggressors, that they were treacherous and fickle, and when hostilities were once provoked, their implacable dispositions, and cruel mode of warfare, rendered conciliation impossible, and gave necessarily, a harsh character to the warfare. All this may be admitted without affording any extenuation of the conduct of the whites. They were intruders in a strange land; their coming was voluntary and uninvited; they had to establish a character. They were Christians, professing an elevated code of morals, in which forbearance and the forgiveness of injuries form conspicuous points, while the Indians were wholly ignorant of those virtues. Among the Indians revenge is a point of duty, in the Christian code it is a crime. What was right, or at least innocent, in the one party, was highly criminal in the other.

If the Indians are constitutionally inaccessible to kindness—if they are wholly intractable—if they can form no just appreciation of the conduct of other men, and are incapable of gratitude—the question is at rest. But we apprehend that they might have been conciliated by kindness, just as easily as they were provoked by violence; and that the foundations of mutual esteem and confidence, might have been laid as deep and as broad as those of that stupendous fabric of revenge, hatred, and deception, which has grown up, and is now witnessed with sorrow by all good men.

To establish this position we shall refer to two instances in which the Indians were treated with uniform kindness, and in both which the results were such as to prove the correctness of our reasoning.

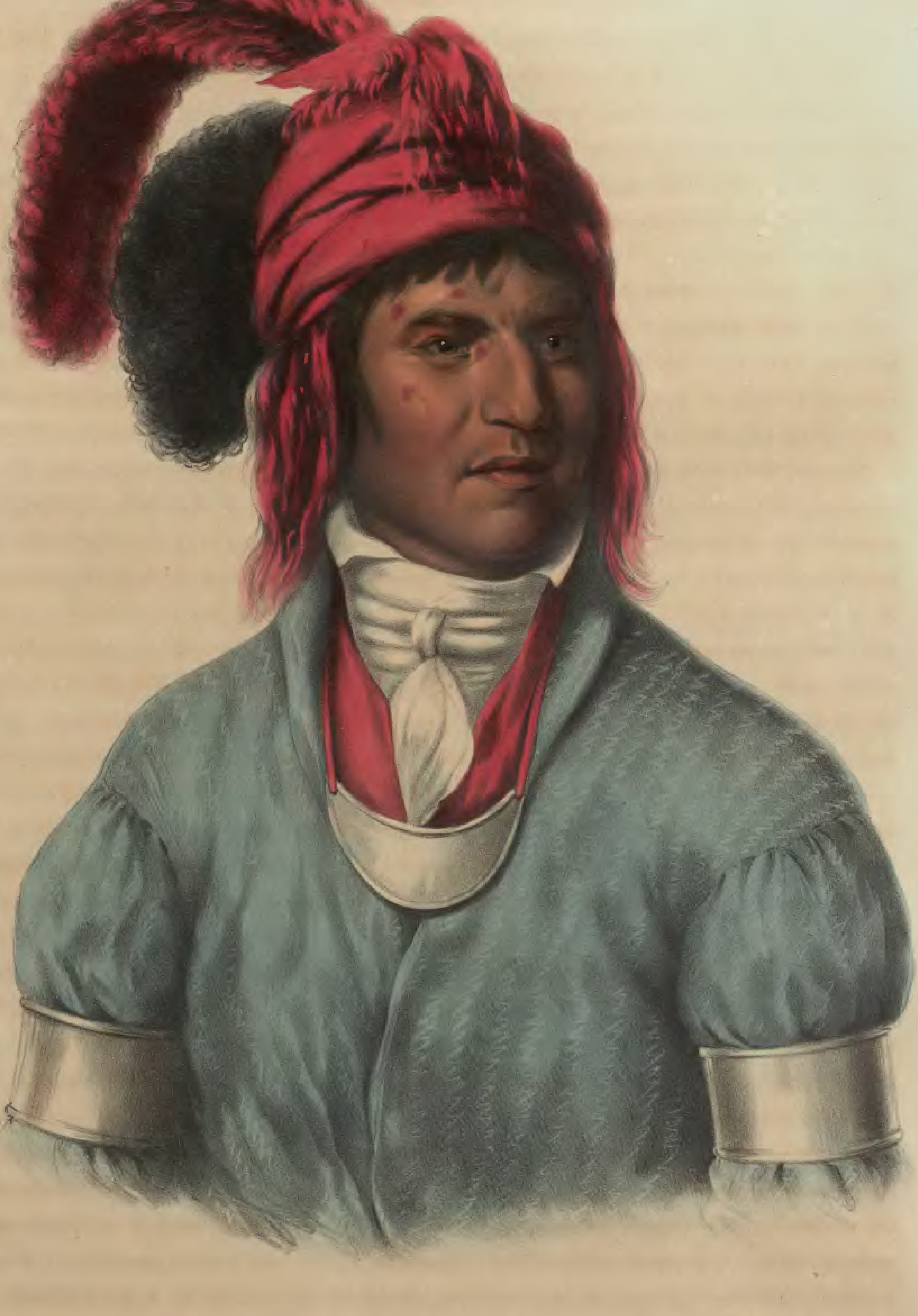
The first is that of William Penn, whose great wisdom and benevolence have never been esteemed as highly as they deserve, and who has never yet received the applause which is his due as a statesman and philanthropist. In uniting these characters, and acting practically upon the broad principles of justice, he was in advance of the age in which he lived, and was neither understood nor imitated. It was in Pennsylvania that the true principles of liberty were first planted on this continent. Others, with greater pretensions, saw but dimly the dawn of that glorious day which was destined to burst upon our land. Liberty was to them an abstraction; they understood the theory, and discussed it ably in all its bearings, but followed out its precepts with little success. The founder of Pennsylvania lived up to the principles that he professed. In his public conduct he consulted his conscience, his sense of right and wrong, and his knowledge of human nature. He believed that the Indians had souls. He treated them individually as human beings, as men, as friends; and negotiated with their tribes as with independent and responsible public bodies, trusting implicitly in their honour, and pledging in sincerity his own. He was a man of enlarged views, whose mind was above the petty artifices of diplomacy. "His great mind was uniformly influenced, in his intercourse with the Aborigines, by those immutable principles of justice, which every where, and for all purposes, must be regarded as fundamental, if human exertions are to be crowned with noble and permanent results." In the 13th, 14th, and 15th sections of the Constitution of his Colony, it was provided as follows:

"No man shall, by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur *the same penalty* of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter; and if any Indian shall abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, *he shall not be his own judge* upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the King of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the injured planter. All differences between the planters and the natives shall also be ended by *twelve men*, that is, *six planters* and *six natives*, so that we may live friendly together, as much as in us lieth, preventing *all occasions* of heart burnings and mischief."

In these simple articles we find the very essence of all good government—*equality of rights.* The golden rule of the Christian code, was the fundamental maxim of his political edifice. Instead of making one rule of action for the white man, and another for the Indian, the same mode and measure of justice was prescribed to both; and while his strict adherence to the great principles of civil and religious freedom, entitle the virtuous Penn to the highest place as a lawgiver and benefactor of mankind, it justly earned for him from the Indians, the affectionate title by which they always spoke of him, "their great and good one." The result was, that so long as Pennsylvania remained under the immediate government of its founder, the most amicable relations were maintained with the natives. His scheme of government embraced no military arm; neither troops, forts, nor an armed peasantry. The doctrine of keeping peace by being prepared for war, entered not into his system; his maxim was to avoid "*all occasions of* heart burnings and mischief," and to retain the friendship of his neighbours by never doubting nor abusing it. He put on righteousness and it clothed him. The great Christian law of love, was the vital principle of his administration, and was all potent as an armour of defence, and as a strong bulwark against every foe.

The Indians, savage as they are, were awed and won by a policy so just and pacific; and the Quakers had no Indian wars. The horrors of the firebrand and the tomahawk, of which other colonists had such dreadful experience, were unknown to them; and they cultivated their farms in peace, for nearly sixty years, with no other armour than the powerful name of Penn, and the inoffensiveness of their own lives.

In Watson's "Account of Buckingham and Solebury," in Pennsylvania, published



LEDAGIE,

A CREEK CHIEF.

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in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we find the following striking remarks. "In 1690, there were many settlements of Indians in these townships. Tradition reports that they were kind neighbours, supplying the white people with meat, and sometimes with beans and other vegetables, which they did *in perfect charity*, bringing presents to their houses, and *refusing pay*. A harmony arose out of their mutual intercourse and dependence. The difference between the families of the white man and the Indian was not great—when to live was the greatest hope, and to enjoy a bare sufficiency, the greatest luxury." This passage requires no comment; so strongly does it contrast with the accounts of other new settlements, and so fully does it display the fruits of a prudent and equitable system of civil administration.

There are many facts connected with the settlements upon the Delaware, which are extremely interesting. The Swedes, who were the first occupants, date back as far as the year 1631, and remained scattered at several places for something like forty years, previous to the arrival of Penn. They were few in number, and were neither a military nor a trading people; neither the love of gold, nor the lust of carnage, tempted them into acts of insult and oppression, and they lived in uninterrupted harmony with the Indians. Had their intercourse with the savages been interrupted by hostilities, Penn would not have been received with the cordiality and confidence which marked his first interviews with the tribes, and characterized all his relations with them. But he found the Indians friendly notwithstanding their long intercourse with the Swedes.

It is a singular circumstance, that the Quakers had so much confidence in their own system of peace and forbearance, that they did not erect a fort, nor organize any militia for their defence, nor provide themselves with any of the engines or munitions of war, but went quietly about their business, clearing land, farming, building and trading, without any molestation from the Indians, and without any apprehension of danger. In the fragments of history handed down to us from those times, we read affecting accounts of suffering from sickness, hunger, poverty, exposure—from all the causes which ordinarily afflict an infant colony, except war—but we read of no wars nor rumours of wars. Of the Indians, but little is said. They are only mentioned incidentally, and then always with kindness. "In those times," says one of their historians, "the Indians and Swedes were kind and active to bring in, and vend at moderate prices, proper articles of subsistence." An instance is told of a lady, Mrs. Chandler, who arrived at Philadelphia with eight or nine children, having lost her husband on the voyage out. She was lodged in a cave, on the bank of the river, and being perfectly destitute, was a subject of general compassion. The people were kind to them, and none more so than the Indians, who frequently brought them food. "In future years," says our authority, "when the children grew up, they always remembered the kind Indians, and took many opportunities of befriending them and their families in return."

An old lady, whose recollections have been recorded by one of her descendants, was present at one of Penn's first interviews with the "Indians and Swedes"—for she names them together, as if they acted in concert, or at least in harmony. "They met him at or near the present Philadelphia. The Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and homany. At this they expressed great delight, and some began to shew how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition, William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all!"

The date of Penn's patent was in 1681, and he governed Pennsylvania until 1712. It is the boast of his people, a boast of which they may well be proud, that no Quaker blood was shed by the natives. They employed neither fraud nor force in gaining a foothold upon the soil of Pennsylvania; and there is neither record nor tradition which accuses them of injustice or intolerance towards the ignorant and confiding tribes by whom they were kindly received. His government was founded upon the principles of the Bible, and such was their efficacy, that not only during the continuance of his government, but for some years after he ceased to rule, the white and red men lived in peace. In 1744, a petition was addressed to the King, by the City Council of Philadelphia, "setting forth the defenceless state of said city, and requesting his majesty to take the defenceless condition of the inhabitants into consideration, and afford them such relief as his Majesty shall think fit." This is the first record that we find, in which allusion is made to military defences in that colony, and this was fifty-three years after the date of Penn's patent, during all which time they had maintained peace by their good conduct, not by their defensive armaments.

The other instance we shall adduce, is deemed particularly apposite, as it occurred at the same period, under similar circumstances, and among a people the very reverse of the Quakers in character, and who had not the slightest communication or connection with them. The French settled at Kaskaskia previous to the year 1700. We cannot fix the precise date; but there are deeds now on record, in the public offices at that place, which bear date in 1712, and it is probable that several years must have elapsed from the first settling of the colony, before regular transfers of real estate could take place, and before there could have been officers authorized to authenticate such proceedings. It is the general understanding of the old French settlers, that Philadelphia, Detroit, and Kaskaskia were settled about the same time. The French in Illinois, lived upon the most amicable terms with the Indians. Like the Quakers, they kept up an interchange of friendly offices, treating them with kindness and equity, and dealing with them upon terms of perfect equality. They even intermarried with them—which the Quakers could not do, without being turned out of meeting—entertained them at their houses, and shewed them in various ways, that they considered them as fellow creatures, having a parity of interests, principles, and feelings with themselves. Their nearest neighbours were the English, on the shores of the Atlantic, distant a thousand miles, from whom they were separated by interminable forests, and a barrier of mountains then deemed insurmountable, and with whom they had no more intercourse than with the Chinese. A mere handful, in the heart of a vast wilderness, and cut off from all the civilized world, they could not have existed a day, but by permission of the numerous savages by whom they were surrounded.

The French were allured to Illinois in search of gold. The leaders of the colony were adventurers of some intelligence, but the mass of the people were peasants from an interior part of France, who brought with them the careless gaiety, the rustic simplicity, the unsophisticated ignorance, which distinguished the peasantry of that country before the revolution. Contented and unambitious, the disappointment of not finding mines of the precious metal, did not affect them deeply, and they sat down quietly in the satisfied enjoyment of such pleasures and comforts as the country afforded. Having no land speculations in view, nor any commercial monopolies in prospect, they were under no temptation to debase the Indian mind, and all their dealings with the savages were conducted with fairness. They had five villages on the Mississippi; Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Saint Phillippe, Fort Chartres, and Cahokia. Fort Chartres was a very strong fortification, and might have protected the village of the same name, adjacent to it. There was a fort at Kaskaskia, but it was small, and being on the opposite side of the river from the town, could have afforded little protection to the latter, from an attack of Indians. The only other fortress was at Cahokia, and is described by an early writer as "no way distinguished, except by being the meanest log house in the town." The villages of Prairie du Rocher and Saint Phillippe had no military defences. Yet we do not hear of burnings and scalpings among the early settlers of that region. Now and then an affray occurred between a Frenchman and an Indian, and occasionally a life was lost; but these were precisely the kind of exceptions which prove the truth of a general rule; for such accidents must have been the result of departures by individuals from those principles of amity which were observed by their respective communities. The French were expert in the use of firearms; they roamed far and wide into the Indian country, and it would have been a strange anomaly in the history of warriors and hunters, had no personal conflicts ensued. But these affrays did not disturb the general harmony, which is a conclusive evidence, that no latent jealousy, no suppressed resentment for past injuries, rankled in the bosom of either party. The Indians even suffered themselves to be baptized; and at one time a large portion of the Kaskaskia tribe professed the Roman Catholic faith.

Such was the confidence inspired by the pacific conduct of the French settlers here and in Canada, that their traders ascended the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, traversed the northern lakes, and penetrated to every part of the western wilderness without molestation. They engrossed the fur trade, and became so fascinated with this mode of life, that numbers of them devoted themselves to the business of conducting the canoe, and formed that class of *voyageurs*, who continue to this day to be the chief carriers of that trade. They pass between the white men and Indians, partaking the habits of both, and living happily with either. While the Englishman dared not venture beyond the frontier of his settlements, the Frenchman roamed over the whole of this vast region, and was every where a welcome visiter. The travellers La Salle, Hennepin, Marquette and others, traversed the entire west, and were received with cordiality by all the tribes.

Here then we perceive the contrast, which affords an explanation to some of the apparent difficulties of this subject. Those who came among the Aborigines with sincerely pacific intentions, who conducted themselves with frankness, practising the law of love, and observing the obligations of good faith, found the natives accessible to kindness, and were enabled by their superior knowledge to exert over them a beneficial influence. But those who came with peace on their lips, with arms in their hands, with plunder in their hearts, and persecution and scorn of the heathen in their creeds, soon became the objects of that never dying spirit of revenge, which is the master passion of the savage bosom.

No sooner did Penn cease to rule in Pennsylvania, than those humane precepts, which exalted his government above that of every other colony, and which establish for him the highest claim to the honour of having planted the true principles of civic liberty on this continent, began to be neglected. His memory, and the grateful odour of his good deeds, for awhile threw an armour of defence over those who succeeded him; but in a short time Pennsylvania began to be desolated by Indian wars. With him ceased all good faith with the tribes. His successors had neither his talents, his honesty, nor his firmness; they followed none of his precepts, nor kept any of his engagements. Firearms, gunpowder, and that insidious drug, which the Indians call the *firewater of the white man*, were freely used in the colony, and sold to the natives. The planters began to arm in self-defence. *Occasions of offence* were frequent, and no effort was made to prevent them. "The great and good Onas" was no longer there to pour out his kind spirit, like oil, upon the waves of human passion. Hostilities ensued; the frontiers of Pennsylvania suffered all the horrors of border warfare, and the sentiment expressed by Penn in 1682, proved prophetic: "If my heirs do not keep to God, in justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, they will lose all, and desolation will follow."

The same result occurred in Illinois. The amiable French lived in peace with the Indians for a whole century; but when the "Long Knives" began to emigrate to the country, greedy for gain, eager to possess the lands of the natives, and full of novel speculations, hostilities commenced, and continued until the whites gained the complete mastery.

In order to give full weight to these facts, and to perceive clearly their application to our subject, it must be recollected that national prejudices are most deeply rooted, and most lasting, among an unenlightened people. The ignorant have narrow views because they can judge only from what they see. Those simple and unlettered tribes, whose only occupations are war and hunting, preserve the few events that interrupt the dull monotony of their national existence, by traditions, which are handed down with singular tenacity from generation to generation. The only mental culture which the children receive, consists in repeating to them the adventures of their fathers, and the infant mind is thus indelibly impressed with all the predilections and antipathies of the parent. To these early impressions there is no counter influence; no philosophy to enlarge the boundaries of thought, to examine evidence, and to detect error; no religion to suggest the exercise of charity, or impose the duty of forgiveness. The traditions of each tribe are widely spread by the practice of repeating them at the great councils, at which the warriors of various tribes are assembled; and thus the wrongs which they suffered from the white men, became generally known, and perhaps greatly exaggerated. Among them too, revenge is a noble principle, imbibed with their mother's milk, justified by their code of honour, and recognised by their customs. It is as much a duty with them to revenge a wrong, as it is with us to discharge a debt or fulfil a contract; and the injury inflicted upon the father rankles in the bosom of the child, until recompense is made, or retaliation inflicted. We infer then, that we owe much of the unhappy state of feeling, which exists between the Indians and ourselves, to the injuries inflicted on their race, and the prejudices excited by the discoverers and colonists, and to the want of sincere, judicious and patient exertions for reconciliation on our part.

We have now passed hastily over a period, during which no settled policy seems to have been adopted by the British or French governments in regard to their intercourse with the Aborigines. Every colony, every band of adventurers, was left free and unshackled, to pursue the dictates of whim or of conscience, of grasping avarice or enlightened liberality—to gain a landing upon the continent at their proper peril, and upon their own terms—to negotiate, to fight, to plunder—to convert the Heathen, or to exterminate them, as seemed good in their own eyes. They were only restrained from intruding upon "other Christians," who were similarly engaged, in order that each community might carry on its own larcenies and homicides, according to its own standard of taste and morals, without jostling its next neighbour. Their intercourse with the natives, was the result of accident or caprice, or was dictated by the master mind of some distinguished philanthropist or conqueror, by a persecuted sectarian refugee, an exiled cavalier, a gold hunting adventurer, or a soldier of fortune—by a Penn or a Pizarro, a Howard or a Dugald Dalgetty.

It is unhappily true, as true as gospel, that the heart of man is "deceitful and desperately wicked," and that whenever men are left to pursue their own inclinations unrestrained by law, and by a wholesome public sentiment, there will be corruption and violence. In the settlement of America there *were* corruption, and violence, and wrong, perpetrated upon the native occupiers of the soil, from one end of the continent to the other; and although brilliant exceptions occurred, they were like the electric flashes in the storm, which deepen the gloom of the darkness by comparison, while they afford the light which discloses the havoc of the tempest.

Our object has been to shew the *first* impression that was made upon the savage mind—to shew that it was deep and lasting—and that it was adverse to civilization. These impressions are now hardened into prejudice and conviction; they prevail wherever the red man exists, or the white man is heard of, from the frozen wilds of Canada, where the wretched savage shivers half the year in penury and famine, to the sunny plains of the South, where the painted warrior, decked in gaudy plumage, and mounted on the wild steed of the prairie, exhibits all the magnificence of barbarian pomp. They form his creed, and are interwoven with his nature; and though few can express them so well, they all feel, what was said by the eloquent Red Jacket, to a Missionary, who explained to him the pure and beautiful code of the Redeemer, and asked permission to teach it to his people: "Go," said he, "and teach those doctrines to the white men,—make *them* sober and honest—teach *them* to love one another—persuade *them* to do to others as they would have others do to them, and then bring your religion to the red men—*but not until then!*"

AN ESSAY

ON THE

HISTORY

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY

JAMES HALL.

PART SECOND.

IN our preceding remarks, we have endeavoured to show the *first impressions* made upon the Indian mind, by the conduct of the discoverers and colonists, acting without concert with each other, in pursuit of their own purposes, which were selfish and mercenary.

We now propose to point out the policy of the European governments when the colonies became of sufficient importance to claim their attention, and the commerce of the new countries held out a prospect of gain which excited their cupidity. The unscrupulous conduct of Great Britain in the prosecution of her vast schemes of commercial aggrandisement, is too well understood to require comment. Bold, ruthless, and unprincipled in her mercantile policy, it was she who planted slavery upon the soil of North America, who fattened upon the blood and sweat of the slave in the West Indies, who wrung countless millions of treasure from the timid and semi-civilized inhabitants of India, by the most audacious system of oppression; who is now, in China, murdering an inoffensive and ingenious people for refusing to purchase from them, upon compulsion, a poisonous drug, and whose armies are desolating the mountains of Afghanistan.

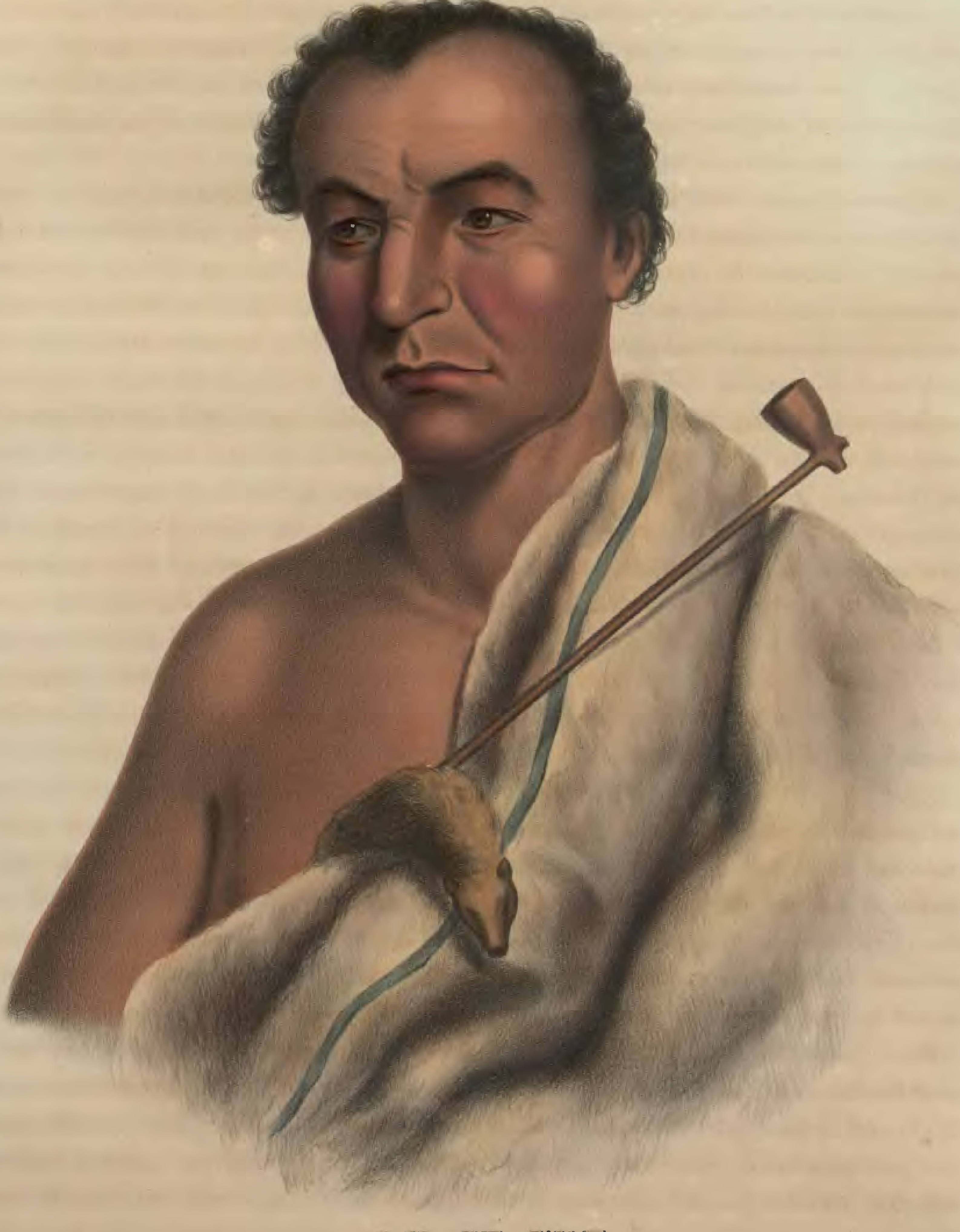
The new lands of America, which had been freely given to every adventurer who asked for them, no sooner began to develope resources for commerce, than the greedy appetite of the mother country became whetted for spoil. The boundaries of the colonies began to be enlarged, forts were established in the wilderness to awe the natives, who saw their ancient hunting grounds narrowed continually, and their dwelling places occupied by a rapacious people, and an insolent soldiery: until, driven from boundary to boundary, they realised, while in life, the beautiful description of death, by the sacred poet, "the places that knew them once, knew them no more for ever."

The intercourse with the natives was conducted through forts and trading posts, by officers and agents, whose aim was to secure the fur trade, and to obtain grants of land; and for the valuable property thus obtained, they gave them fire-arms, ammunition, trinkets, gaudy clothing, and spirituous liquors. No effort was made to introduce among them useful articles, which would have promoted their comfort, and tended to their civilization. No thought was taken to inculcate accurate notions of property and value, by giving them fair equivalents for the articles received, and by inducing them to take the more useful, and the least perishable of our fabrics. The contrary policy was artfully adopted; tinsel ornaments and toys were given to amuse the savage mind, drink to destroy his reason and stimulate his passions, and instruments of war to encourage his love of carnage. We can readily believe, that had the Europeans, in their earliest intercourse with the natives, shown a desire for their welfare, by withholding from them the means of dissipation, and the engines of destruction, and had furnished them with articles of substantial comfort, many of them would have been allured to the sedentary habits of civilization, and all of them induced to confide in the sincerity of the white man.

At a very early period, the English and French colonists were engaged in wars with each other, and both parties endeavoured to conciliate the natives, and engage them as auxiliaries. With a full knowledge of their mode of warfare, which destroys without respect to age, sex, or condition, they were regularly hired, and sent forth upon their bloody mission. Furnished with arms, and ammunition, clothing and provisions, they acquired additional powers of mischief, and learned to feel the importance of their friendship and their enmity.

Both parties sought to secure their co-operation by making them presents, and it soon became the custom at all solemn councils, to make valuable donations to the chiefs and influential men, before proceeding to business. We have no evidence, that previous to our negotiations with the tribes, they were in the habit of making valuable presents to each other, upon such occasions. The North American Indians were poor, and we suspect that among them, if presents were made at all, they were of little value, and given only in token of sincerity. We intend this observation to apply, of course, to cases where the parties treated upon terms of perfect equality, for among all nations, civilized as well as savage, a subdued party is compelled to purchase peace.

It is also true, that treaties have always been least faithfully observed among those nations, whose customs require the weaker party to purchase the friendship of



ON-GE-WAE.

A CHIPPEWA CHIEF.

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the stronger by bribes; one party is governed by fear, the other by rapacity, and while the one is always seeking pretences to make new exactions, the other is ever watching to obtain revenge or indemnity. It has been somewhat thus with our predecessors, and their Indian allies. The presents, which at first were voluntarily given, and were received with gratitude, soon became periodical, and began at last to be demanded as of right. The Indians acted precisely as the pirates of the Barbary states have always done under similar circumstances. They saw that their situation enabled them to harass the whites, and that the latter were always willing to avert their hostility by the payment of a valuable consideration. War led to negotiations, and treaties—and treaties always brought presents. Implements of war, and articles of dress and luxury, had been introduced among them, to which they had previously been strangers; new wants were created, without the simultaneous creation of any means to supply them; every treaty with their wealthy neighbours, brought in fresh stores of those foreign products, which their own country did not afford, and which they could not procure in sufficient abundance, either by traffic or by plunder; and it became clearly their interest to multiply the occasions of such profitable diplomacy. They made war, therefore, whenever they needed supplies; whenever cupidity or famine goaded the nation, or ambition stimulated a ruling chief; and they made peace whenever a sufficient inducement was tendered to their acceptance. If war existed between the whites, they fought on the side on which they were employed; if not, they assailed either side for the sake of a profitable treaty.

They no longer fought for fame or conquest, to retrieve honour, or redress wrong; and the military virtues that usually attend these noble impulses entirely forsook them; we had made them banditti; and they made war to get money, rum, guns, and gunpowder. The pernicious system of giving them regular supplies of arms, ammunition, clothing, and provisions, became firmly established, and drew after it a train of evil consequences; injury to the whites, and misery to the wretched objects of their misplaced bounty. They became the regular followers of the camp; the periodical visitants and beggars at the gates of forts and trading houses. The alms, or the stipends, that were given them, wretched as they were, were sufficient to destroy their self-dependence. Furnished with arms and clothing, they became less provident; supplied with munitions of war, their propensity for mischief was quickened by the increased means of its gratification; the passion of avarice was awakened, and habits of extortion were cherished, by the continual experience of their power to enforce the payment of tribute.

The system of making presents to the tribes, and enlisting them in our quarrels, bad as it was, was innocent in comparison with the abuses that unavoidably grew out of it. The employment of agents necessarily attended these negotiations, and the persons so engaged were exposed to continual temptations to act corruptly, while they were exempt from the ordinary restraints, and the usual motives, which ensure the fidelity of public functionaries. They acted at distant points, beyond the reach of the observation of their superiors, where neither instruction nor reproof could often reach them, and where much was necessarily left to their discretion. They were sent to an illiterate people, who had no channel through which to report their misconduct, for they were themselves the only medium of communication between the principals, and could easily deceive both parties; and the eye of detection could not penetrate into the distant wilderness that formed the scene of their operations. If faithful, they had little hope of being rewarded for that which their own government did not know, and their own people did not care for; and they had, therefore, strong temptation to make their emolument out of the power and the money which they were entrusted to wield. The office was one which took them from the social circle, from the refinements of life, from the restraints of law, from the sound of the church-going bell, and which offered no inducement to the cultivated and moral man, and was too often filled by men of the coarsest mould. In the back woods they could peculate or intrigue, oppress and extort, with impunity; and it is known only to the All-seeing Eye how often the tomahawk has been raised to gratify the bad passions of an agent, to feed his avarice, to revenge his quarrel, or to raise his importance by enabling him to become the mediator of a peace.

The trade with the Indians has always been conducted within their own borders, as well under the British government as under that of the United States. Instead of permitting and inducing them to trade in our markets, where they would reap the advantages of competition, would acquire just notions of value, would learn the use of money, would have a choice of the articles they might desire to purchase, would be under the protection of our laws and our public opinion, and would imbibe necessarily some knowledge of our language, institutions and arts; they have been compelled to deal with licensed traders, at obscure points in the wilderness. Under the British government, the trade for furs and peltries is in the hands of two great companies; and within our limits it is conducted by licensed companies and individuals, who have monopolies of this valuable branch of commerce, which they carry on without competition, and without any restraint. The intercourse is held in the aboriginal languages, by means of interpreters, and every art is used to keep the Indians in their original state of ignorance, and to encourage them to persevere in their improvident and erratic habits. The abuses perpetrated under this system, are almost incredibly enormous. The Indians assemble at the trading post, in the autumn, to exchange the skins taken in the past season, for the arms and ammunition required for the ensuing year, and for the blankets and other articles necessary for their support during the winter. For several hundred dollars worth of peltry, the product of a whole year's hunting, and of immense danger, exposure and fatigue, the hunter gets a gun, a few pounds of powder, a knife, a blanket, and some trinkets, and then as a gracious present some tin ornaments for the arms and nose, and a little scarlet cloth and cheap calico, to make a dress for his wife—the whole not worth a tenth, perhaps not a twentieth part, of the articles extorted from the wretched savage. And there are numerous well authenticated instances, in which the hunter has been robbed, while in a state of intoxication, of the whole produce of his year's labour, and turned out bare and destitute, to suffer during the rigours of the winter, the extreme of famine, or to perish miserably in the wilderness.

To these national injuries have been added wrongs of a private and personal, but not less aggravating character. Too often have our citizens perpetrated, in the deep recesses of the forest, crimes, from which, had they been suggested to the same persons when living in civilized society, surrounded by the strong restraints of law, and by the full blaze of a pure public opinion, they would have shrunk with horror. Too often has the trader been seen, led on by the overmastering lust for money, violating every principle of honour, trampling on the rites of hospitality, rending asunder the most sacred ties, and breaking down every barrier of good faith, to accomplish the sordid purpose of a nefarious traffic. The affecting story of Inkle and Yarico is no fiction. It has been acted over and over again in our forests, with every variation of ingenious cruelty.

It is no unfrequent occurrence for the most beautiful, the highest born maid of a powerful tribe, to give her hand in marriage to some attractive stranger; yielding up her affections with that implicit confidence, that all absorbing self-devotion, which is everywhere the attribute of woman. Impelled by the purest and most disinterested of human passions, she sacrifices, for that nameless and houseless stranger, every thing that nature and custom had rendered most dear. To please his taste she throws aside the graceful ornaments of her tribe, and assumes the apparel of a foreign and detested people. Her raven locks are no longer braided upon her shoulders; she no longer chases the deer, or guides her light canoe over the wave; and her dark eye flashes no more with the pride of conscious beauty as the warriors of her nation pass before her; for in their eyes she is, if not a degraded, an alienated being. But still she is supremely happy, in the possession of that one object, around whom all her affections are entwined. In the seclusion of her cottage, in the cheerful performance of every domestic duty, in advancing the interests of her husband by conciliating in his favour all the influence of her kindred, and the lingering affection of her people, and in protecting him from danger at every hazard, her days exhibit a continual scene of self-devotion. Her dream of happiness is soon and fatally dissolved. Her husband has accomplished his commercial purposes, and she is abandoned to disgrace and poverty. Although the whole story of her affection has exhibited that loveliness of character, that purity and nobleness of mind, which in civilized society raises a superior woman above her species, and gives her an almost unlimited influence within the sphere of her attractions—yet, *she* is a savage—a poor, untaught, deluded Indian—and she is abandoned, by her *civilized* husband, with the same apathy with which a worn out domestic animal is turned loose to perish on the common.

As an example of the class of wrongs to which we now refer, we shall relate a well authenticated incident, the particulars of which may be found in the interesting account of Long's first expedition to the Rocky Mountains. An enterprising young trader, who had established himself, at a remote Indian village, on the Missouri, married a beautiful girl, the daughter of a powerful chief. *He* considered the marriage a matter of business, his sole object being to secure the protection of the chief, and to advance his own interests by gaining the confidence of the tribe. *She* entered into the engagement in good faith, and proved herself a most devoted wife, assiduous in promoting the happiness of her husband, and in contributing to his prosperity—faithful and self-sacrificing as woman ever is where her affections are interested. They lived together in harmony for several years, when the trader, about to proceed on his annual visit to St. Louis, announced, on the eve of his departure, his intention to carry with him their only child, a boy of two years old. She remonstrated against this proceeding—but he, promising to return and to bring back the child, effected his nefarious purpose. She had reason to believe that the separation would be final, but with the implicit obedience of an Indian wife, she submitted, until the moment of parting, when her grief became overwhelming—she gazed after the boat which was rapidly carrying away all that was dear to her, with frantic sorrow—then rushing madly along the shore, followed it for miles, uttering the most piercing lamentations; and when it was no longer visible, and the sound of the oar died upon her ear, she sank upon the ground in a state bordering upon insanity. In this condition she was found, and carried home by her friends. For days and weeks she remained inconsolable, and only recovered a tolerable degree of composure, as the time approached when her husband had promised to return, and then, hope springing up in her bosom, persuaded her that he would be faithful to his engagement. But the time arrived, and passed away, and the perjured white man came not.

In the meanwhile the trader hastened to St. Louis, to fulfil a matrimonial engagement, with a lady who was to enjoy the wealth, acquired chiefly through the influence, the labours, and the economy of his Indian wife. He was residing near that city, with his beautiful bride, in an elegant residence, when the deserted wife and heart-broken mother made her appearance at his door, and solicited a private interview. Alone, and on foot, she had traversed the trackless wilderness, for several hundred miles, subsisting on the products of the forest, and lodging without any shelter but the canopy of Heaven, and she stood before her husband, worn out and almost famished, a wretched wreck of her former self. She asked, not to be restored to favour, not to share the wealth she had assisted in earning, nor even for a morsel of bread to revive her fainting frame—but only for her child; and was sternly refused. She begged to be admitted into the house as a servant, or to be allowed to live in the neighbourhood—to be suffered on any terms to remain near the sole remaining object of her love; but this was refused, and she was coldly and brutally repulsed, from the door of her husband, and the roof that sheltered her only child. She was the offspring of a high-spirited people—she was a *woman*, all whose rights had been outraged, whose holiest affections had been violated—and the submissiveness, which as a wife she had practised with becoming meekness, ceased to be a virtue in her estimation. She retired for the present, concealed herself in the neighbouring coverts, and watching her opportunity, entered the mansion by stealth, and bore away her offspring. Evading pursuit with all the artifice, and all the courage of her race, she resumed her lonely journey, towards the hunting grounds of her nation. Long, and painful, and perilous was that journey; bearing her precious burthen on her shoulders, subsisting on roots, on wild fruit, and on such of the smaller animals as she could entrap, and creeping at night to a pallet of leaves, in any thicket that chance might offer, the wretched mother pursued her weary pilgrimage, with undaunted perseverance, and had nearly reached her destination, when she sunk under the effects of hunger and fatigue. Some of the officers of our army, passing through the wilderness, found the squalid and famished woman, with her starving child, unable to proceed further, coiled in the lair in which she had thrown herself to die; and relieving her present necessities, carried her to her native village, where she probably still resides, a living witness of the meliorating effects of Christianity and Civilization upon the human heart, and especially upon the domestic virtues.

During the revolutionary war, Great Britain adopted the sanguinary policy of inciting the Indian tribes to take up the hatchet against the Colonies—a policy the more criminal on her part, as we refused to employ the savages, and used our influence to induce them to remain neutral, until we were compelled in self-defence, to engage some of the tribes in our service. They now made war as the mercenary auxiliaries of a powerful nation; and while their native ferocity was increased by the hope of reward, the antipathies of the Americans against them were greatly enhanced, as they who are hired to fight in the quarrel of another, always excite more aversion than the principal party who makes battle in his own cause. Emissaries were now planted along the whole frontier, the chiefs strutted in scarlet coats, and British gold and military titles were lavished among the tribes. The few restraints that prudence and decency had heretofore suggested, were now forgotten; rum was dealt out without stint; the desolating work of the tomahawk and the firebrand went forward with renewed vigour under the patronage of the Defender of the Faith, and new laurels were added to the British wreath by the midnight incendiary, by the plunder of an unarmed peasantry, and the murder of women and children. It was no longer thought necessary to inculcate the observance of humanity, or any Christian virtue, and the laws of war were suspended for the occasion. The savage appetite for blood was sharpened by artful devices; and there are instances on record, in which English emissaries presided at the torturing of prisoners, and rivalled their red allies in the demoniac arts of vengeance. The Indians were now literally turned loose, and systematic exertions were used to awaken their jealousy and hatred against the colonists. The success of these intrigues is written in characters of blood in the history of our struggle for independence.

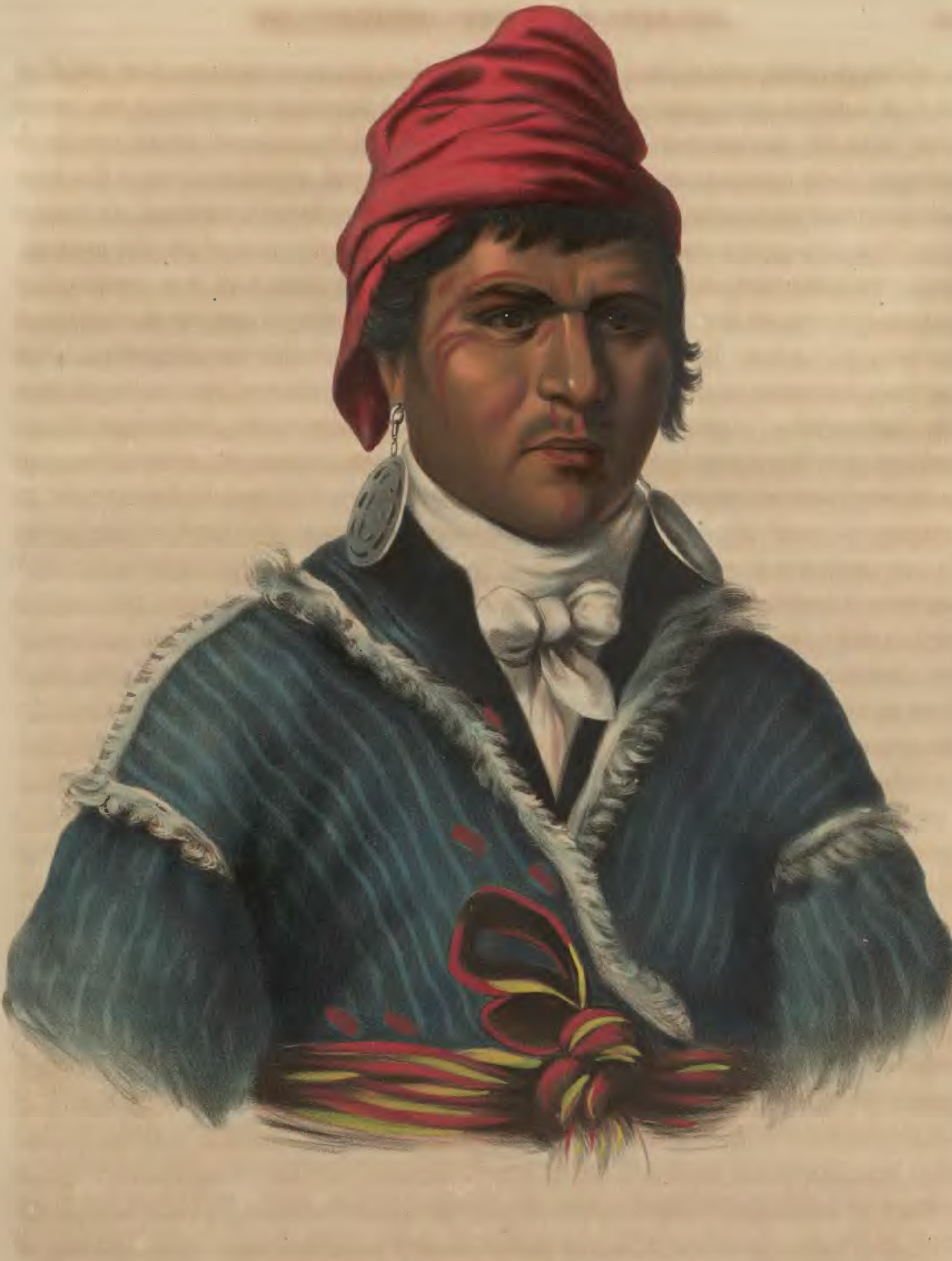
An affecting and conclusive illustration of the truth of these remarks, may be found in the life of Joseph Brant, the celebrated Mohawk chief, recently published. Possessed of strong natural abilities, and sent in early life to a school in New England, he profited by these advantages so far as to obtain a tolerable English education, and to embrace, with much outward zeal, the Christian religion. The Mohawks who then resided in the western part of New York, had always lived in amity with the settlers, and on the breaking out of the American revolution, their most natural policy would have been, to take part with the colonists who had been their friends and neighbours, or to have remained neutral. The latter was the course strongly urged upon them by the colonists, who deprecated the horrors of Indian warfare, and were unwilling to inflict, even on their enemies, the dreadful evils attendant upon a sanguinary code of hostility. Their humane counsels were alike disregarded by the British and the Indians, and the Mohawks, with the rest of the Six Nations, became the allies of the crown. Brant was the war chief of that noted confederacy, and was employed chiefly in harassing our frontier settlements—in burning the dwellings, and desolating the farms, of his former neighbours—in pillaging and murdering a defenceless people, with whom his own followers had been living on friendly terms, and with whom they had now no quarrel. In scarcely an instance do we find him leading his warriors against the American armies, or engaged in that legitimate warfare which is alone considered justifiable between civilized nations or honourable to those engaged in it. He seems not to have coveted the glory which is won on the battle field. He ravaged the fields and burned the dwellings of our people; he stole upon them in the defenceless hour of the night, and slaughtered men, women, and children, or carried them into a captivity worse than death. Those helpless beings, who in civilized warfare are never considered the proper subjects of hostility, were marched in mid-winter, through the snow, day after day, to be delivered over as prisoners of war, at a British garrison. He carried the horrors of war to the fireside and the altar, burned churches and granaries, and practised all the cruelties of savage warfare.

We are aware, that the biographer of Brant, while he details these atrocities with a painful minuteness, endeavours to exonerate that leader from the charge of personal cruelty. We have nothing to do with these nice distinctions: the leader is accountable for the deeds of his followers, especially for such as are transacted under his immediate notice, and within the sphere of his personal command. Humanity shudders at the recital of the enormities practised throughout a series of years, upon the frontiers of New York, by the Indians and tories, led by Sir Guy Johnston, the Butlers, and Brant; and the odium of those deeds of blood will rest, not upon the wretched incendiaries and murderers, whose hands were imbrued in the blood of a peaceable and unoffending peasantry, but upon those who planned and conducted these nefarious expeditions. The apology attempted to be set up for the marauding chiefs—that they could not restrain their followers—proves too much; for it points out in the strongest light, the wickedness of employing such instruments, and leading them upon such enterprises. Those who are acquainted with the military habits of the Indians, the caution with which their expeditions are planned, the exact discipline which is observed by a war party, and the implicit obedience of the warriors, will know how to estimate this excuse. The truth is, that while the country suffered indescribably from these inhuman and impolitic incursions, the Indian mind was excited, exasperated, and debased by them, and the unhappy breach between the two races was greatly widened.

We have seen that, from the first settling of the whites in America, there have been, from one cause or another, continual disputes between them and the savage tribes, which have given rise to frequent and destructive wars. All the border settlements of our country have been exposed to predatory incursions, and an unsparing warfare, and a peculiar class of our population has been raised up, who have occupied a prominent position in regard to the intercourse with the Indians, and done much to modify its character. We allude to the *backwoodsmen*, who have occupied the frontiers of most of the states, although they have been most numerous and conspicuous in the west. Dwelling from generation to generation on the frontier, far from the marts of commerce, and from the more enlightened portions of society, they acquired a distinct and strongly marked character. They were nominally farmers, but were rather a pastoral, than an agricultural people, depending for food more upon their cattle and hogs, that ran at large in the woods, than upon the produce of the soil. They were hunters and warriors, relying on the chase for a large portion of their subsistence, and bearing arms continually, to protect their roaming herds from the marauding Indian, their dwellings and barns from conflagration, and their wives and children from the tomahawk. Having no commerce, and scarcely any intercourse with strangers, destitute of all the luxuries, and of many of what we esteem the necessaries of life, their wants were few, and their habits simple. They dwelt in log cabins constructed by themselves, with scarcely any other tools than the axe and the auger; and their furniture was, for the most part, of their own fabrication. Their mode of life induced independence of thought, and habits of self-reliance; for as there was but one class, and one occupation, all were equal, and each was thrown upon his own resources. They had none of the helps that we enjoy in refined societies, from the variety of professions and trades, which administer to all our wants, and relieve us from the necessity of exerting our own ingenuity, and physical strength, except in the single direction in which we choose to employ them.

They were a social and hospitable people; brave, generous, and patriotic; poor, but not sordid, laborious, but not frugal. From early infancy, they were accustomed to the baying of the wolf, and the yell of the Indian; and associating these sounds as fraught alike with treachery and danger, they learned to distinguish in each the voice of a foe. The tales that first awakened the attention of childhood, were of the painted savage, creeping with the stealthy tread of the panther, upon the sleeping inmates of the cabin—of the midnight conflagration lighting up with its horrid glare, the gloom of the surrounding forest—of bleeding scalps torn from the heads of gray-haired old men, of infants, and of women—of mothers and children carried away into captivity—and of the dreadful scenes of torture at the stake. The tales of the veteran warrior—the adventures that almost every venerable matron could relate from her own experience—the escapes of the hunter from the savage ambuscade—the stirring incidents of the battle—the strategy of border warfare—the sudden return of long-lost friends—and the recital of the prisoner delivered from captivity—these formed the legendary topics of the border, and moulded the minds and the prejudices of the people. They grew up in dread and loathing of the wolf, the panther, the rattlesnake, and the Indian; regarding them as foes alike ruthless and insidious, who waylaid their path, and stole upon them in the hour of sleep. So extensive and successful had been the incursions of the Indians, that there was scarcely a neighbourhood that had not its battle field, or its rude sepulchre of departed valour, nor a family which had not its tale of sorrow, relating to some peculiar and melancholy bereavement by the hand of the savage. Yet so enamoured were these people of their sylvan life, environed as it was with inquietude and danger, that, as the natives receded farther and farther to the west, they pursued their footsteps, eager to possess the new lands, and the fresh pastures they had forsaken, and regardless of dangers to which they were accustomed. Bred from generation to generation in the forest, they were as expert as the Indian, in all the arts of the hunter, and all the devices of savage life. Like him they could steer their way with unerring skill through the trackless forest, could find and prepare their own food, and defend themselves against the vicissitudes of the weather. Compelled at first by their necessities to derive a subsistence from the spontaneous wealth of nature, they learned to seek with skill and assiduity all the products of the wilderness, the flesh of the buffalo and the deer, the skin of the beaver, and the nutritious hoard of the bee, and became so addicted to these pursuits as to prefer them to the labours of husbandry. Acquiring hardihood and courage by these manly exercises, they became a martial people, enterprising and fearless, careless of exposure, expert in horsemanship, and trained to the use of arms. In their long hunting expeditions they penetrated into the Indian country, and made reprisals for the depredations of the savages; and in retaliation for the hostilities of the Red men, they organized parties, and pursued them by laborious marches to their distant villages. It will be readily seen that the hatred between these parties, handed down from father to son, and inflamed by continual aggressions, would be mutual, deadly and irreconcilable.

Between parties thus mutually hostile, there would arise, unavoidably, many occasions of offence, which no prudence nor foresight on the part of the government could prevent. Kind and forbearing as our government was, in overlooking past aggressions, and liberal as they were in all the dealings with the tribes, it was impossible to soothe the spirit of revenge implanted in the savage breast by a long series of war and encroachments. Restless and warlike in their habits, the inducements to peace could never be strongly impressed on their minds, and when



NAH-ET-LUC-HOPIE.

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the prospect of plunder was added to the lust for revenge, the temptation was so strong as to overcome all prudential motives. Even when the tribes as bodies were friendly, and their leaders disposed to maintain peace, there were loose and vicious individuals, who, strolling off under the pretence of hunting, would form small bands, and annoy the settlements by stealing horses, or killing the cattle and hogs that roamed in the woods. Sometimes these private wars, if we may make the distinction, were carried further; a house would be burned, a family murdered, and a whole neighbourhood alarmed. The borderers were not slow to retaliate. Upon the perpetration of such an outrage, a party would be collected with wonderful celerity, and the depredators being pursued, were often overtaken, and a part if not all of them slain. Passion is never just, and revenge is not scrupulous as to the measure of the retribution it exacts. Parties engaged in pursuing marauders, were not always satisfied with punishing the guilty, but in the heat of passion attacked other Indians whom they accidentally met, or destroyed the villages of unoffending tribes. Unfortunately, it was difficult to discriminate in cases of this kind, for the Indians were so fickle, and their violations of their engagements so frequent and sudden, that the whites, living in continual apprehension, and in the constant experience of the irritable and hostile state of the Indian mind, were in most cases unable to decide whether an aggression committed was the act of a lawless few, or the assault of a war party, and the forerunner of a bloody war.

The Indians, on the other hand, were subject to a very serious grievance. Subsisting entirely by hunting, the game in their forests is as valuable to them as our cattle are to us, and they consider themselves as possessing a property in their hunting grounds, which they regard with great jealousy. Severe laws were passed by Congress, to protect them in these rights, and forbidding our people from trespassing upon the Indian hunting grounds; yet our hunters would often pass into the Indian country, and destroy vast quantities of game. The practice of hunting upon their lands grew into a monstrous abuse; thousands of wild animals, from which they derived their sole subsistence, were annually destroyed by the whites. Many parts of the country which abounded in game, at the conclusion of the general peace in 1795, soon became totally destitute. The settlers on the neighbouring frontier were in the habit of passing into the Indian territory every autumn, to kill bear, deer, and buffaloes, merely for the skins, by which means these animals, particularly the latter, were in some places become almost extinct.

It is gratifying to observe, in the very first operations of our own government, a spirit of moderation towards our savage neighbours. When we came to take possession of our national heritage for which we had fought, we found it encompassed with enemies. The southern and western tribes were generally hostile. On the borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina, the tomahawk was busy, and the forests of Kentucky and Tennessee presented a vast scene of carnage. Had our rulers been animated by the same grasping and unscrupulous policy, which seems to have been pursued by all other nations in their dealings with the heathen, a fair opportunity was offered for its exercise. The pioneers were already sustaining themselves with credit on our western borders, and, with a little encouragement from the government, would have extirpated all the tribes who opposed their progress. Employment might have been given to the troops, which Congress found it necessary to disband; and the veterans who had fought for independence, might have been rewarded with the lands of our enemies. But the great men who then swayed our councils disdained the paltry spirit of revenge, and were too upright to commit an act which would have been morally wrong. They knew that the Indians had been abused and misled, by the same power which had trampled on our own rights, and had adulterated our best institutions by an admixture of foreign and pernicious principles; and they determined to forget all the aggressions of that unhappy race, to win them to friendship by kindness, and to extend to them the moral and civil blessings which had been purchased by our own emancipation. President Washington recommended the Indians to the paternal care of Congress, and all his successors have been governed by the same enlarged and humane views.

The wars which succeeded that of the revolution, were neither sought by us, nor were they prosecuted for one moment longer than was necessary for the defence of the frontiers. So foreign from the views of our government, were all ideas of conquest, that the troops sent out under Harmer and St. Clair were not sufficiently numerous to maintain a stand in the wilderness, nor provided with supplies for even one campaign; and the army of Wayne was victorious only through the exertion of singular skill and gallantry.

The treaty of Greenville, made in 1795, by General Wayne, at the head of a victorious army, with the chiefs of the tribes who had just been vanquished in battle, affords the strongest evidence of the pacific views of our government. Nothing is claimed in that treaty by right of conquest. The parties agree to establish a perpetual peace, the Indians acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and not of any foreign power; they promise to sell their land to the United States only, the latter agrees to protect them, and a few regulations are adopted to govern the intercourse between the parties; a boundary line is established, by which the Indians confirm to us large tracts of land, nearly all of which had been ceded to us by former treaties; and the United States agrees to pay them goods to the value of $20,000, and to make them a further payment of $9,500 annually. Thus in negotiating a peace, at the headquarters of our army, after a signal victory, when we might have dictated, and probably did dictate, the terms, we require nothing of the other parties, but the performance of their previous voluntary engagements, and we purchase their friendship by an annual tribute. I advert to this treaty as one of the most important, and as forming the model and basis of almost all the Indian treaties which have succeeded it.

From this time forward, our government continued to pursue a conciliatory and humane conduct towards the Indians. In a letter from the Secretary of War to General Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory, dated February 23d, 1802, the following language is used: "It is the ardent wish of the President of the United States, as well from a principle of humanity, as from duty and sound policy, that all prudent means in our power shall be unremittingly pursued, for carrying into effect the benevolent views of Congress, relative to the Indian nations within the bounds of the United States. The provisions made by Congress, under the heads of intercourse with the Indian nations, and for establishing trading houses among them, &c. have for their object not only the cultivation and establishment of harmony and friendship between the United States and the different nations of Indians, but the introduction of civilization by encouraging and gradually introducing the arts of husbandry and domestic manufactures among them."

President Jefferson himself wrote thus to the same governor:—"Our system is to live in perpetual peace with the Indians, to cultivate an affectionate attachment from them, by every thing just and liberal we can do for them, within the bounds of reason, and by giving them effectual protection against wrongs from our people." Again: "In this way our settlements will circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will either incorporate with us, as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi. The former is certainly the termination of their history most happy for themselves; but in the whole course of this, it is most essential to cultivate their love; as to their fear, we presume that our strength and their weakness are now so visible, that they must see we have only to shut our hand to crush them, and all our liberality to them proceeds from motives of humanity only."

Under date of December 22, 1808, President Jefferson wrote thus:—"In a letter to you of February 27, 1802, I mentioned that I had heard there was still one Peoria man living, and that a compensation making him easy for life should be given him, and his conveyance of the country by regular deed obtained. If there be such a man living, I think this should still be done." Here was an instance in which, a tribe being supposed to be extinct, the government had taken possession of the country which had been owned by them; but the President of the United States afterwards hearing that one individual of that tribe was in existence, proposed to pay him for the soil and get a conveyance from him. We doubt whether, in the annals of any other nation than our own, so scrupulous an act of justice can be shown; and we suppose that Mr. Jefferson had regard not merely to the rights of the survivor of the almost extinct tribe, but to the salutary and important principle to which he wished to give publicity, and which has always been recognised by our government, namely, that we claim no right to take the lands of the Indians from them except by purchase.

From the close of the revolution the agents of the British government continued to exercise all the incendiary arts of their despicable diplomacy, in perpetuating the animosity of the Indians against our country and people. It is probable that until the conclusion of the war of 1812, the mother country never entirely abandoned the hope of reducing her lost Colonies to their former state of subjection. Alarmed at the rapidity with which our settlements were spreading to the west, they attempted to oppose barriers to our advance in that direction, by inciting the savages to war; and equally alarmed at our efforts to civilize the tribes, and fearful that they might be induced to sit down under the protection of our republican institutions, and thus bring an immense accession to our strength, they insidiously endeavoured to countervail all our benevolent exertions of that description. If I had not the proof at hand, I would not venture to expose to the Christian world the extent, the wickedness, the unhappy tendency of these intrigues. The United States were engaged in an experiment which was approved by every virtuous man, and ought to have been supported by every enlightened nation. They were earnestly endeavouring to reclaim the savage—to induce the tribes to abandon their cruelties, their superstitions, their comfortless and perilous wanderings, and to sit down in the enjoyment of law, religion, peace, industry, and the arts. They wished to send the cross of the Redeemer, the blessings of civil liberty, and the light of science, abroad throughout this vast continent; and to establish peace and good will in those boundless forests which had heretofore been the gloomy abodes of ferocious ignorance, vindictive passion, and sanguinary conflict. Had they been successful in this beneficent design, they would have achieved a revolution as glorious as that which gave us independence. The English cabinet, nursing their resentment, and brooding over their gigantic but sordid schemes of commercial aggrandizement, saw the possibility of such a result, and trembled at the consequences. They could not consent that the United States should reap the honour of so proud a triumph, or that their own means of access to our western settlements, for annoyance or conquest, should be cut off. Even the paltry boon of the fur trade, was a sufficient inducement in their eyes, for withholding from the Red men the Bible, and the arts of peace. Their emissaries therefore were multiplied, and stimulated to renewed activity; and while the agents of our government, the Christian missionaries, and hundreds of benevolent individuals, laboured assiduously to enlighten the savage mind, and allure it to peace and industry, the unhallowed ambassadors of corruption toiled as industriously to perpetuate the darkness of heathenism, the gloom of ignorance, and the atrocities of war. They represented our government as having interests inimical to those of the Red men; and endeavoured to fasten upon us, as a people, those enormities which had been practised under the sanction of their own government, and of which we had been the sufferers, in common with the Aborigines. They characterized our missionaries as political agents; and appealed successfully to the ambition of the chiefs, and the prejudices and national pride of the tribes, by insinuating that our efforts to extend to them our customs, arts, faith, and language, were intended to destroy their integrity and independence, to efface their traditions, and blot out their names from the list of nations. They were told that they were to be reduced to slavery, and made to labour with the negro. Stronger and more direct arts than even these were resorted to: while we inculcated the virtue of temperance, and showed the Indian that intemperance was rapidly destroying his name and kindred, the British agent secretly distributed brandy with a lavish hand; while we invited the warrior to peace, he gave him arms and ammunition, and incited him to war and plunder; while we offered the tribes our gospel, and our arts, he lavished among their chiefs military titles, red coats, epaulets, and trinkets, thus administering aliment to every savage propensity, and neutralizing the effect of every wise precept and virtuous example. Such miscreants as M'Kee and Girty—the latter a vulgar renegade from our own country, and the former a British officer of high rank—while in the daily perpetration of those odious crimes, received from the British government the honours and rewards which are only due to virtuous and patriotic services.

The facts that support these assertions are found scattered abundantly throughout our history. President Washington complained to the British government of the tampering with the Indians within our limits by Lord Dorchester, governor of Canada. Mr. Jefferson, in a speech to certain chiefs of the Miami, Pottowatomie, Delaware, and Chippewa tribes, who visited our seat of government, said: "Gen. Washington, our first President, began a line of just and friendly conduct towards you. Mr. Adams, the second, continued it; and from the moment I came into the administration, I have looked upon you with the same good will as my own fellow-citizens, have considered your interests as our interests, and peace and friendship as a blessing to us all. Seeing with sincere regret, that your people were wasting away; believing that this proceeded from your frequent wars, the destructive use of spirituous liquors, and the scanty supplies of food, I have inculcated peace with all your neighbours, have endeavoured to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors, and have pressed it upon you to rely for food on the culture of the earth more than on hunting. On the contrary, my children, the English persuade you to hunt. They supply you with spirituous liquors, and are now endeavouring to persuade you to join them in a war against us, should a war take place."

"You possess reason, my children, as we do, and you will judge for yourselves which of us advise you as friends. The course they advise, has worn you down to your present numbers; but temperance, peace, and agriculture, will raise you up to what your forefathers were, will prepare you to possess property, to wish to live under regular laws, to join us in our government, to mix with us in society, and your blood and ours united will spread over the great island."

Contrast these sentiments, so honourable to our country, and to humanity, with the following talk from Colonel M'Kee, the British superintendent of Indian Affairs, delivered to the Pottowatomie chiefs, at the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, in November, 1804. "My children, it is true that the Americans do not wish you to drink any spirituous liquors, therefore they have told *their* traders that they should not carry any liquor into your country; but, my children, they have no right to say that one of *your father's* traders among you should carry no liquor among his children."

"My children, your father King George, loves his red children, and wishes his red children to be supplied with *every thing they want.* He is not like the Americans, who are continually blinding your eyes, and stopping your ears with good words, that taste sweet as sugar, and getting all your lands from you."

"My children, I am told that Wells has told you, that it was your interest to suffer no liquor to come into the country; you all know that he is a bad man," &c.

On another occasion he said, "My children, there is a powerful enemy of yours to the East, now on his feet, and looks mad at you, therefore, you must be on your guard; keep your weapons of war in your hands, and have a look out for him."

This language was addressed, by the authorized agent of a nation at peace with us, to the Indians living south of the Lakes, and within our acknowledged limits, at a council held in their country and within our jurisdiction, at which he could not be present for any purpose inimical to our interests, except as a spy and an incendiary. It was the language which, for years, the emissaries of that nation continued to address to our Indians.

To enable herself to carry on these intrigues, the British government had, in violation of the existing treaty of peace, kept possession of several military posts, south of the Lakes, and within our admitted boundaries, which she retained for twelve years after the close of the revolutionary war, and until the victory of Wayne blasted all her hopes in this quarter. This was the period during which the most distressing hostilities were carried on, against the settlers along the whole line of the Ohio river, and the most brutal outrages were committed—when the scalpings, the burnings, and the torture at the stake were most frequent, and attended with the most atrocious cruelties. Yet during that whole time, the Indians on this frontier were supplied from these British posts with arms and ammunition, and urged on to the work of blood. They were assembled periodically to receive presents, and to listen to inflammatory harangues against the American government and people—a government on which they were dependent, and a people with whom they could not make war, but to their own utter destruction. During all that period, Brant, an able and most active partisan of the British, was passing frequently along the whole of our Northwestern frontier, holding councils, advising the tribes to an uncompromising warfare with the United States. He was a secret and unacknowledged emissary, but in Mr. Stone's Life of him recently published, these transactions are avowed and established; and in that work, are exhibited letters, which passed between this noted savage and the British officers, and public documents recently obtained from the British archives, which develope all these facts. And this conspiracy was rendered the more criminal by the circumstance, that General Knox, as Secretary of War, was at that very time corresponding with Brant, who was an educated man, and a professing Christian, inviting his mediation between us and those deluded tribes who were still hostile, and representing to him the advantages to them, and the honour to himself, which would result from a pacification of the frontier, through his instrumentality. Brant had affected to listen to these overtures, and had visited Philadelphia, upon the urgent invitation of General Knox, for the ostensible purpose of consulting with the cabinet in regard to this philanthropic plan, but really, as it turned out, to blind the eyes of the American government. Several distinguished American philanthropists were also, about this period, exchanging letters with this forest Talleyrand on the same subject, and he contrived to delude them also, with the expectation that all the western tribes might be conciliated through his mediation.

It is now known, as a part of the well authenticated history of our country, that in the savage army opposed to our forces under General Wayne, there were more than one hundred Canadians, British subjects, who were engaged in the battle which concluded that decisive campaign; that the British officers from the neighbouring fort, assisted in the council of chiefs who arranged the plan of that engagement; and that the vanquished savages took shelter in the British fort.

The conduct of Great Britain, in tampering with the American Indians, was so inexcusable, was fraught with such cruel mockery to the Indians who were the ignorant dupes of that policy, and exercised so powerful an influence upon the fate and character of that unfortunate people, that it will not, we trust, be considered inappropriate to exhibit some of the proofs of this interference. These proofs are numerous, but we shall only select a few at random.

Colonel Gordon, a British officer in Canada, in a letter to Captain Brant, dated June 11, 1791, in allusion to the attempts of the American government to make peace with the Indians, remarks: "It must strike you very forcibly, that in all the proceedings of the different commissioners from the American States, they have cautiously avoided applying for our interference, as a measure they affect to think perfectly unnecessary; wishing to impress the Indians with ideas of their own consequence, and of the little influence, they would willingly believe, we are possessed of. This, my good friend, is not the way to proceed. Had they, before matters were pushed to extremity, requested the assistance of the British to bring about a peace upon equitable terms, I am convinced the measure would have been fully accomplished before this time." The cool arrogance with which the Americans are sneered at, for not inviting the interference of a foreign government, in a quarrel with savages, living within our limits, is only exceeded by the art evinced in the assertion that such a mediation would have been successful. The writer knew that the existing dissatisfaction was caused chiefly by the intrigues of his own government, and he hazarded little in saying, that with the assistance of the British peace might have been established.—*Stone's Life of Brant*, vol. ii. page 301.

On the first of May, 1792, Brant was addressed by Mr. Joseph Chew, an officer under Sir John Johnson, expressing much satisfaction at the refusal of Captain Brant to accept an invitation, from the Secretary of War, to visit Philadelphia, on a mission of peace, and advising the chief of the preparations the Americans were making for an Indian campaign. The following passage occurs in this letter:—"I see they expect to have an army of about five thousand men, besides three troops of horse. By the advertisements for supplies of provisions, &c. it seems that this army will not be able to move before the last of July. What attempts Wilkinson and

Hamtramck may make with the militia is uncertain. *Our friends ought to be on their guard.* I long to know what they think in England of the victory gained over St. Clair's army."—*Stone's Life of Brant*, vol. ii. page 327.

The government of the United States, in its anxiety to make peace with the Northwestern tribes, in February 1793, appointed General Benjamin Lincoln, Mr. Beverly Randolph, and Colonel Timothy Pickering, commissioners to hold a treaty at the Miamis, with such of the tribes as might choose to be rerpesented. The arrangement for this meeting had been made with the Indians the preceding autumn, and it is a curious fact, that they requested that some individuals of the Society of Friends should be attached to the mission—so widely had the fame of Penn and his people extended, and such was the confidence of the tribes in the integrity of that pacific sect. At the same time, some Quaker gentlemen, without concert with the Indians, and instigated only by the purest impulse of benevolence, had voluntarily offered their aid and mediation, which was accepted. The commissioners therefore were accompanied by John Parish, William Savery, and John Elliot, of Philadelphia; Jacob Lindlay, of Chester county; and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne, of New Jersey, members of the Society of Friends.

On the arrival of the commissioners at Queenston, on the Niagara, on the 17th of May, they found that Brant and some of his Indians, with Colonel Butler, the British superintendent of Indian affairs, had proceeded to the place of meeting—but the commissioners were detained here, under various pretences, by Governor Simcoe, until the 26th of June. On their arrival at the mouth of Detroit river, they were obliged to land, by the British authorities at Detroit, who forbade their further approach, for the present, towards the place of meeting. Here they were met by a deputation from the Indian nations already assembled in council, who among other things asked them, if they were fully authorized by the United States to fix firmly on the Ohio river, as the boundary line between the white and red men. From the 1st to the 14th of August, the commissioners were detained at this place, by the intrigues of the British officers; in the meanwhile the Indians decided in the great council, that they would not treat upon any other terms than the settlement of the Ohio river as the boundary. To this the commissioners could not consent, the more especially as large purchases of land had been made, from the Indians, north of that river, upon which settlements had been made; and they returned without having been permitted even to meet the tribes in council.

If any doubt existed as to the duplicity of the Canadian authorities, in regard to this transaction, it would be removed by the testimony of Captain Brant, who played a conspicuous part in those councils. His biographer, Mr. Stone, among the many valuable documents, brought to light by his research, has published the following extract from a speech, which he found among the papers of Brant, in the handwriting of the chief:—"For several years" (after the peace of 1783,) "we were engaged in getting a confederacy formed, and the unanimity occasioned by these endeavours, among our western brethren, *enabled them to defeat two American armies.*

The war continued, without our brothers the English, giving any assistance, excepting *a little ammunition;* and they seeming to desire that a peace might be concluded, we tried to bring it about, at a time that the United States desired it very much, so that they sent commissioners from among their first people, to endeavour to make peace with the hostile Indians. We assembled also, for that purpose, at the Miami river, in the summer of 1793, intending to act as mediators in bringing about an honourable peace; and if that could not be obtained, we resolved to join our western brethren in trying the fortune of war. But to our surprise, when on the point of entering upon a treaty with the commissioners, *we found that it was opposed by those acting under the British government, and hopes of farther assistance were given to our western brethren,* to encourage them to insist on the Ohio as a boundary between them and the United States."—*Stone's Life of Brant,* vol. ii. page 358.

In all the intrigues of Canadian authorities with the Indians, Brant was the agent most frequently employed, and it was after a thorough investigation of the papers of that chief, and of a mass of documentary evidence furnished by his family, that Mr. Stone came to the conclusion, "that during the whole controversy between the Indians and the United States, from 1786 to the defeat of St. Clair, the former had been countenanced and encouraged by English agents, and repeatedly incited to actual hostilities, there was no doubt."

In the year 1794, Lord Dorchester, who is better known in American history by his former title of Sir Guy Carleton, delivered a speech to a number of Indian deputies, from the tribes within the United States, among whom was the celebrated Little Turtle; in which he held the following language:—

"Children:—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States, what was required by them; I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends."

"Children:—I have waited long and listened with great attention, but I have not heard a word from them."

"Children:—I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, *which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed,* would have been mended, or a new line drawn in an amicable manner. Here, also, I have been disappointed."

"Children:—Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the United States rush on, and act, and talk, on this side; and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors."

"Children:—You talk of selling your lands to the state of New York: I have told you that there is no line between them and us. I shall acknowledge no lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783. They then broke the peace, and as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours."

"Children:—They then destroyed their right of pre-emption. Therefore, all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them I consider an infringement on the King's rights. And when a line is drawn between us, be it in peace or war, they must lose all their improvements and houses on our side of it. Those people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the King's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will of course be secured and confirmed to them."

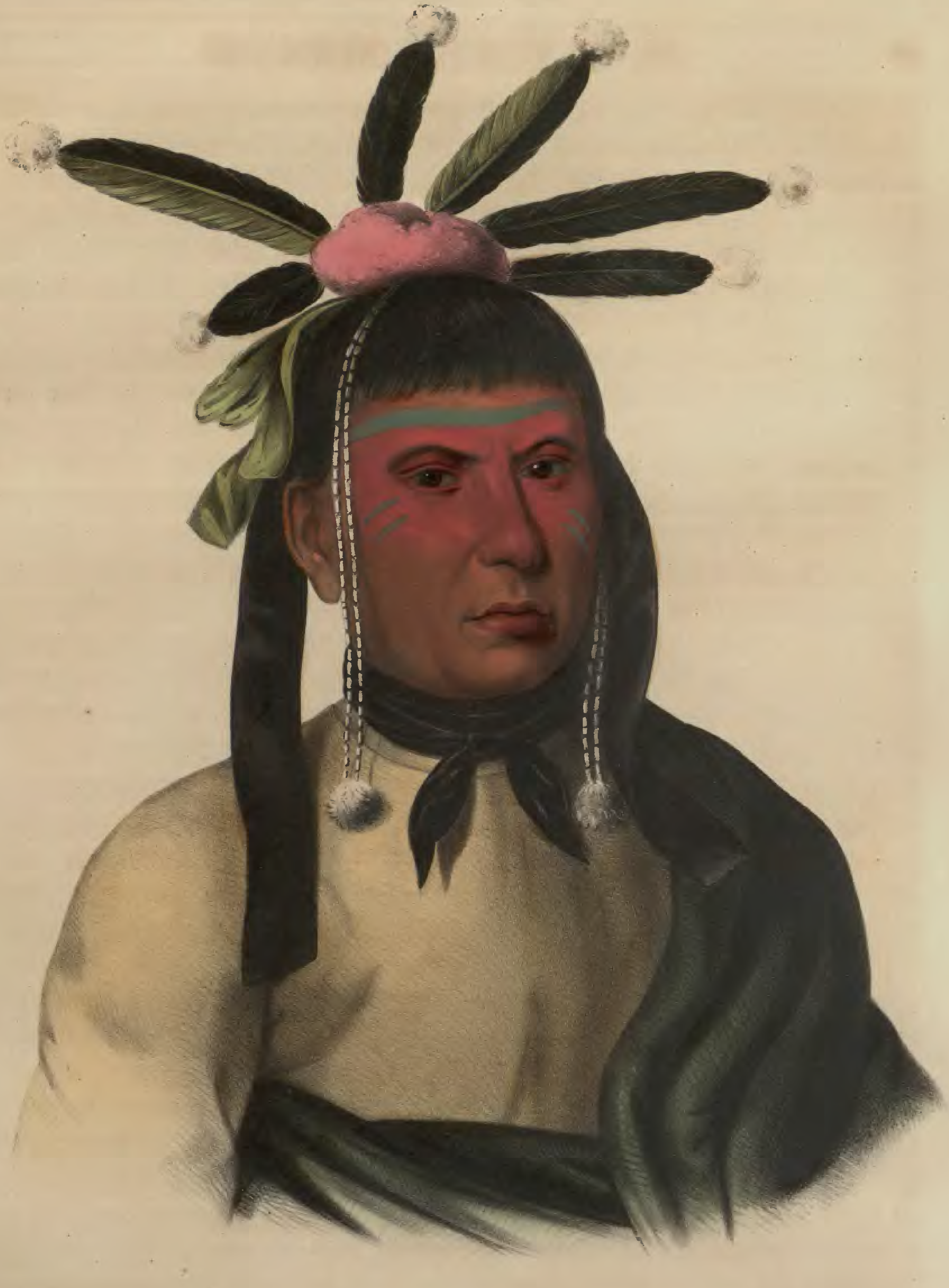
"Children:—What farther can I say to you? you are witnesses that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience. But I believe our patience is almost exhausted."

The authenticity of this remarkable speech was denied when it was first made public; but General Washington, then President of the United States, believed it to be genuine, and the Secretary of State remonstrated strongly with Mr. Hammond, the British minister, against it, and against the conduct of Governor Simcoe, who was engaged in hostile measures. The inquiry was evaded, and the authenticity of the speech remained somewhat doubtful. All doubt has been now removed by the successful research of Mr. Stone, who in collecting materials for the life of Brant, found a certified copy among the papers of that chief.

In 1794, Governor Simcoe, on hearing of the preparations for the campaign of the American army, under General Wayne, hastened to the west, as did also Brant, attended by one hundred and fifty of his best warriors—"evidently for the purpose of continuing in the exercise of an unfriendly influence upon the minds of the Indians against the United States. The governor was at the fort near the battle-field on the 30th of September, as also were Captain Brant and Colonel M'Kee. The Indians had already made some advances to General Wayne, toward a negotiation for peace; but their attention was diverted by Simcoe and Brant, who invited a council of the hostile nations to assemble at the mouth of the Detroit river, on the 10th of October. The invitation was accepted, as also was an invitation from General Wayne, who was met by a few of their chiefs; so that the wily savages were in fact sitting in two councils at once, balancing chances, and preparing to make peace only in the event of finding little further encouragement to fight."—*Stone's Brant*, vol. ii. page 392.

In the council of the 10th of October, Simcoe said to these ignorant and deluded creatures,—"I am still of opinion that the Ohio is your right and title. I have given orders to the commandant of Fort Miami to fire on the Americans, whenever they make their appearance again. I will go down to Quebec and lay your grievances before the great man. From thence they will be forwarded to the King your father. Next spring you will know the result of every thing, what you and I will do."

Nor did these unfortunate and criminal intrigues end here. The correspondence of the Territorial governors, Harrison of Indiana, Edwards of Illinois, and Howard of Missouri, with the war department, during several years immediately preceding



AMISKQUEW.

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the war of 1812, are replete with conclusive evidence of this inhuman and discreditable tampering with the savages. They give the circumstances, the names of some of the emissaries, and the details of their intrigues. Of the many causes of discontent, which have arisen between Great Britain and the United States, no one has contributed more to embitter the minds of the American people, than this—especially in the Western States, where citizens suffered severely from savage hostilities, caused chiefly, as they confidently maintain, by this malign influence.

Thus while our government endeavoured to throw the veil of oblivion over past irritations, and to establish with its red neighbours those friendly relations by which the best interests of both parties would have been promoted, the design was frustrated by the imprudence of a few of our citizens, and the unjustifiable intrigues of a foreign government. The consequence was, that our frontiers continued to be desolated by petty wars, of the most distressing character—wars, the miseries of which fell solely upon individuals, who were robbed, and tortured, and murdered, by those who professed to be the allies, and who were, in fact, the dependents and beneficiaries, of our own government.

Towards the year 1812, the Indians became more and more audacious. The expectation of a war between this country and Great Britain, the increased bribes and redoubled intrigues of that nation, and the prospect of gaining in her a powerful ally, gave new fuel to their hatred, and new vigour to their courage. At this period, the celebrated Tecumseh appeared upon the scene. He was called the Napoleon of the West; and so far as that title could be earned by genius, courage, perseverance, boldness of conception, and promptitude of action, it was fairly bestowed upon that distinguished savage.

Tecumseh was a remarkable man. He rose from obscurity to the command of a tribe, of which some of his family were distinguished members, but in which he had no hereditary claims to power or authority. He was by turns the orator, the warrior, and the politician; and in each of these capacities gave evidence of a high order of intellect, and an elevated tone of thought. As is often the case with superior minds, one master passion filled his heart, and gave to his whole life its character. This was hatred to the whites; and, like Hannibal, he had sworn that it should be perpetual. He entertained the vast project, of inducing the Indian tribes to unite in one great confederacy, to bury their feuds with each other, and to make common cause against the white men. He wished to extinguish all distinctions of tribe and language, and to combine the power and prejudices of all, in defence of the rights and possessions of the whole, as the Aboriginal occupants of the country. He maintained that the Great Spirit, in establishing between the white and red races the distinction of colour, intended to ordain a perpetual separation between them. He insisted that this country had been given to the Indian race; and while he recognised the right of each nation or tribe to the exclusive use of their hunting grounds, so long as they chose to possess them, he indignantly denied the power of any, to sell them. When the occupants of any tract of country removed from it, he considered it as reverting to the common stock, and free to any other Indians who might choose to settle upon it. The idea of selling land, he scouted as an absurdity. "Sell land!" he exclaimed on one occasion; "as well might you pretend to sell the air, and the water. The Great Spirit gave them all alike to us, the air for us to breathe, the water to drink, and the earth to live and to hunt upon —you may as well sell the one as the other!" He contended, therefore, that as the Indians had no right to cede any portion of their territory, all the cessions that had been made were void. In these views he was strengthened by the British officers, who found in him an able and apt coadjutor, and by their joint machinations the whole frontier was thrown into commotion. By their advice he insisted upon the Ohio river as the line of separation between the United States and the Indians, and refused to make peace upon any other terms than the solemn recognition of this as a *perpetual boundary.*

It was a part of the policy of this chief, to destroy entirely the influence of the whites, by discouraging their intercourse with the Indians. He deprecated the civilization of the latter, as a means of betraying them into the power of the white people, and he considered every kind of trade and intercourse between these parties as fraught with danger to the independence of the red men. He wished the latter to discard every thing, even the weapons, which had been introduced among them by the whites, and to subsist, as their ancestors had done, upon the products of their plains and forests, so that the inducement to traffic with the whites should be destroyed. He set the example, by abstaining entirely from the use of ardent spirits, and many other articles sold by the traders; he refused to speak the English language, and adhered as strictly as possible to the customs of his people.

It was with Tecumseh himself, that General Proctor, the commander of the British forces, made the disgraceful compact, at the commencement of the campaign of 1813, by which it was stipulated, that General Harrison, and all who had fought with him at Tippecanoe, should, if taken, be delivered up to the Indians, to be dealt with according to their usages. He was the terror and scourge of his foes, the uncompromising opposer of all attempts at civilizing the Indians, the brave, implacable, untiring enemy of our people. But he was a generous enemy. Previous to his time, the Shawanoese had been in the practice of torturing prisoners taken in battle. At the commencement of his career, probably after the first engagement in which he commanded, he rescued a prisoner from torture by his personal interference, and declared that he would never, upon any occasion, permit a captive to be cruelly treated. In this manly resolution he persevered, and greatly ameliorated the horrors of war, wherever he was present.

The character of Tecumseh was so marked and peculiar that it deserves from us at least a passing notice. He was remarkable for temperance and integrity, was hospitable, generous, and humane. One who knew him, said of him, "I know of no peculiarity about him that gained him popularity. His talents, rectitude of deportment, and friendly disposition, commanded the respect and regard of all about him. I consider him a very great, as well as a very good man, who, had he enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, would have done honour to any age or nation."

In the life of Tecumseh, by the late amiable and lamented Benjamin Drake, of Cincinnati, we find the following highly interesting anecdote. "The next action in which Tecumseh participated, and in which he manifested signal prowess, was an attack made by the Indians, upon some flat boats, descending the Ohio, above Limestone, now Maysville. The year in which it occurred is not stated, but Tecumseh was probably not more than sixteen or seventeen years of age. The boats were captured, and all the persons belonging to them killed, except one, who was taken prisoner, and afterwards burnt. Tecumseh was a silent spectator of the scene, having never witnessed the burning of a prisoner before. After it was over he expressed, in strong terms, his abhorrence of the act, and it was finally concluded by the party that they would never burn any more prisoners; and to this resolution, he himself, and the party also, it is believed, ever after scrupulously adhered. It is not less creditable to the humanity than to the genius of Tecumseh, that he should have taken this noble stand, and by the force and eloquence of his appeal, have brought his companions to the same resolution. He was then but a boy, yet he had the independence to attack a cherished custom of his tribe, and the power of argument to convince them, against all their preconceived notions of right, and the rules of their warfare, that the custom should be abolished. That his effort to put a stop to this cruel and revolting rite, was not prompted by a temporary expediency, but was the result of a humane disposition, and a right sense of justice, is abundantly shown by his conduct towards prisoners in after life." We may add, that not only did the friends of Tecumseh, and his nation abandon the practice of burning prisoners, but the Indians generally ceased from about this period to perpetrate this outrage, and it is reasonable to infer that he was the principal cause of the revolution.

The noble and magnanimous conduct of this chief, towards some Americans who were taken prisoners, at the sortie from Fort Meigs, in 1813, is worthy of record. These prisoners were taken to the headquarters of General Proctor, the British commander, and confined in Fort Miami, "where the Indians were permitted to amuse themselves by firing at the crowd, or at any particular individual. Those whose taste led them to inflict a more cruel and savage death, led their victims to the gateway, where, under the eye of General Proctor and his officers, they were coolly tomahawked and scalped. Upwards of twenty prisoners were thus, in the course of two hours, massacred in cold blood, by those to whom they had voluntarily surrendered."

"Whilst this bloodthirsty carnage was raging, a thundering voice was heard in the rear, in the Indian tongue, and Tecumseh was seen coming with all the rapidity with which his horse could carry him, until he drew near to where two Indians had an American, and were in the act of killing him. He sprang from his horse, caught one by the throat, and the other by the breast, and threw them to the ground; drawing his tomahawk and scalping knife, he ran in between the Americans and Indians, brandishing his arms, and daring any one of the hundreds that surrounded him, to attempt to murder another American. They all appeared confounded, and immediately desisted. His mind appeared rent with passion, and he exclaimed almost with tears in his eyes, "Oh! what will become of my Indians." He then demanded in an authoritative tone, where Proctor was; but casting his eye upon him at a short distance, sternly inquired why he had not put a stop to the inhuman massacre. "Sir, said Proctor, your Indians cannot be commanded." "Begone," returned Tecumseh, with the greatest disdain, "you are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats!"—*Drake's Life of Tecumseh*, p. 182.

"When Burns, the poet, was suddenly transferred from his plough in Ayrshire, to the polished circles of Edinburgh, his ease of manner, and nice observance of the rules of good breeding, excited much surprise, and became the theme of frequent conversation. The same thing has been remarked of Tecumseh; whether seated at the tables of General M'Arthur and Worthington, as he was during the council at Chillicothe, in 1807, or brought in contact with British officers of the highest grade, his manners were entirely free from vulgarity and coarseness: he was uniformly self-possessed, and with the tact and ease of deportment which marked the poet of the heart, and which are falsely supposed to be the result of civilization and refinement only, he readily accommodated himself to the novelties of his new position, and seemed more amused than annoyed by them."

"Rising above the prejudices and customs of his people, even when those prejudices and customs were tacitly sanctioned by the officers and agents of Great Britain, Tecumseh was never known to offer violence to prisoners, nor to permit it in others. So strong was his sense of honour, and so sensitive his feelings of humanity, on this point, that even frontier women and children, throughout the wide space in which his character was known, felt secure from the tomahawk of the hostile Indians, if Tecumseh was in the camp. A striking instance of this confidence is presented in the following anecdote. The British and Indians were encamped near the river Raisin; and while holding a talk within eighty or a hundred yards of Mrs. Ruland's house, some Sauks and Winnebagoes entered her dwelling and began to plunder it. She immediately sent her little daughter, eight or nine years old, requesting Tecumseh to come to her assistance. The child ran to the council house, and pulling Tecumseh, who was then speaking, by the skirt of his hunting shirt, said to him, 'come to our house—there are bad Indians there.' Without waiting to close his speech, the chief started for the house. On entering he was met by two or three Indians, dragging a trunk towards the door. He seized his tomahawk, and levelled one of them at a blow: they prepared for resistance, but no sooner did they hear the cry, 'Dogs! I am Tecumseh!' than, under the flash of his indignant eye, they fled from the house. 'And you,' said Tecumseh, turning to some British officers, 'are *worse* than dogs, to break your faith with prisoners.'"—*Drake's Life of Tecumseh.*

We have noticed these events, for the purpose of showing the obstacles which have embarrassed our government in all their schemes for extending the mild and moralizing influence of our Christian and republican principles throughout the western forests. With the conclusion of the war in 1815 our wars with the Indians ceased. The brilliant exploits of our navy, and the signal victories gained by our armies at New Orleans, at the river Thames, on the Niagara, and at Plattsburgh, convinced the British of the futility of their hopes of conquest on this continent, and spread an universal panic among the tribes. The eyes of the latter were opened to our power, as they had been to our forbearance. They saw that they had nothing to hope from our weakness, or our fears, and much to gain from our friendship. Their foreign confederates had made peace for themselves, leaving them no alternative but to follow the example. They had either to submit, or, by contending single-handed against the victorious troops who had defeated their martial allies, draw down inevitable destruction on their own heads. At this juncture, the American government again held out the olive branch. The enlightened Madison, ever pacific in his public character, as he was amiable and philanthropic in private life, spared no pains to heal the unhappy wounds which had been inflicted upon the mutual peace; and his successors, by pursuing the same policy, have given permanence to a system of amicable relations between us and our misguided neighbours.

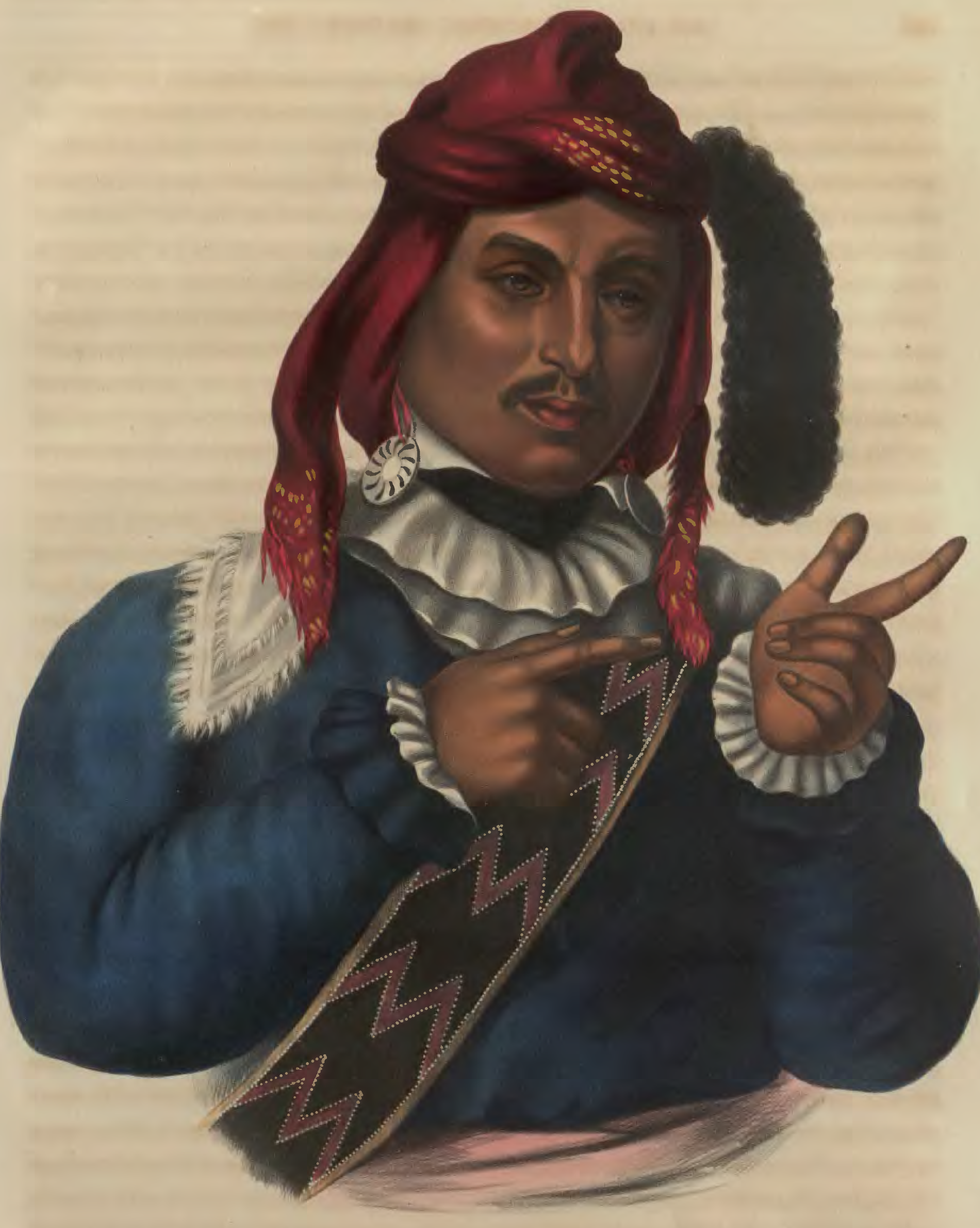
Although we believe our system of relations with the Indian tribes to be radically wrong, and to be productive of great wrong to them, we have been careful to state distinctly that the intentions of our government, and the feeling of the American people towards that unfortunate race, have been always benevolent, forbearing, and magnanimous. We deem this position sufficiently important to be deserving of proof, and in evidence of the professions and intentions of our government, from its commencement, we quote the following extracts from the communications of the respective Presidents to Congress.

We come now to consider briefly the precise character of the relations of the American government and people, with the Indian tribes. We have shown that those relations were shaped by the mother country, and modified, first by the colonial policy, and afterwards by the intrigues of foreign nations. It became necessary therefore, for our government to soothe past irritations, and remove long settled prejudices, before a system of amicable intercourse could be established; and to this beneficent work has her attention been steadily directed. But we shall show, that with the very best intentions towards the Aborigines, our government has not only failed to accomplish its benevolent purposes towards them, but has in fact done much positive wrong to them, and to ourselves; and reflecting men cannot but perceive the ruinous tendency of the policy now pursued, and the absolute necessity of a speedy and radical change.

The existence, within our territorial limits, of tribes acknowledged to be independent, involves in itself a paradox; while the details of our negotiations with them, and of our legislation with respect to them, are full of the strangest contradictions. We acknowledge them to be sovereign nations, yet we forbid them to make war with each other; we admit their title to their lands, their unlimited power over them while they remain theirs, and their full possession of the rights of self-government within them; yet we restrain them from selling those lands to any but ourselves; we treat with them as with free states, yet we plant our agents and our military posts among them, and make laws which operate within their territory. In our numerous treaties with them, we acknowledge them to be free, both as nations and as individuals; yet we claim the power to punish in our courts, aggressions committed within their boundaries, denying to them a concurrent jurisdiction, and forbidding them from adjudicating in their councils and according to their customs, upon the rights of our citizens, and from vindicating the privileges of their own. We make distinctions, not merely in effect, but in terms, between the white man and the Indian, of the most degrading character; and at the moment when our commissioners are negotiating solemn leagues with their chiefs, involving the most important interests, pledging to them the faith of our government, and accepting from them similar pledges, we reject those same chiefs if offered as witnesses in our courts, as persons destitute of truth—as creatures too ignorant to understand, or too degraded to practise, the ordinary rules of rectitude. In many of the states, negroes, mulattoes, and Indians are by law declared to be incompetent witnesses against a white man. Whatever necessity the institution of slavery may impose as regards the negro and mulatto, there is no reason for this stigma upon the Indian, and we apprehend that a case could hardly occur, in which the ends of justice would not be advanced by submitting the credibility of such a witness to the jury.

This simple exposition of a few of the leading features of our intercourse with the Indians, must satisfy every rational mind that so unnatural a state of things cannot be lasting; that any system of relations founded upon such principles, must be unjust, unprofitable, and temporary; and that although in the infancy of our government it might have been excusable in us to adopt such a policy towards our savage neighbours, as their barbarities or our weakness might have forced upon us, it becomes us now, as a great and enlightened people, to devise a system more consistent with our national dignity, and better adapted to advance the interests of the respective parties.

To ascertain the exact position of the parties in respect to each other, we shall call the attention of the reader to a few of the treaties and laws which regulate the subject matter, confining ourselves chiefly to those which have been made most recently. Our present system of Indian relations, although commenced under the administration of General Washington, has been chiefly built up since the last war between the United States and Great Britain. The treaties have been so numerous, that it is impossible, in a work like this, to enter into their details, or to do more than to refer in a compendious manner to their leading features. We shall adopt



JTCHO-TUSTINNUGGEE.

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this plan as sufficient for our purpose. The following propositions, then, will be found to contain the leading principles of this anomalous diplomacy, and to have obtained admission into our treaties with nearly all the tribes:—

1. The United States have almost invariably given presents, in money, arms, clothing, farming implements, and trinkets, upon the negotiation of a treaty; and in treaties for the purchase of territory, we pay an equivalent for the lands, in money or merchandise, or both, which payment is generally made in the form of annuities, limited or perpetual.

2. When a tribe cedes the territory on which they reside, other territory is specified for their future occupancy, and the United States guarantee to them the title and peaceable possession thereof.

3. The Indians acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the American government, and of no other power whatsoever.

4. They engage not to make war with each other, or with any foreign power, without the consent of the United States.

5. They agree to sell their lands only to the United States. Our citizens are prohibited by law from taking grants of land from the Indians; and any transfer or cession made by them, except to our government, would be considered void.

6. White men found hunting on the Indian lands, may be apprehended by them, and delivered up to the nearest agent of the United States.

7. White men are not to trade with the Indians, nor reside in their country without license from our authorities.

8. An Indian who commits a murder upon a white man, is to be delivered up to be tried and punished under our laws; stolen property is to be returned, or the tribe to be accountable for its value.

9. The United States *claims the right* of navigation, on all navigable rivers which pass through an Indian territory.

10. The tribes agree that they will at all times allow to traders, and other persons travelling through their country, under the authority of the United States, a free and safe passage for themselves and their property; and that for such passage, they shall at no time, and on no account whatever, be subject to any toll or exaction.

11. Should any tribe of Indians, or other power, meditate a war against the United States, or threaten any hostile act, and the same shall come to the knowledge of a tribe in amity with the United States, the latter shall give notice thereof to the nearest governor of a state, or officer commanding the troops of the United States.

12. No tribe in amity with the United States shall supply arms or ammunition, or any warlike aid, implements, or munition, to a tribe not in amity with us.

The following special articles have been assented to by particular tribes, and have been inserted in treaties with some other tribes, so as to prevail to a considerable extent:—

"The United States *demand an acknowledgement* of the right to establish military posts and trading houses, and to open roads within the territory guaranteed to the

Creek nation in the second article, and the right to the navigation of all its waters." —*Treaty of August* 9, 1814.

"The Shawanoe nation do acknowledge the United States to be sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty of peace made between them and the King of Great Britain, on the 14th January, 1786."

"It is agreed on the part of the Cherokees, that the United States shall have the sole and absolute right to regulate their trade."—*Treaty of 2d July*, 1791.

"Fifty-four tracts of one mile square each, of the land ceded by this treaty, shall be laid off under the direction of the President of the United States, and sold, for the purpose of raising a fund, to be applied for the support of schools for the education of the Osage children."—*Treaty of 2d June*, 1825.

"The United States agree to furnish at Clarke, for the use of the Osage nation, a blacksmith and tools to mend their arms, and utensils of husbandry, and engage to build them a horsemill or watermill; also to furnish them with ploughs," &c.—*Ibid.*

"The United States, immediately after the ratification of this convention, shall cause to be furnished to the Kansas nation, 300 head of cattle, 300 hogs, 500 domestic fowls, three yoke of oxen and two carts, with such implements of husbandry as the superintendent of Indian affairs may think necessary; and shall employ such persons to aid and instruct them in agriculture as the President of the United States may deem expedient; and shall provide and support a blacksmith."—*Treaty of 3d June*, 1825.

"Thirty-six sections of good land on Big Blue river, shall be laid out under the direction of the President of the United States, and sold for the purpose of raising a fund to be applied, under the direction of the President, to the education of the Kansas children within their nation."—*Ibid.*

"The Tetons, Yanctons, and Yanctonies, and bands of the Sioux, admit the right of the United States to regulate their trade."—*Treaty of 2d June*, 1825.

If we turn to the statute books, for the purpose of showing the spirit of our legislation in regard to the Indian tribes, it will be seen that the leading *intention* of those laws, as expressed on their face, is just and benevolent. Whatever mistakes our government may have committed, and however their beneficence may have been misdirected, it could never have been their purpose to oppress a people towards whom they have used language, such as we find in the several acts of Congress, relating to the Indians, and of which the following expressions are specimens:— "For the purpose of *providing against the further decline, and final extinction* of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them *the habits and arts of civilization*," &c. "In order *to promote the civilization* of the friendly Indians, and to secure the continuance of their friendship," &c. The third article of an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, passed in 1787, runs as follows:—"Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall for ever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but *laws founded in justice and humanity*, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

These are noble sentiments; and they represent truly the feelings of the great body of the American people towards the Aborigines, and the principles by which the intercourse with the Indian tribes was intended to be governed. We shall, when we come to inquire what have been the *results* of our intercourse with those tribes, and whether those results have realized the wishes of the American people, and the intentions of the government, refer to these extracts as expressing those wishes and intentions.

We shall not detail at large the statutory provisions to which we intend to refer, but will content ourselves with such a synopsis as will answer our purpose. Our Indian affairs are conducted by several superintendents, and a number of agents and sub-agents, who are required to reside within their respective agencies, and through whom the government conducts all its negotiations with the tribes, except when special trusts are committed to military officers, or to commissioners appointed for the occasion. We regulate the trade with them by statute, rigorously prohibiting all ingress into their country, by our citizens, or by foreigners, and all traffic, except by special license from our authorities. An Indian who kills a white man, or a white man who slays an Indian, are alike tried by our laws, and in our courts, even though the offence may have been committed in the Indian territory. Larceny, robbery, trespass, or other offence, committed by white men against the Indians, in the country of the latter, is punishable in our courts, and where the offender is unable to make restitution, the just value of the property taken or destroyed is paid by our government; if a similar aggression is committed by an Indian against a white man, the tribe is held responsible. The President is authorized to furnish to the tribes, schoolmasters, artisans, teachers of husbandry and the mechanic arts, tools, implements of agriculture, domestic animals; and generally to exert his influence to introduce the habits and arts of social life among them.

Although we have omitted a great many provisions similar to those which we have quoted, we believe that we have not passed over any thing that is necessary to a fair exposition of the principles of our negotiations with the Indians, and our legislation over them. It will be seen that we have never claimed the right, nor avowed the intention to extirpate this unhappy race, to strip them of their property, or to deprive them of those natural rights, which we have, in our Declaration of Independence, emphatically termed *indefeasible*. On the contrary, our declared purpose, repeatedly and solemnly avowed, has been to secure their friendship—to civilize them—to give them the habits and arts of social life—to elevate their character, and increase their happiness.

If it be asked, to what extent these objects have been attained, the answer must be appalling to every friend of humanity. It is so seldom that the energies of a powerful government have been steadily directed to the accomplishment of a benevolent design, that we cannot, without deep regret, behold the exertion of such rare beneficence defeated of its purpose. Yet it is most certainly true, that notwithstanding all our professions, and our great expenditure of labour and money, the Indians, so far from advancing one step in civilization and happiness, so far from improving in their condition, or rising in the scale of moral being, are every day sinking lower in misery and barbarism. The virtues which they cherished in their aboriginal state, have been blunted by their intercourse with the whites, and they have acquired vices which were unknown to their simple progenitors. We take no account here of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, a portion of whom present an exception to the great body of the Indians. We speak of the wandering tribes—of the Indians at large, who continue to reject the arts and habits of social life, who fear and despise the white man, and tenaciously adhere to all the ferocious customs and miserable expedients of savage life. If we have failed to soften their rude natures, to enlighten their understandings, or to imbue their minds with any of our principles of moral action, equally have we failed to secure their friendship. We have tamed them into submission by displays of our power, or brought them into subservience with our money, but we have not gained their love or their confidence.

Nor is this all. Our system is not only inefficient, but it is positively mischievous. Its direct tendency is to retard the civilization of the Indian. We have stripped their nations of freedom, sovereignty, and independence. We claim the right to regulate their trade, to navigate their rivers, to have ingress into their country; we forbid all intercourse with them, except by special license from our authorities; we try them in our courts for offences committed in their country, and we do not acknowledge the existence of any tribunal among them, having authority to inflict a penalty on one of our citizens. They are subjected to the restraints, without enjoying the privileges, the protection, or the moral influence, of our laws. Theirs is, therefore, a state of subjection—of mere vassalage—precisely that state which has always been found to destroy the energies, and degrade the character, of a people.

But, as if by a refinement of cruelty, similar to that which decks a victim in costly robes, and surrounds him with pleasing objects of sense, at the moment of execution, we leave them in the *nominal* possession of independence, and in the possession of all their long cherished and idolized customs, prejudices, and superstitions. They are kept separate from us, and their own national pride naturally co-operates with our injudicious policy, to keep them for ever a distinct, an alien, and a hostile people. They gain nothing by the example of our industry, the precepts of our religion, the influence of our laws, our arts, our institutions, for they see or feel nothing of the salutary operation of all these, and only know them in their terrors or their restraints. They are a subjected people, governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice, and enjoying none of the privileges pertaining to the citizens of the nation which rules them. They obey their own laws and customs, so far as these do not conflict with our convenience; and are left without law, so far as our interference is concerned, except where our interest induces us to stretch over them the arm of authority. By giving them presents and annuities, we support them in idleness, and cherish their wandering and unsettled habits. We bribe them into discontent, by teaching them that every public convention held for the settlement of misunderstandings, is to bring them valuable tributes; while the same cause trains them to duplicity, and induces them to exercise all their ingenuity in seeking out causes of offence, and in compounding their grievances to the best advantage. These are the accidental, and unintentional, but unavoidable effects of a system, which is radically wrong, though devised and maintained in the spirit of benevolence.

If all this is faulty in principle, it is still worse in practice. The Indian department has already become one of the most expensive branches of our government. Our foreign relations are scarcely more costly than our negotiations with the tribes. If the vast sums which are annually laid out in this manner were productive of any permanent good to the Indians, no patriot or Christian would regret the expenditure. But when we see our treasure squandered with a lavish hand, not only without any good effect, but with great positive injury to the miserable race, whom we have reduced to the state of dependence upon our bounty, it is time to pause. When we examine further, and see how large a portion of these vast sums are intercepted before they reach the hand of the red man—how much is expended in sustaining military posts, paying agents, transporting merchandise, holding treaties, and keeping in operation, in various ways, a vast, complicated, and useless machinery—when we reflect how much is unavoidably lost, squandered, and misapplied, the question assumes a fearful importance.

The British government, when attempting to subdue the ferocious spirit of the Scottish Highlanders, and to allure them to the arts of peace, prohibited them from wearing the national dress, and from carrying arms, and used its influence to destroy the influence of the chieftains, and to eradicate the use of the Gaelic language; because all these things tended to foster the pride of descent, to cherish ancient recollections, and to keep the clans separate from the rest of the nation, and from each other.

Our government has pursued a policy directly the reverse. We are continually administering nourishment to the prejudices of the Indians, and keeping alive the distinctions that separate them from us. They are constantly reminded of their nominal independence by the embassies which are sent to them, and by the ridiculous mock pageantry exhibited on such occasions; when our commissioners, instead of exerting the moral influence of example, comply with all their customs, imitate the style of their eloquence, and even flatter them for the possession of the very propensities which distinguish them as savages. So far from endeavouring to abolish the distinction of dress, we furnish them annually with immense quantities of trinkets, cloths, and blankets, made expressly for their use, and differing essentially from any thing that is worn, or even sold, in our country. Wagon loads of the most childish trinkets, and the most ridiculous toys, are annually sent as presents from this great and benevolent nation, to its red allies, as assurances of the very profound respect, and tender affection, with which they are regarded by the American people. Immense sums of money are also given them as annuities—money which to the savage is perfectly valueless, and which is immediately transferred to the trader, in exchange for whiskey, tobacco, gunpowder, looking-glasses, tin bracelets, and ornaments for the nose.

The idea of elevating the character of the Indian and softening down his asperities, by pampering his indolence, and administering to his vanity, is supremely ridiculous. The march of mind will never penetrate into our forests by the beat of the drum, nor will civilization be transmitted in bales of scarlet cloth and glass beads. This, however, is the natural effect of treating with the Indians in their own country, and carrying our trade to their doors, where we are in some measure obliged to comply with their customs, and all our dealings with them must be carried on by men who are not amenable to our laws, nor surrounded by the salutary restraints of public sentiment. If, on the contrary, the Indians were obliged to resort to our towns to supply their wants, and to trade with regular dealers; and if all their negotiations with our officers were to be conducted within the boundaries of our organized governments, where the controlling influence of our laws and power should be distinctly recognised, they would not only be better treated, but would be brought into contact with the most intelligent and benevolent of our citizens, and imbibe more correct notions of us and our institutions.

There are other evils in our existing system of Indian relations, which are inseparable from it, and which imperiously indicate the necessity of an entire change.

One fruitful cause of injustice to the Indians, lies deep in the habits and interests of our people, and may be difficult to eradicate; but it is one of grave importance, and is so involved with the public peace and the national honour, as to demand the most serious attention. The thirst for new lands is an all-absorbing passion, among the inhabitants of the frontier states, and its operation upon the Indians has been most calamitous. Although living in a country which is still comparatively new, embracing everywhere large tracts of wild land, their wandering and enterprising habits lead them continually abroad, in search of newer and fresher lands. Whenever a boundary is settled between our territory and the Indian lands, the enterprise of our people carries the population up to the line, while the red men, shy of such neighbours, retire from the boundary, leaving a wide space of wilderness between themselves and the settlements. A class of pioneers who subsist by hunting and rearing cattle, intrude upon the lands thus left unoccupied, and establish upon them their temporary dwellings. Careless in regard to the ownership of the soil they occupy, seeking new and fresh pastures where their herds may roam at large, and forests stocked with game, they pay little regard to boundary lines or titles. Others, prompted by more sordid and deliberate purposes of wrong, and looking forward to the ultimate purchase of such territory by the United States, traverse it with the view of selecting the choice parcels, under the expectation that Congress will grant the right of pre-emption to actual settlers, and under the belief that at all events, their prior claims by occupancy will be respected by common consent, when the country shall be brought into market.

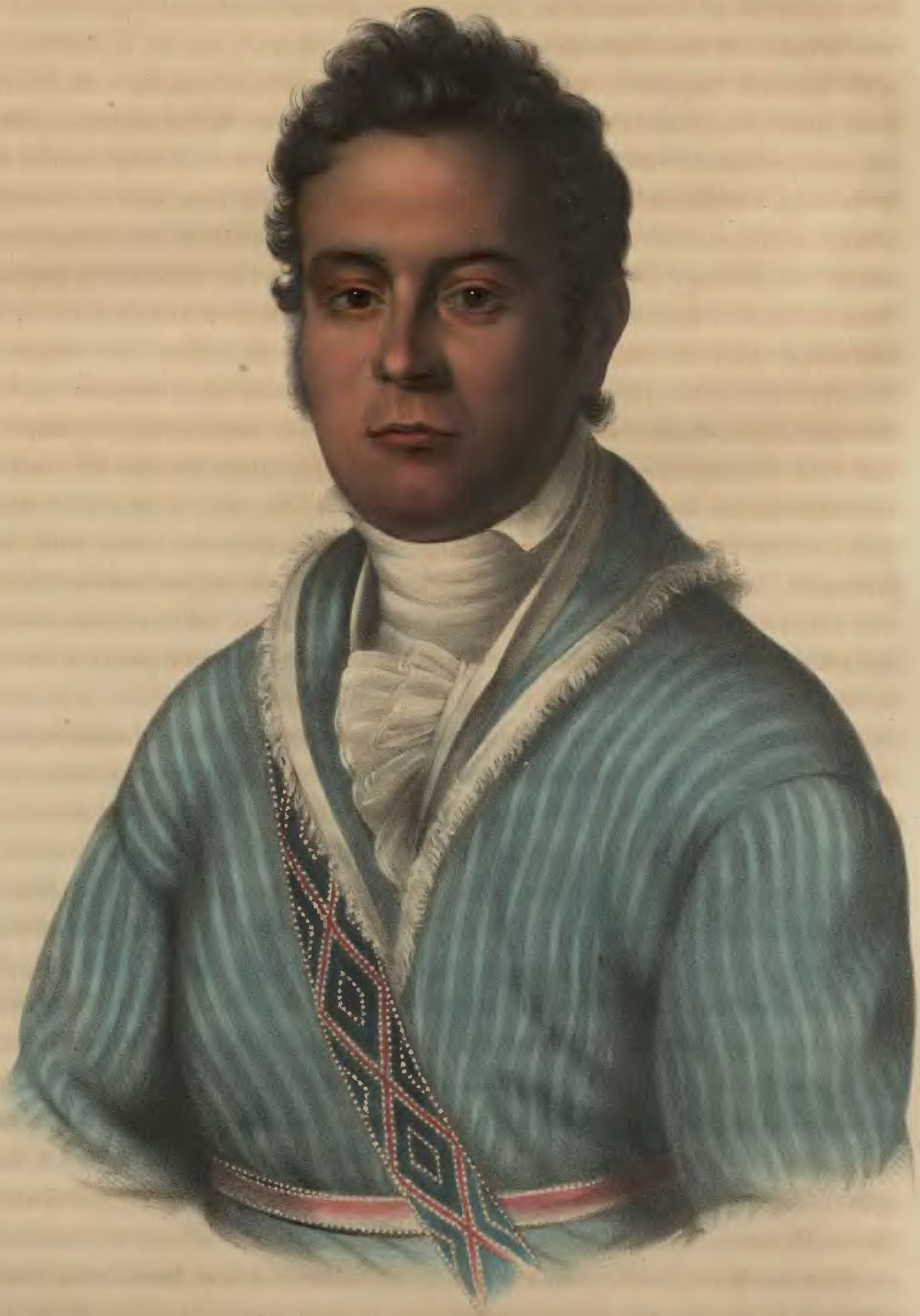
Although these intrusions are in contravention of treaties with the Indians, and against the laws of the United States, they are of frequent occurrence, and are made the basis of urgent *claims* upon the government. Collisions occur between the intruders and the natives, most usually provoked by the artful designs of the offending parties, to accelerate the expulsion of the rightful possessors of the country. The Indians are insulted and provoked, and when such injuries are resented, however tardily, and with whatever stinted measure of retaliation, a loud outcry is raised against the savages; clamorous petitions are sent to the government, setting forth the hostile disposition of the Indians, the terrors of border warfare, and the danger of the unprotected settlers; and insisting upon the immediate purchase of the territory, and the removal of the Indians to other hunting grounds. But one party is heard at Washington; and its bold assertions, being uncontradicted, are believed. A treaty is ordered to be held, which is equivalent to saying to the red man, that it is the will of the American people that they should remove the lodges further to the west.

The Indians, thus urged, and soured by antecedent provocation, demand an exorbitant price; but the emergency admits of no delay, and the territory is purchased on their own terms. The scene which ensues fully discloses the moving springs of the operation. No sooner is the land brought into market, than Congress is called upon to grant *pre-emption rights* to *actual settlers.* True, these actual settlers are obviously intruders, violators of law, having certainly no title to a preference over other citizens; but their case is so stated as to make them appear a meritorious class, and their *claims* are urged with zealous pertinacity. The nation is made to ring with the merits and sufferings of the hardy men, who have marched in the van of civilization, braving the Indian and the beast of prey; and much is said of the injustice of permitting others to purchase *the farms* of this meritorious class. Pre-emption rights are granted, and the violators of the law are secured in the fruits of their aggression. And who are the gainers by a transaction commencing in bad faith to the Indian, compromitting the justice and the honour of the nation, and ending in rewarding our own citizens for breaking our laws? When the pre-emptions come to be entered at the land offices, the larger portion of them are found to be in the hands of a few sagacious speculators, whose hands may be traced throughout the whole of this iniquitous proceeding, and who amass fortunes. And it not unfrequently happens, that before the whole of this scheme can be compassed a war must be fought—a war fraught with indescribable horrors, with domestic misery, personal sacrifice, vast loss of life, and immense expense to the public.

It is an unfortunate consequence also, inseparable from this kind of intercourse, that it gives employment to a numerous body of unofficial and irresponsible agents. At all the treaties with the Indians, especially those held for the purchase of land, a number of white men are found present, who by some means or other have acquired influence with the tribes, or with particular chiefs. They are usually traders or interpreters, who have lived long enough among the Indians to have become familiar with their language and customs, and personally acquainted with the individuals composing the tribe. A part of these men usually advocate the treaty as proposed by the government, while others again oppose it, and both are exceedingly assiduous in making converts among the chiefs and influential braves. The first party are those who have been convinced by the arguments of the speculators; the others are those who are still open to conviction. What arguments are used to gain their suffrages, we are not able from personal observation to state: but the fact is, that in the end the treaty is usually made as proposed.

In the public councils, in which the Indians transact their business, the chiefs and head men, who are the ostensible actors, are merely the exponents of the public will. The tribe is a pure democracy, in which every individual has a right to vote, and in which the individuals are in fact consulted. It is singular, that under such circumstances, the deliberations of an Indian council are always harmonious, and the decision almost invariably unanimous. These results are attributable in part to the decorum which pervades these assemblages, in which a speaker is never interrupted, nor contradicted, and where no one speaks without previous careful preparation. But another reason for the harmonious operation of the council is, that the business is mostly adjusted out of doors. The leading men consult their respective followers separately, confer with each other, and agree on measures before going into council; so that the speeches uttered there, are rather intended for effect or to announce conclusions already formed, than to persuade or convince the audience.

This mode of proceeding affords great advantages to those who tamper with the leading men, who are easily approached by means of bribes, or warped by insidious appeals to their passions or prejudices. Some inference may be drawn as to the character of the appliances used in this diplomacy, from the procedure which is not unusual on occasions of this kind. When they first assemble, the greater number of the chiefs are commonly opposed to the cession of their lands. They sit in council with solemn and forbidding countenances, and are taciturn and inaccessible: one after another, occasionally expressing his aversion to the proposed transfer, in brief, sententious, and pithy remarks, in which the rapacity of the white man, the



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wrongs of the Indians, and their veneration for the bones of their ancestors, form the leading topics. Presently, during a recess of the council, one of these leaders receives a present of a gun, or a pair of pistols, from some individual, which he receives with apparent indifference, hinting at the same time that there are other articles, which he names, of which he stands in equal need; which of course are added, until the wily savage professes to be satisfied, that perhaps, after all, it would be best for his people to agree to the treaty. The same process is repeated in regard to others, including the common Indians, and not forgetting the women and children, until good humour is diffused throughout the assemblage. After this the harangues are delivered, which sometimes appear in print, and finally an unanimous result is obtained. We do not aver that these practices obtain now, or that they are sanctioned by the commissioners who represent the government; but we assert that such means have been effectually employed in some instances, and that they are unavoidable under the present system of relations between the white and red men. The government does not, and cannot control the intercourse, while a numerous band of mercenary men, not responsible to it, are permitted to influence the savage mind, and while no effectual restraint is imposed upon the fell spirit of speculation, which first intrudes on the lands of the Indian, and then institutes a series of intrigues to dispossess the savage of the soil, and defraud the government of the price, by means of grants and pre-emptions.

As we have asserted that the policy of our government, and the intentions of the American people towards the Indians, have been uniformly just and benevolent, we shall conclude our remarks on this branch of the subject, by quoting a few passages from the official communications of the several Presidents to Congress, which will show conclusively the tone of public feeling towards that race, and must satisfy the most sceptical, that whatever mistakes may have been made, and whatever wrong the Aborigines may have suffered, no deliberate purpose to oppress or injure them has ever been entertained by the government or people.

From President Washington's Address to Congress, of November 6, 1792.

"You will, I am persuaded, learn with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours towards effecting a pacification have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous proofs of persevering hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquillity to the frontier, to stop the farther effusion of blood, to arrest the progress of expense, to forward the prevalent wish of the nation for peace, has led to strenuous efforts, through various channels, to accomplish these desirable purposes; in making which efforts, I consulted less my own anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than the wish to find the object attainable, or if not attainable, to ascertain unequivocally that such was the case." * * *

"I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provisions for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier, and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians, without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory. To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood. If, in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable." * * *

"When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed, that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States."

From President Adams's Address to Congress, of November 23, 1797.

"In connection with this unpleasant state of things on our western frontier, it is proper for me to mention the attempts of foreign agents to alienate the affections of the Indian nations, and to excite them to actual hostilities against the United States. Great activity has been exerted, by those persons who have insinuated themselves among the Indian tribes residing within the territory of the United States, to influence them to transfer their affections and force to a foreign nation, to form them into a confederacy, and prepare them for a war against the United States. Although measures have been taken to counteract these infractions of our rights, to prevent Indian hostilities, and to preserve entire their attachment to the United States, it is my duty to observe, that to give a better effect to these measures, and to obviate the consequences of a repetition of such practices, a law, providing adequate punishment for such offences, may be necessary."

From President Jefferson's Message of January 28, 1803.

"These people are becoming very sensible of the baneful effects produced on their morals, their health, and existence, by the abuse of ardent spirits, and some of them earnestly desire a prohibition of that article from being carried among them. The legislature will consider whether the effectuating that desire would not be in the spirit of benevolence and liberality which they have hitherto practised towards these our neighbours, and which has had so happy an effect towards conciliating their friendship. It has been found too, in experience, that the same abuse gives frequent rise to incidents tending much to commit our peace with the Indians."

From President Jefferson's Message of October 17, 1803.

"The friendly tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, with which we have never had a difference, reduced by the wars and wants of savage life, to a few individuals unable to defend themselves against the neighbouring tribes, has transferred its country to the United States, reserving only for its members what is sufficient to maintain them in an agricultural way. The considerations stipulated are, that we shall extend to them our patronage and protection, and give them certain annual aids, in money, in implements of agriculture, and other articles of their choice. * * *

"With many other of the Indian tribes, improvements in agriculture and household manufacture are advancing, and with all our peace and friendship are established, on grounds much firmer than heretofore. The measure adopted of establishing trading houses among them, and in furnishing them necessaries in exchange for their commodities at such moderate prices as to leave no gain, but cover us from loss, has the most conciliatory and useful effect upon them, and is that which will best secure their peace and good will."

Extract from President Jefferson's Message of November 8, 1804.

"By pursuing an uniform course of justice towards them," the Indians, "by aiding them in all the improvements which can better their condition, and especially by establishing a commerce on terms which shall be advantageous to them, and only not losing to us, and so regulated as that no incendiaries of our own, or any other nation, may be permitted to disturb the natural effects of our just and friendly offices, we may render ourselves so necessary to their comfort and prosperity, that the protection of our citizens from their disorderly members, will become their interest and their voluntary care. Instead, therefore, of an augmentation of military force, proportioned to our extent of frontier, I proposed a moderate enlargement of the capital employed in that commerce, as a more effectual, economical, and humane instrument for preserving peace and good neighbourhood with them."

Extract from President Jefferson's Message of November 8, 1808.

"With our Indian neighbours the public peace has been steadily maintained. Some instances of individual wrong have as at other times taken place, but in no wise implicating the will of the nation. Beyond the Mississippi, the Ioways, the Sacs, and the Alabamas, have delivered up for trial and punishment, individuals from among themselves, accused of murdering citizens of the United States. On this side of the Mississippi, the Creeks are exerting themselves to arrest offenders of the same kind; the Choctaws have manifested their readiness and desire for amicable and just arrangements respecting depredations committed by disorderly persons of their tribe. And generally, from a conviction that we consider them as part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily, is extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them."

Extract from President Madison's Message of December 7, 1813.

"The cruelty of the enemy in enlisting the savages into a war with a nation desirous of mutual emulation in mitigating its calamities, has not been confined to any one quarter. Wherever they could be turned against us, no exertions to effect it have been spared. On our southwestern border, the Creek tribes, who yielding to our persevering endeavours were gradually acquiring more civilized habits, became the unfortunate victims of seduction. A war in that quarter has been the consequence, infuriated by a bloody fanaticism, recently propagated among them. It was necessary to crush such a war before it could spread among the contiguous tribes, and before it could favour enterprises of the enemy into that vicinity. With this view, a force was called into the service of the United States from the states of Georgia and Tennessee, which, with the nearest regular troops, and other corps from the Mississippi territory, might not only chastise the savages into present peace, but make a lasting impression on their fears."

"The systematic perseverance of the enemy in courting the aid of the savages on all quarters, had the natural effect of kindling their ordinary propensity to war into a passion, which, even among those best disposed towards the United States, was ready, if not employed on our side, to be turned against us. A departure from our protracted forbearance to accept the services tendered by them, has thus been forced upon us. But in yielding to it, the retaliation has been mitigated as much as possible, both in its extent and in its character, stopping far short of the example of the enemy, who owe the advantages they have occasionally gained in battle chiefly to the number of their savage associates; and who have not controlled them either from their usual practice of indiscriminate massacre on defenceless inhabitants, or from scenes of carnage without a parallel, on prisoners to the British arms, guarded by all the laws of humanity and of honourable war. For these enormities the enemy are equally responsible, whether with the power to prevent them they want the will, or with the knowledge of a want of power they still avail themselves of such instruments."

Extract from President Madison's Message of December 3, 1816.

"The Indian tribes within our limits appear also disposed to remain at peace. From several of them purchases of lands have been made, particularly favourable to the wishes and security of our frontier settlements, as well as to the general interests of the nation. In some instances the titles, though not supported by due proof, and clashing those of one tribe with the claims of another, have been extinguished by double purchases, the benevolent policy of the United States preferring the augmented expense to the hazard of doing injustice, or to the enforcement of justice against a feeble and untutored people by means involving or threatening an effusion of blood. I am happy to add, that the tranquillity which has been restored among the tribes themselves, as well as between them and our own population, will favour the resumption of the work of civilization which has made an encouraging progress among some tribes, and that the facility is increasing for extending that divided and individual ownership, which exists now in movable property only, to the soil itself; and of thus establishing, in the culture and improvement of it, the true foundation for a transit from the habits of the savage to the arts and comforts of social life."

Extract from President Monroe's Message, December 2, 1817.

"From several of the Indian tribes inhabiting the country bordering on Lake Erie, purchases have been made of lands on conditions very favourable to the United States, and it is presumed not less so to the tribes themselves.

"By these purchases the Indian title, with moderate reservations, has been extinguished to the whole of the land within the state of Ohio, and to a great part of that of Michigan territory, and of the state of Indiana. From the Cherokee tribe a tract has been purchased in the state of Georgia, &c. &c. * * *

"By these acquisitions, and others that may reasonably be expected soon to follow, we shall be enabled to extend our settlements from the inhabited parts of the state of Ohio, along Lake Erie, into the Michigan territory, and to connect our settlements by degrees, through the state of Indiana and the Illinois territory, to that of Missouri. A similar and equally advantageous effect will soon be produced to the south, through the whole extent of the states and territory which border on the waters emptying into the Mississippi and Mobile. In this progress, which the rights of nature demand and nothing can prevent, marking a growth rapid and gigantic, it is our duty to make new efforts for the preservation, improvement, and civilization of the native inhabitants. The hunter state can exist only in the vast uncultivated desert. It yields to the more dense and compact form, and greater force of civilized population; and of right it ought to yield, for the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest number of which it is capable, and no tribe or people have a right to withhold from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort. It is gratifying to know that the reservation of land made by the treaties with the tribes on Lake Erie, were made with a view to individual ownership among them, and to the cultivation of the soil by all, and that an annual stipend has been pledged to supply their other wants.

"It will merit the consideration of Congress, whether other provision not stipulated by the treaty ought to be made for these tribes, and for the advancement of the liberal and humane policy of the United States toward all the tribes within our limits, and more particularly for their improvement in the arts of civilized life."

Extract from President Monroe's Message, November 17, 1818.

"With a view to the security of our inland frontiers it has been thought expedient to establish strong posts at the mouth of the Yellowstone river, and at the Mandan village on the Missouri, and at the mouth of St. Peter's on the Mississippi, at no great distance from our northern boundaries. It can hardly be presumed, while such posts are maintained in the rear of the Indian tribes, that they will venture to attack our peaceable inhabitants. A strong hope is entertained that this measure will likewise be productive of much good to the tribes themselves; especially in promoting the great object of their civilization. Experience has clearly demonstrated that independent savage communities cannot long exist within the limits of a civilized population. The progress of the latter has almost invariably terminated in the extinction of the former, especially of the tribes belonging to our portion of this hemisphere, among whom loftiness of sentiment and gallantry in action have been conspicuous. To civilize them, and even to prevent their extinction, it seems to be indispensable that their independence as communities should cease, and that the control of the United States over them should be complete and undisputed. The hunter state will then be more easily abandoned, and recourse will be had to the acquisition and culture of land, and to other pursuits tending to dissolve the ties which connect them together as a savage community, and to give a new character to every individual. I present this subject to the consideration of Congress, on the presumption that it may be found expedient and practicable to adopt some benevolent provisions, having these objects in view, relative to the tribes within our settlements."

Extract from President Monroe's Message, November 14, 1820.

"With the Indians peace has been preserved, and a progress made in carrying into effect the act of Congress, making an appropriation for their civilization, with a prospect of favourable results. As connected equally with both these objects, our trade with those tribes is thought to merit the attention of Congress. In their original state, game is their sustenance and war their occupation, and if they find no employment from civilized powers they destroy each other. Left to themselves, their extirpation is inevitable. By a judicious regulation of our trade with them, we supply their wants, administer to their comforts, and gradually, as the game retires, draw them to us. By maintaining posts far in the interior, we acquire a more thorough and direct control over them, without which it is confidently believed that a complete change in their manners can never be accomplished. By such posts, aided by a proper regulation of our trade with them, and a judicious civil administration over them, to be provided for by law, we shall, it is presumed, be enabled not only to protect our own settlements from their savage incursions, and to preserve peace among the several tribes, but accomplish also the great purpose of their civilization."

Extract from the Message of President Adams, of December 2, 1828.

"The attention of Congress is particularly invited to that part of the report of the Secretary of War, which concerns the existing system of our relations with the

Indian tribes. At the establishment of the Federal government under the present constitution of the United States, the principle was adopted of considering them as foreign and independent powers, and also as proprietors of the land. They were moreover considered as savages, whom it was our policy and our duty to use our influence in converting to Christianity, and in bringing within the pale of civilization.

"As independent powers we negotiated with them by treaties; as proprietors we purchased from them all the lands which we could prevail upon them to sell; as brethren of the human race rude and ignorant, we endeavoured to bring them to the knowledge of religion and letters. The ultimate design was to incorporate in our own institutions that portion of them which could be converted to the state of civilization. In the practice of European states, before our revolution, they had been considered as children to be governed; as tenants at discretion, to be dispossessed as occasion might require; as hunters, to be indemnified by trifling concessions for removal from the ground upon which their game was extirpated. In changing the system, it would seem as if a full contemplation of the consequences of the change had not been taken. We have been far more successful in the acquisition of their lands than in imparting to them the principles, or inspiring them with the spirit of civilization. But in appropriating to ourselves their hunting grounds, we have brought upon ourselves the obligation of providing for their subsistence; and when we have had the rare good fortune of teaching them the arts of civilization, and the doctrines of Christianity, we have unexpectedly found them forming in the midst of ourselves communities claiming to be independent of ours, and rivals of sovereignty within the territories of the members of the Union. This state of things requires that a remedy should be provided; a remedy which, while it shall do justice to these unfortunate children of nature, may secure to the members of our confederation their rights of sovereignty, and of soil."

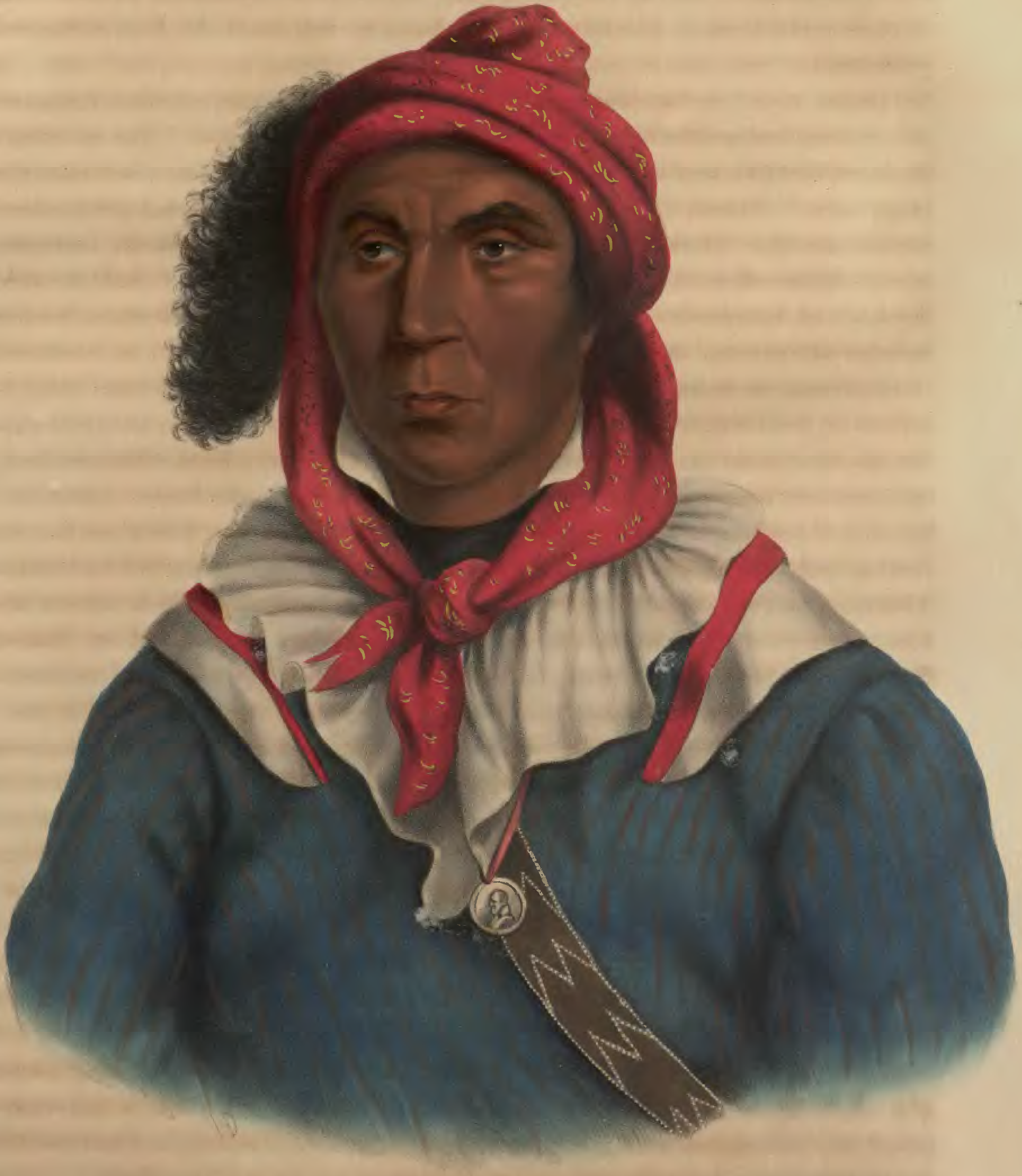
Extract from President Jackson's Message of December 8, 1829.

"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, however, 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 farther into the wilderness. By this means they have not only been kept in a wandering state, but 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 farther and farther to the west, have retained their savage habits. A portion, however, of the southern tribes, having mingled much with the whites, and 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.

"Under these circumstances, the question presented was, whether the general government had a right to sustain those people in their pretensions? The constitution declares, that "no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state," without the consent of its legislature. If the general government is not permitted to tolerate the erection of a confederate state within the territory of one of the members of this Union, against her consent, much less could it allow a foreign and independent government to establish itself there. Georgia became a member of the confederacy which eventuated in our federal union, as a sovereign state, always asserting her claim to certain limits, which, having been originally defined in her colonial charter, and subsequently recognised in the treaty of peace, she has ever since continued to enjoy, except as they have been circumscribed by her own voluntary transfer of a portion of her territory to the United States, in the articles of cession of 1802. Alabama was admitted into the Union on the same footing with the original states, with boundaries which were prescribed by Congress. There is no constitutional, conventional, or legal provision, which allows them less power over the Indians within their borders, than is possessed by Maine or New York. Would the people of Maine permit the Penobscot tribe to erect an independent government within their state? and unless they did, would it not be the duty of the general government to support them in resisting such a measure? Would the people of New York permit each remnant of the Six Nations within her borders, to declare itself an independent people under the protection of the United States? Could the Indians establish a separate republic on each of their reservations in Ohio? and if they were so disposed, would it be the duty of this government to protect them in the attempt? If the principle involved in the obvious answer to these questions be abandoned, it will follow that the objects of this government are reversed; and that it has become a part of its duty to aid in destroying the states which it was established to protect.

"Actuated by this view of the subject, I informed the Indians inhabiting parts of Alabama and Georgia, that their attempt to establish an independent government would not be countenanced by the executive of the United States, and advised them to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, or submit to the laws of those states.

"Our conduct toward these people is deeply interesting to our national character. Their present condition, contrasted with what they once were, makes a most 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 left 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



JULCEE-MATHLA.

A SEMINOLE CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY DANIEL RICE & JAMES G. CLARK, PHILADA.
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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 the new states whose limits they could control. That step cannot be retracted. A state cannot be dismembered by Congress, or restricted 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 this 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 return for their obedience as individuals, they will, without doubt, be protected in the enjoyment of those possessions which they have improved by their industry. But it seems to me visionary to suppose that, in this state of things, claims can be allowed on tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain or passed them in the chase. Submitting to the laws of the states, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, they will ere long become merged in the mass of our population."

Extract from President Jackson's Message of December 7, 1830.

"Humanity has often wept over the fate of the Aborigines of this country, and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it. But its progress has never for a moment been arrested; and, one by one, have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race, and to tread on the graves of extinct nations, excites melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes, as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the West, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated, or has disappeared, to make room for the existing savage tribes. Nor is there any thing in this, which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages, to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms; embellished with all the improvements which art can devise, or industry execute; occupied by more than twelve millions of happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion.

"The present policy of the government is but a continuation of the same progressive change, by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the eastern states, were annihilated, or have melted away, to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward; and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the south and west by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged, and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers: but what do they more than our ancestors did, or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land, our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children, by thousands yearly leave the land of their birth, to seek new homes in distant regions. Does humanity weep at these painful separations from every thing, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds, and almost thousands of miles, at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new homes, from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this government, when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home, to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions? If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude."

AN ESSAY
ON THE
HISTORY
OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY

JAMES HALL.

PART THIRD.

WHEN any reflecting man is asked, what it is that constitutes the difference between the American people and the subjects of an European despotism, and what is the cause of that prosperity which has carried forward our country with such rapid strides in her march to greatness? he refers at once to the character of the people as resulting from the institutions of a republican government. Their enterprise, industry, intelligence, temperance, and republican simplicity, and the equality of rights secured to them in their social compact, are the elements of their respectability as individuals, and their greatness as a people. Our systems of public instruction, our varied means for the diffusion of knowledge, our religious toleration, and freedom from civil burthens, all tend to ameliorate and refine the character, to stimulate the enterprise, and awaken the latent energies of the people. Do we extend these rights and advantages to the Indian, or impart to him the virtues and the comforts of the civilized man? In the pageantry of the councils which are held with their chiefs, do we display that simplicity which marks our intercourse with each other? Do we inculcate frugality by presenting them with loads of gaudy finery? Do we teach self-dependence, industry, and thrift, by supplying their necessities, and encouraging their idle habits? Do we, by any systematic exertion, present to them the example of our virtues, and offer them inducements to cultivate peace, industry, and the arts?

The replies which must necessarily be given to these questions lead inevitably to the conclusion, that we have grossly oppressed this people, or unpardonably neglected our duty towards them.

If it be inquired, what remedy can be applied to this enormous and growing evil?—we reply, that the question is one, to our minds, of easy solution. We do not believe that the all-wise Creator has doomed a race of men to a merely sensual existence. We cannot be persuaded that human beings, gifted with intellectual faculties, are destined to live and to perish like brutes, without any knowledge of the hand that created them, without any perception of a responsibility for their actions as rational beings, without any cultivation of the mind or conscience. It is altogether possible that to the different races parts have been assigned, upon the great theatre of human action, of greater or less dignity; but we cannot believe that any have been excluded from the practice and the benefits of that wide scheme of benevolence which seeks the happiness of the whole human family. We have seen no authentic version of the golden rule, to which any exception is attached. The command *to love one another*, would scarcely have been given in such broad language, if those to whom it was given were to be brought into contact and familiar intercourse with another race, who could neither excite that love, nor bear its infusion into their own bosoms. In other words, we think the Indians have souls; and that our duty towards them is plainly pointed out by the relations in which we stand placed towards them. If they are our dependents, we should govern them as dependents; if they are our equals, we should admit them to an equality of rights; if they are properly subject to the operation of our laws, we should break down the barrier which separates them from us, bring them at once into the bosom of the republic, and extend to them the benefits, immunities, and privileges that we enjoy ourselves. If it be objected that they are independent nations, and that we cannot in good faith destroy their national character, as we should do by imposing our laws and civilization upon them against their will; it will be necessary, before we advance any further in our argument, to examine whether the fact be so, that these tribes are independent, and to ascertain the sort of national existence which they have held.

With regard to as many of the Indian tribes as have, by solemn treaty, placed themselves under our protection, given us the right to regulate their trade, navigate their rivers, traverse their country, and punish their people in our courts, and agreed to admit no white man of any nation into their territory without our license, there seems to be little room for discussion. Sovereign nations they are not, for they have parted with all the highest attributes of sovereignty. They have placed their destinies at our disposal for good or for evil, and whether it be for evil or good depends on the fidelity with which we shall discharge the trust. It is too late now to inquire into the validity of those transactions, or the policy which dictated them. We have accepted the trust, and are bound in good faith to exercise it in a spirit of justice and philanthropy. And if we refer to our own legislation it will be seen, that this is not confined to those tribes which have by treaty submitted themselves to our jurisdiction. The general phrases "Indian" and "Indian territory" extend the operation of those laws to all the country lying west of our settlements, and to all the tribes and individuals within that region. With what propriety can we now pause to inquire into our right of sovereignty over these tribes, when we have already exercised that sovereignty to the full extent that our own safety or interest required? If to protect or aggrandize ourselves we have assumed jurisdiction, without a qualm of conscience, shall we become squeamish when called upon to exercise the same power for the benefit of the Indian? The question is not now to be decided whether we shall extinguish the independence of the Indians, because that point has long since been settled, and we have, by purchase or conquest, acquired full sovereignty. Passing over the treaties to which we have referred, and which speak for themselves, we shall proceed to show that we have, in various ways, asserted an absolute and unlimited power over these tribes. To avoid repetition, we shall pass over the statutes above referred to, and shall proceed to notice some other assumptions of sovereignty on our part.

It will be recollected that the European governments have, from the first, exerted the right to parcel out among themselves the newly-discovered territories of savage nations, assuming the principle, that a horde of savages roaming over a wilderness, for the purpose of hunting, did not acquire that sort of property in the lands which should exclude their occupancy by a permanent population. Our Government has been more tender towards the savage in its construction of his rights, and has always acknowledged a qualified property in him, of which he could not be dispossessed without an equivalent. But the policy of the government has always looked to the settlement and cultivation of all the lands within our boundaries, and the removal or civilization of the Indians, and we have steadily made our arrangements with a view to these ends, without consulting the Aborigines, or doubting the justice of our course.

In the year 1783, Virginia ceded to the United States all her right, title, and claim, as well of soil as of jurisdiction, to that region which was afterwards called the Northwestern Territory, the whole of which was occupied by the Indians, except a few spots inhabited by the French. The condition of this grant was, that the territory so ceded should "be laid out and formed into States," "and that the states so formed shall be distinct republican states, and admitted members of the Federal Union," &c. To this treaty the Indian tribes were not parties, and of course seem not to have been recognised as having any political or civil rights. They were in full possession, and had manifested no intention either to sell the lands or abandon the country; yet the territory was ceded, and conditions made in regard to its future occupancy, without any reference to the actual condition or supposed wishes of the Indians. Virginia by ceding, and the United States by accepting, both "soil and jurisdiction," and both parties by providing for the erection of republican states in this country, deny all right of sovereignty in the Aborigines as effectually as if they had done so by express words.

Afterwards, and before any of this country was purchased from the Indians, an ordinance was passed by Congress for its government; and although it is provided in this act that the Indians shall be protected in their "property, rights, and liberty," this provision is not broader than that made in favour of the French inhabitants of the same country in the deed of cession, and it only extends to *the people* of that territory the same "indefeasible" rights which appertain to every citizen of the United States. The terms used apply to the Indians, in their individual, not in their national capacity; and the very passing of such a law is an assumption of sovereignty, which excludes the idea of any power existing in the Indians to protect their own rights, property, and liberty.

Chief Justice Marshall, in his opinion given in the celebrated case of Worcester *v.* The State of Georgia, says, "The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil, from time immemorial, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power, which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate than the first discoverer of the coast of the particular region claimed; and this was a restriction which those European potentates imposed on themselves, as well as on the Indians." In another part of the same opinion, he defines the relation existing between the United States and an Indian tribe, as "that of a nation claiming and receiving the protection of one more powerful; not that of individuals abandoning their national character, and submitting as subjects to the laws of a master."

From this high authority we are not disposed to dissent, nor is it necessary to do so. In ascertaining the legal position of the Indian nations, the Supreme Court were guided by the treaties, charters, and other public documents, by which the character of those nations was formally recognised. That they are independent and sovereign in name, and outward seeming, and that they are treated with by our government as distinct nations, we admit. Our argument is, that, while they are so legally and nominally independent and sovereign, they have in fact been stripped of every national attribute, and that it is a mere mockery to continue to them the shadow, when we have taken from them the substance.

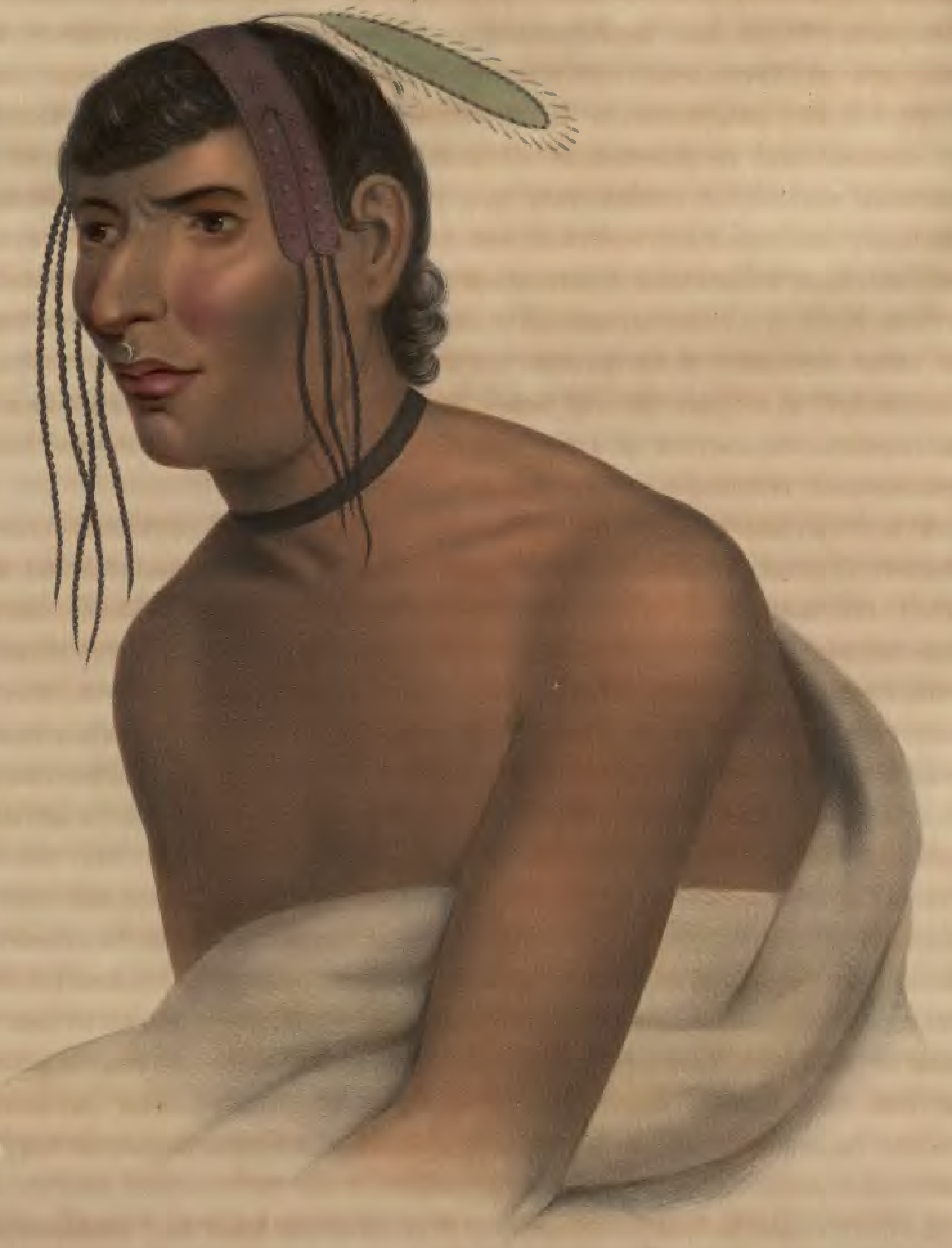
The country beyond the Mississippi is of vast importance to the American people. It forms the western boundary of our population, and is inhabited by hordes of savages, who, from having been our equals, our enemies, our allies, the scourge and terror of our borders, are sinking fast into a state of imbecile dependence, which must soon render them the mere objects of our compassion. Already their rights have become so questionable, as to divide the opinions of our best and wisest men. Not that any are so bold as to deny that they have *any* rights. Far be it from us, at least, to hint that such a thought is seriously entertained. Their claims upon us are high and sacred; but, unfortunately for us and for them, they have become so complicated as to be undefined, and almost undefinable. How shall we ascertain the political rights of those who have never acknowledged any international law, whose station is not fixed by the code of empires, who have no place in the family of nations? How estimate the civil condition of those whose government is, if we may so express it, a systematic anarchy, in which no maxim either of religion, morality, or law, is admitted to be fundamental, no right is sacred from the hand of violence, no personal protection insured, but to strength and valour? What are the obligations of religion, justice, or benevolence, towards those who acknowledge neither the one nor the other, in the sense in which we understand these terms? How shall we deal with a people, between whom and ourselves there is no community of language, thought, or custom; no reciprocity of obligations; no common standard by which to estimate our relative interests, claims, and duties? These are questions of such difficult solution, that they will at last be decided not by reason but by power, as the Gordian knot was severed by the sword of the conqueror.

We apprehend, however, that the agitation of some of these questions would be rather curious than useful. It can be of little benefit to the Indian, at this day, to inquire what have been the rights that he has forfeited by his own misconduct and the selfish interference of pretended friends,—lost by misconception, or surrendered to the hand of violence. We cannot now place him in the situation in which our ancestors found him, but must deal with him according to the circumstances by which he is surrounded. And the question now is, what, in the present condition of the Indian, is our duty to him, and to ourselves? what policy, consistent with the interest and dignity of the American people, would be best calculated to save from utter destruction the remnant of the Aboriginal tribes, and elevate them to the condition of a civilized race? We say, what policy *consistent with our own interests*, because, in the exertion of our own benevolence, towards a comparatively small number of savages, we are not to overlook the welfare of a numerous civilized population, and the great interests of humanity and religion, which are now inseparably connected with the consideration of this subject.

In the first place, we cannot believe that the mere fact, that a wandering horde of savages are in the habit of traversing a particular tract of country in pursuit of game, gives to them the ownership and jurisdiction of the soil as sovereign nations. In order to sustain such a claim, it should be shown that they have, at least, definite boundaries, permanent institutions, and the power to protect themselves, and enforce their laws. These are some of the attributes of nations. To make a *nation* there must be a *government*—a bond of union by which the individual character shall, for civil and social purposes, be merged in that of the body politic; and there must be a power somewhere, either in the rulers or the people, to make and enforce laws. Other nations must be satisfied that there is a *permanent authority*, which has the right to represent, and the power to bind such a community, by treaty. They must be satisfied, that there is a legal or a moral power sufficiently strong to enforce the obligations of justice, and that there is some judicial mode of investigating facts, determining questions of right, and settling principles. There must be some known principles of political and moral action, observed alike by the people and their rulers, which shall govern their intercourse with foreigners, and render it safe and certain. A body of men, merely associated together for present security and convenience, is by no means a nation. Between such a body, and a great empire in the full exercise of all the attributes of sovereign power, there may be several grades of the social compact. States may be dependent or independent, free or tributary; the people may govern themselves, or they may acknowledge a master; the state may be well governed and prosperous, or it may be corrupt and insignificant. But between *a government* and *no government* there is but one line. There is a clear distinction between a state and a mere collection of individuals: the latter, whatever may be their separate personal rights, cannot have collectively any political existence; and any nation, within whose limits or upon whose borders they may happen to be, has a clear right to extend its authority over them, having regard always to the rights of other nations. It is necessary, for the commmon advantage and security of mankind, that all men should belong to some government; and those who neglect to organize themselves into regular civil communities, must expect that existing governments will impose their laws upon them.

It is very clear that the North American Indians have, at this time, no regularly organized governments. Even the subdivision of tribes is doubtful and fluctuating. They are separated into smaller, or gathered into larger bodies, as their own convenience, or the caprice of a chief may dictate. An intelligent and warlike leader may amalgamate many of these clans together, or a war may force them to unite; but when the cause which binds them together ceases, or when rival warriors contend for the ascendency, they separate, or form other combinations. In the Narrative of Long's Second Expedition, we find that the Ducotahs are divided into *fifteen* tribes, and the writer observes, "almost every traveller, who has visited the Ducotahs, has given a different enumeration of their divisions, some reckoning but *seven*, while others admit as many as *twenty-one* tribes." Again, he remarks, "These form *two* great divisions, which have been distinguished by traders into the names *Gens du Lac* and *Gens du Large*—those who live by the lake, and those who roam over the prairies." In this instance, it would be difficult to ascertain what individuals or tribes could be classed together as a nation, and the claim of any portion to be classed together, as a body politic, would, in the technical phrase of lawyers, *be bad for uncertainty*.

John Tanner, to whose interesting Narrative we have had occasion more than once to refer, was the son of an American citizen residing in Kentucky, and was taken prisoner when a child by the Ojibway or Chippeway Indians. He was adopted into an Indian family, was reared in their habits, and had lived among them for thirty years, when he was found by the gentlemen engaged in the expedition under Long, and prevailed upon to furnish a narrative of his adventures for publication. The work is compiled with great care, and may be relied upon as authentic. Tanner not only lived with the Indians, but hunted and travelled extensively among the tribes who inhabit the shores of the upper lakes; yet he does



JACK-O-PA.

A CHIPPEWA CHIEF.

PUBLISHED BY DANIEL RICE & JAMES G. CLARK, PHILAD^A.
Drawn, Printed & Coloured at the Lithographic & Print Colouring Establishment № 94 Walnut St. Philad^a
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not, in his whole Narrative, refer to any thing like a government. He does not mention the name of a ruling chief, nor does he detail a single instance of the exertion of sovereign authority. In all his troubles—and he had many—when robbed, abused, and exposed to violence in various forms, he sought no protection from a chief; there was no law, no ruler, no power, that could stay the hand of the oppressor, or give relief to the injured party. It is very clear that there is no government among a people thus situated. There are divisions into *tribes*, it is true, but these are large families rather than nations, for the distinctions are those of blood, not of country or government. There are *bands* formed for occasional purposes, which are dispersed whenever the necessity ceases which brought them together. Tanner himself never acknowledged any superior, nor considered himself as belonging to any particular body, though he called himself an Ojibway. Among his tribe were many leaders. A man who became distinguished as a warrior, or hunter, was resorted to by others, who became his followers; to secure the temporary advantages of the protection afforded by numbers, remained with him as long as he was successful, and dispersed whenever he experienced a reverse, or whenever game grew scarce. These combinations seldom last more than one season; and the same chief, who now commands a hundred warriors, revels in the spoils of his enemies, is wealthy in dogs and horses, and patriarchal in the number of his wives and dependents, will perhaps spend his next year in hunting, at some solitary spot, by himself, or be wandering about at the head of a little band, composed of his own relatives. In the next great war or hunting party, he may be first, second, or third in rank, or have no rank, just as it happens. Speaking of one of their large war parties, Mr. Tanner says, "On this occasion men were assembled from a vast extent of country, of dissimilar feelings and dialects, and of the whole *fourteen hundred* not one who would acknowledge any authority superior to his own will. It is true that ordinarily they yield a certain deference, and a degree of obedience, to the chief each may have undertaken to follow; but this obedience in most instances continues no longer than the will of the chief corresponds entirely with the inclinations of those he heads."

This may be said to be an extreme case. The northern hordes, inhabiting a sterile country and inhospitable climate, suffer greatly for want of food, and are necessarily scattered in small parties over a wide region. They are reduced by the circumstances surrounding them to the lowest grade of wretchedness, and of course exhibit the savage life in its most unfavourable aspect. But it is not materially different in Florida, so far as respects the question of government. In our late negotiations and wars with the Seminoles, we found a people answering to a common name, and enlisted in a common cause; but there was no central authority, nor any ruling chief, but a collection of independent bands, who acted separately or in union, as circumstances dictated.

The largest of our savage nations, the Osages and Pawnees, are those in whom the savage state is seen to the greatest advantage. The fertility of the country over which they roam, the mildness of the climate, and especially the abundance of food afforded by the immense herds of buffalo, combine to raise these people above the hardships which assail the more northern tribes, and enable them to live together in larger bodies. They are a more active and more cheerful people, have more of the comforts of life, and are under infinitely better discipline, but it is only *discipline*, mere martial law, and not civil government.

These nations, like the Dacotahs, are divided into bands, some of which seem to be wholly independent of the original stock—such as the Pawnee Loups, the Republican Pawnees, &c., which are bands that separated from the Grand Pawnees; and the Little Osages, who are a branch of the Great Osages. During the last war between the United States and Great Britain, a portion of the Saukies, then residing at Rock Island on the Mississippi, being unwilling to unite with the majority of the nation in making war upon the United States, removed to a point on the Missouri river. Here they have remained ever since; the separation between the two parts of the nation has become final, yet both retain the original name. These frequent divisions add to the other proofs of the absence of a binding or permanent organization among the Indians.

The Osages have a tradition that they came originally from the East. They were for many years at war with the Missouries, who were a powerful nation, and by whom they were gradually driven to the West,—first to the Mississippi, where they remained some time, and then to the Missouri. The Missouries settled and built villages on the Mississippi. When Charlevoix, who was sent on a tour of discovery by the French government, came through this region, he stopped for a short time among the Missouries, and made them presents of guns, ammunition, and knives, with which they were not acquainted before that time. Thus armed, they renewed their attacks upon the Osages, who had intrenched themselves within a fortification of logs and mud. The report and the effects of the firearms, now witnessed by the Osages for the first time, struck a panic into them, and, believing that the Great Spirit had put his thunder into the hands of their enemies, they fled. Proceeding up the river, they came to the stream which has since borne their name, the Osage river, where they halted; while the Missouries had the honour of giving their name to the Great River of the West, upon whose banks they settled. The Osages, at that time, numbered about three thousand warriors, but there were dissensions among them, arising out of discussions of the question where they should become permanently settled. In this state of things, some of the chiefs, with a small number of followers, went back to the Missouries, with whom they made peace—the conditions being, that they should settle in adjacent villages, and defend each other in case of war. How long they remained there does not appear; but they eventually rejoined the main body of the nation, with whom they are now united, though as a separate band, called the Little Osages. Since then other bands have separated from the Great Osages, who are known as the Omahas, the Kansas, and the Arkansas—indeed the Osages consider their nation as the original stock of nearly all the tribes between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains.

These separations occur from various causes—sometimes from quarrels among the chiefs, but more frequently from the scarcity of game, which induces large hunting parties to detach themselves from the main body of the nation, and wander off to distant places in search of game. It is a curious, but well-attested fact, evincing the evanescent nature of an unwritten language, that when a part of a tribe is thus separated for a few years from the remainder, they become distinguished by a peculiar dialect. Each party adopts new words, and forgets some of those in use; so that, with a rapidity almost incredible, a dissimilarity of tongue ensues between those who have but recently sprung from the same stock.

Much has been said and written of the attachment of the Indians to their hunting-grounds, to the places of their nativity, and the bones of their ancestors. The sympathy of the American people has often been invoked in relation to the alleged cruelty of all attempts to promote their civilization, by removing them to new homes, where they could be protected from the encroachment of the whites. The cruelty, of course, consists in the violence done to their local attachments; for, unless the preference for a particular spot be very strong and deeply rooted, it would seem that all places would be pretty much alike to the mere roamer of the wilderness.

We suppose that on this subject there has been much mistake and exaggeration. The Indians have a great regard for the *bones* of their ancestors, but we are not aware that this feeling extends to the *places* where those bones are deposited. As with all pagans, the want of a rational belief in the immortality of the soul, induces the affection for deceased objects to attach to the inanimate remains, instead of following the spirit to its eternal abode. But that superstitious feeling attaches itself only to those relics; it is much akin to the awe which the ignorant among ourselves feel for dead bodies and places of burial, and has no assimilation nor connection with the love of country, or with any sentiment of regard for past generations.

There is no reason why the Indian should have strong local attachments, nor have we any satisfactory evidence of the existence of that feeling. He has no permanent habitation, and does not dwell at any spot sufficiently long to become attached to it by habit, or by mere familiarity with the surrounding objects. His whole life is spent in wandering; and if, for several successive years, he returns at intervals to one place, which thus becomes a kind of permanent encampment, and is called a town, it is only because of some convenience connected with the locality, which is abandoned whenever a stronger attraction is presented at some other spot. The whole plain of the Mississippi abounds in the deserted sites of Indian towns, and in the evidences of this erratic mode of life. And why should the savage become attached to the place of his abode? He builds no house, erects nothing, plants nothing, which would afford present comfort, or remain as a memorial of his existence. There is nothing to which either the pride or the convenience of ownership can be attached. The idea of real estate is unknown to him; there is no rood of ground to which he ever attaches the idea of possession, past, present, or prospective. There is no monument which appeals to his pride, or his affections, or calls up any associations connected with the past. He inherits nothing but the arms or clothing of his ancestors, and leaves nothing to his children which is not equally perishable. The Swiss peasant, however poor, dwells in a hut which has braved the elements for centuries; the village church is hallowed by the recollections of childhood; the moss-covered walls in the neighbourhood have their legends, which have become familiar from frequent repetition; the mountain side, though bleak and sterile, is marked with paths trodden by successive generations: these, and a thousand other memorials, have impressed themselves upon the heart and the memory, and become the landmarks of home and country. The path of the Indian is like that of the mariner upon the ocean,—his footsteps leave no print behind them. Instead of a religion, he has a superstition, which never appeals to the heart, nor awakens any of the sensibilities of his nature; his god has no visible altar, neither a temple consecrated to holy purposes, nor a hallowed spot in the bosom of the domestic circle.

That the Indians have not strong local attachments, is as demonstrable from their history, as it is clearly deducible from their character. They have always been a restless, wandering people. The savage is erratic from the very nature of his life: the nomadic state affords no scope for the cultivation of the affections; and whenever the savage is restrained from wandering, he becomes, more or less, a civilized man, as water becomes clear in a state of rest. The roaming from place to place, the want of a home, the absence of property, the habit of invading without scruple the lands of others—these are the most pregnant causes of the state of barbarism, as well as the most obvious proofs of the absence of the sort of attachment alluded to.

The Shawanoe nation, when first known to the whites, were a numerous and warlike people of Georgia and South Carolina. After the lapse of a very few years, they abandoned, or were driven from that region, and are found in the southwestern part of the Ohio valley, giving their beautiful name to the river, which, by the bad tâste of the Americans, has acquired the hackneyed name of Cumberland. We next hear of them in Pennsylvania, participators in the tragic scenes which have given celebrity to the valley of Wyoming. Again, they recede to the Ohio valley, to a locality hundreds of miles distant from their former hunting-grounds in the West, selecting now the rich and beautiful plains of the Sciota valley and the Miamies. Here they attained the highest point of their fame. Here was heard the eloquence of Logan; here was spent the boyhood of Tecumseh. It was from the romantic scenes of the Little Miami, from the Pickaway plains, and the beautiful shores of the Sciota—from scenes of such transcendent fertility and beauty, as must have won any *but* a nature inherently savage, to the luxury of rest and contentment, that the Shawanoese went forth to battle on Braddock's field, at Point Pleasant, and along the whole line of the then western frontier. Lastly, we find them dwelling on the Wabash, at Tippecanoe, holding councils with the governor of Indiana at Vincennes, intriguing with the Cherokees and Creeks of the South, and fighting under the

British banner in Canada. Here we find a people, numbering but a few thousand, and who could, even as savages and hunters, occupy but a small tract of country at any one time, roaming, in the course of two centuries, over ten degrees of latitude; changing their hunting-grounds, not gradually, but by migrations of hundreds of miles at a time; abandoning entirely a whole region, and appearing upon a new and far distant scene. What land was the *country* of the Shawanoese? To what *place* could that strong local attachment, which has been claimed for the Indians, have affixed itself? Where must the Shawanoe linger, to indulge that veneration for the bones of his fathers, which is said to form so strong a feeling in the savage breast? Their bones are mouldering in every valley, from the sultry confines of Georgia to the frozen shores of the Canadian frontier. Their traditions, if carefully preserved, would have embraced a hundred battle-fields, in as many separate districts, and have consecrated to the affections of a little remnant of people a vast expanse of territory, which now embraces eight or nine sovereign states, and maintains five millions of people.

The Saukies are said to have been settled originally on the banks of the river St. Lawrence, near the ocean, and were driven thence towards the Lakes. Coming into contact with the great Iroquois confederacy, they waged a long and fierce war with that powerful people, through whose territories they passed. On the southern shore of Lake Erie, they came into collision with the Wyandots, and were again plunged into sanguinary hostilities. Reaching the borders of Lake Michigan, they rested awhile; and it was here probably that they became allied with the Musquakee, or Fox nation. Thence bending their steps to the South, they poured down upon the wide-spread and beautiful prairies of Illinois, at that time covered with herds of buffalo, and possessed themselves of the country on the waters of Rock river, which they held until lately.

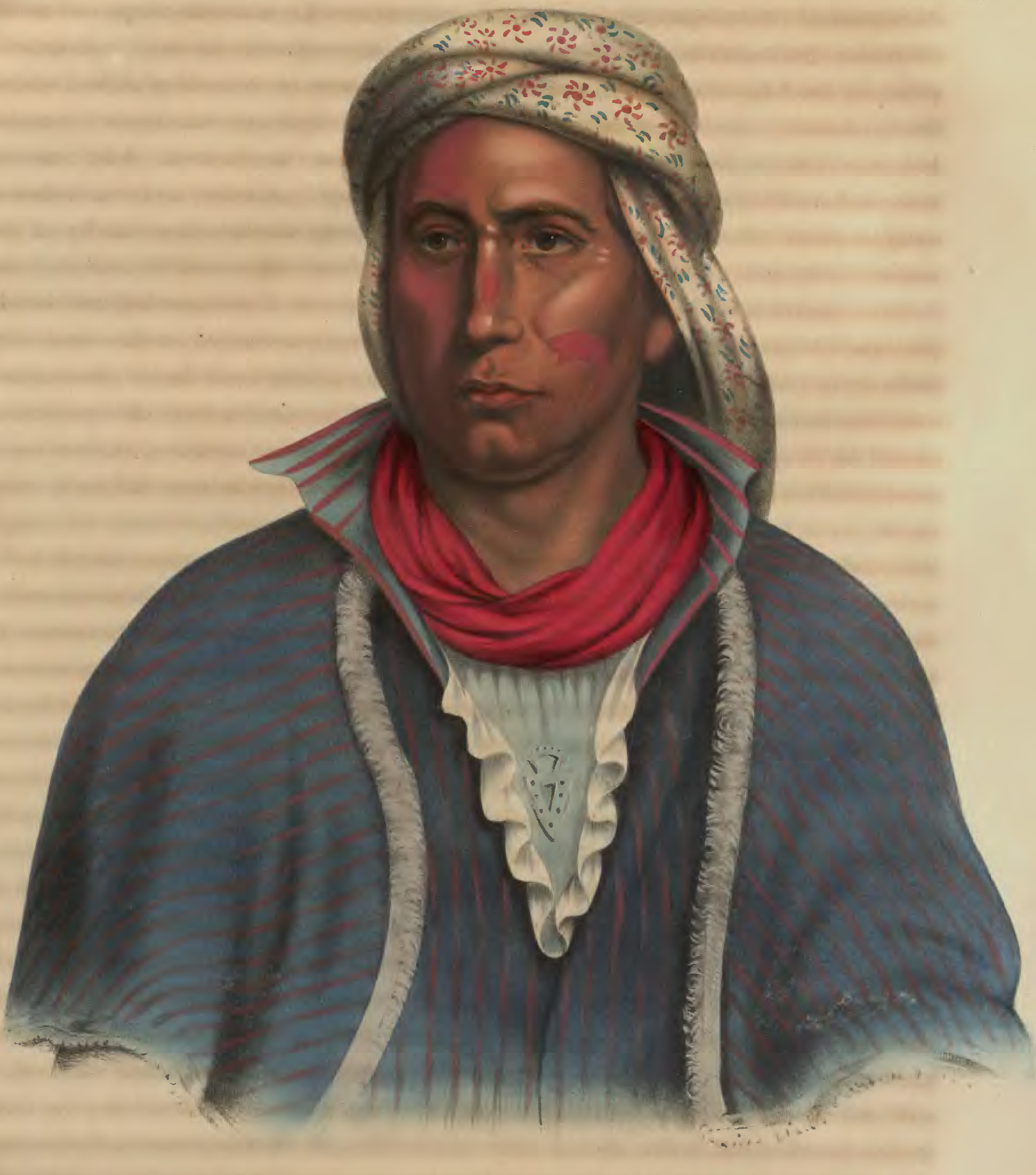
We might speak of other migrations, but these examples are sufficient for illustration. We know of no Indian nation which has remained stationary. Their traditions invariably point to their former abodes, in far distant places, and are fraught with allusions to long and perilous wanderings.

It is necessary, as a preliminary step to the civilization of the Indians, that this migratory disposition should be eradicated. The Indian should be confined within settled boundaries, and be taught to cherish his own rights, by being forced to respect the rights of others. He should learn to associate his name and his destiny with that of the soil on which he dwells, and thus acquire the virtue, of which he has now no conception—the love of country. The Indian loves his tribe, he loves his wild, free habits of life, he loves the wilderness; but all these feelings are personal; they travel with him in his wanderings, and abide with his people wherever they may chance to dwell. They are not attached to the soil, nor interwoven with recollections of place and scenery. They are not connected with the sacred and delightful associations of home and country. The wild man has no home nor country.

Assuming the proposition, that the United States have a clear right to establish over the Indian tribes such form of government as will be best calculated to promote the happiness of those nations, and to insure to them the highest state of civilization of which they are susceptible, we hold that our duty to extend these benefits to them is undeniable. And this should be done without delay, as every year is diminishing their numbers, deteriorating their character, and weakening the sympathy and the moral sense of duty towards them, which is now felt by all good men.

The plan that we would propose, would be to divide the whole Indian territory into districts, as few in number as could be conveniently arranged, so that each might be brought under the subjection of a governor, who should have ample powers, and a sufficient military force to make himself obeyed. The machinery of this government should be simple; its character parental; its object to protect, restrain, and reform the savage. The governors should be instructed to rule with kindness and forbearance, to use every effort to allure the savages to practise the arts of civilized life, to gain their confidence, and to restrain them with a firm hand from their present habits of rapine and violence. The subordinate officers should all be men of fair character; they should be amply paid for their services, and strictly forbidden from engaging in any traffic, other than such as it might be found expedient for the government to sanction; and the most unceasing vigilance should be used to protect the Indians from the fell grasp of the unprincipled speculator. These conditions may be deemed impracticable in a government like ours, subject to frequent changes, and to the demoralizing influence of party violence and political intrigue. It is to these causes that most of the abuses of which we complain are attributable; but we hope for better things; we hope that benevolent and patriotic men may be found, who will agitate this subject until a strong public sentiment shall be brought to bear on the national legislature, and that some of the influential members of that body, who are now "giving to party that which belongs to mankind," may be induced to earn the gratitude and applause of posterity, by devoting themselves to the prosecution of this great and philanthropic reform. Under such auspices, the scheme may succeed.

The Indians should be told at once, that they are not independent; that we intend to rule, and to protect them; that they must desist entirely from war, and must cease from wandering into the territories of their neighbours. They should be admonished to learn war no longer, and every exertion be used to blunt their martial propensities; military exercises should be discouraged; marks of respect and distinction should be withheld from chiefs and others who are eminent only for their feats in battle, while the favour of the government should be shown to those who should successfully cultivate the arts, or practise the civil and social virtues. Instead of flattering their warriors, as our public functionaries too often do, by referring to their martial exploits, and their descent from a line of warriors, they should be told that bloodshed is forbidden by our religion, prohibited by our laws, and wholly inconsistent with our state of society; that we regard with abhorrence the taking of life, permitting it



KEE-SHE-WAA.

A FOX WARRIOR.

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Entered according to act of Congress in the Year 1843 by James G. Clark in the Clerks office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

only, with great reluctance, in self-defence; and that the President will, on all public occasions, distinguish and prefer those chiefs and influential men whose hands are clear of blood, and who do most to preserve the lives and elevate the character of their people.

There can be no doubt as to the ultimate effect of sincere, patient, and continued efforts to inculcate the arts of peace, by constant appeals to the interest as well as the moral feelings of those people, aided by kindness, by good example, and by salutary restraint, firmly enforced by power. But the healthful operation of this procedure and its success, depend so entirely upon the character of the agents by whom it may be conducted, that it would be useless to make the attempt unless it be committed to men of sterling integrity and genuine benevolence, who would enter heartily into the spirit of the enterprise.

A council to be selected by themselves, composed of a few of their chief men, might assist the governor in making laws, which should be few, brief, and simple. The code should at first embrace little more than the Christian decalogue; and new laws might, from time to time, be added, to meet the growing exigencies of increasing civilization. The council might at first be vested with judicial powers, the trial by jury afterwards ingrafted, and a complete organization of courts, with all the forms of legal investigation, gradually introduced. No violent change should be attempted, no sudden reformation forced upon the unprepared mind of the savage, no abrupt assault upon ancient customs or superstitions be permitted to alarm his pride or his fears; but improvements should be gradually, unceasingly, and almost imperceptibly introduced, until the rank productions of ignorance and heathenism should be cleared away, and the foundations of the social edifice be laid, broad, strong, and symmetrical.

The Indian bureau at Washington should be retained with enlarged powers, and under a watchful supervision; but the agents, the presents, the traders, the interpreters, the legion of beneficiaries, who prey upon the funds appropriated by the national bounty to the Indians, should all be withdrawn, and the practice of granting annuities be discontinued. No white man but the governor and his subordinates should be permitted to reside or remain in the Indian country, until the condition of the people should have become such as to admit of a higher grade of government, when it might be desirable to adopt a different policy.

Instead of preventing the Indians from coming into our country to trade, they should be encouraged to do so, as this would be one of the most effectual means of inducing them to learn our language, and adopt our customs. They would see our industry, our comforts, and our arts, imbibe our opinions, become reconciled to our manners and fashions, and especially would get definite ideas of the use and value of our various articles of property. They would be induced to purchase articles of dress and ornament, such as are worn by us, until by degrees their costume would be assimilated to ours. Imperceptibly they would fall into the use of many things of which they are now ignorant, or which they despise as unsuited to their condition, such as mechanical tools, household furniture, and farming implements. Every article thus adopted would be a messenger of civilization; every art, comfort, and luxury of social life, which the Indian should learn to appreciate, would create a new want, to be supplied by us, and add a new bond to cement our union.

But the most important end to be gained, would be the protection of the savages from imposition, and from a demoralizing intercourse, which, while it robs them of the petty avails of their hunting, depraves their character, and sours them against the white men. The traders, who now purchase the furs and peltries of the Indians, under the license of the government, enjoy a monopoly which enables them to carry on the traffic upon their own terms, and to perpetrate the grossest frauds without the danger of detection. The place of barter is the wilderness, where there is no competition to regulate value, no public opinion to restrain dishonesty, no law to punish violence; and the trader, who adventures life and property in a business so precarious, may not greatly strain the ordinary morals of trade in deeming it justifiable to indemnify himself for his risks by extravagant profits, and retaliate aggression by force or cunning, as opportunity may offer. Humanity shudders at the recital of the nefarious arts practised by the white traders upon the Indians; yet the half of them are not known nor dreamed of by the American people.

Some instructive facts on this subject may be gleaned from Tanner's Narrative,—the biography of a man born in Kentucky, who was captured by the Chippeway or Ojibway Indians in his childhood, and spent his life among them,—written at his dictation by one of the gentlemen connected with Long's expedition. In this work, we have a minute account of Indian life through a series of thirty years, embracing all the ordinary incidents and vicissitudes of the savage state. Here we find the traders sometimes taking *by force*, from a poor Indian hunter, the produce of a whole year's hunt, without making him any return; sometimes pilfering a portion while buying the remainder; and still more frequently driving a hard bargain with the intoxicated savage, and wresting from him a valuable property for a very inadequate compensation, consisting chiefly of the poison by which his faculties were obscured. In one case, Mr. Tanner tells of an Indian woman, his adopted mother, who, "in the course of a single day, sold one hundred and twenty beaver skins, with a large quantity of buffalo robes, dressed and smoked skins, and other articles, *for rum.*" This property, worth several hundred dollars, was the product of a whole season of hunting of two active men, the son and adopted son of this woman, attended by dangers, difficulties, and privations, which seem to us almost incredible, and constituted the sole wealth of a family, and their only means of support during the inclemency of a long northern winter; and the author pathetically concludes, "of all our large load of peltries, the produce of so many days of toil, of so many long and difficult journeys, *one blanket and three kegs of rum* only remained, besides the poor and almost worn out clothing of our bodies." Repeated instances of the same kind are related by this author, exhibiting a most unfavourable view of the intercourse between the traders and the Indians, and we have ample reason, from other sources of information, to believe that the picture is faithfully drawn. These, it is true, were

British traders, on the inhospitable shores of Lake Superior, far beyond the influence of law or gospel: we hope and believe that such atrocities are not permitted within the regular agencies of our government. From a personal knowledge of some of the gentlemen engaged in the fur trade, and of many of the agents of the United States, we can say with confidence that such abuses are not practised with their sanction. But human nature is the same everywhere; the debasing love of gain has always been found to conduce to fraud and violence, when unrestrained by law and public sentiment. Mercantile integrity alone is not a sufficient safeguard against temptation. There are abundant proofs in our own land, that men cannot be trusted unless surrounded by wholesome restraints, and held to rigid responsibility. History abounds with lamentable proofs of the bad faith of all traffic carried on between civilized and savage men *in the countries of the latter:* India, Africa, the coasts of America, and the isles of the ocean, have all witnessed the dark and dreadful effects of the lust of gain.

Not only is the trade with these people liable to abuse, but all our treaties with them afford opportunities for the practice of gross frauds, which it is almost impossible to prevent, even with the greatest care on the part of the government. But constituted as our government is, it would be useless to expect any great degree of vigilance on such a subject, and the only mode of preventing the abuse is to remove the occasion. We could point to a recent instance in which the United States became bound by treaty to pay a certain description of claims set up by individuals of an Indian tribe. Commissioners were appointed to ascertain and liquidate the amounts due to each person, who, in the course of their investigation, discovered that nearly the whole of those claims had been secretly purchased by speculators for trifling considerations, and that immense sums granted in a spirit of liberality by Congress were about to be intercepted by a set of mere marauders, while the beneficiaries to whom it was intended to secure a livelihood had already expended the pittances given them in exchange. We are happy to say, that, in this instance, the fraud attempted to be practised by cunning upon ignorance was prevented. We shall not attempt to expose the numerous impositions of this kind, by which the munificence of our government has been diverted from its legitimate channels; the purpose of this essay does not require such disclosures. The public ear has been pained and sickened by manifold recitals of the rapacity which has first driven the red man from his hunting-grounds, and then stripped him of the poor price of his heritage. The sending of missionaries to labour by the side of the miscreants who thus swindle and debauch the ignorant savage, is a mockery of the office, and a waste of the time of these valuable men.

If the Indians were required to trade within our States, their intercourse would be with regular traders in the bosom of organized societies, and in the light of public observation; and the same law and public sentiment which protect us would protect them. Instead of bartering peltries for merchandise, without a definite idea of the value of either, they would use money as the medium of exchange, and become accustomed to fix prices upon the articles of traffic. We attach some importance to this change. Under the present system, the Indian delivers a package of skins, and receives a lot of merchandise, consisting of blankets, cloth, calico, beads, knives, gunpowder, &c.; and a very rough estimate only can be formed of the relative values of the articles, while in regard to the quality there can be but little room for choice. The formation of provident and frugal habits depends much upon proper notions of value, and the practice of close dealing. The economical maxims of Dr. Franklin could not be practised in a community in which there should be no small coins, and would not be understood by a people without money. If, for instance, there should be, in any country, no coin, nor representative of money, of a less denomination than a dollar, the fractions under that sum would, in all transactions, be thrown off, and would cease to be regarded, and the people would never become close calculators in small transactions. The maxim, "take care of pence and pounds will take care of themselves," would have no application among them. Such was the state of things, and such the effect, a few years ago, in some of our Western States, when small bank notes were not in circulation, and scarcely any coin less than half dollars, and when it was so customary to throw off the fractions less than a dollar, that it was thought mean to insist on the collection of a balance which could only be counted in cents. So striking was the result of this state of things to one not accustomed to it, that a sagacious Englishman remarked to the writer, as an "*alarming circumstance*, the want of small coin, and the consequent pride or carelessness of the people in regard to their minor pecuniary transactions." To estimate the force of this remark, it is only necessary to contrast the disposition alluded to with the thrift of a New England farmer, who would in a year accumulate a considerable sum by hoarding the pittances which a frontier settler would scorn to put into his pocket. If this reasoning be just, its application to our subject is easy. The change from the rude and loose transaction of bartering commodities, to the more accurate method of selling and buying for money, would be the first step in the improvement we propose; the next would be a correct appreciation of the values of money and merchandise; and we think that sagacity in dealing, frugality in expenditure, and correct notions in regard to property, would follow. The Indian at present knows nothing of money, except from seeing boxes of dollars exposed when the annuities are paid to the chiefs; but if the individuals of that race were in the habit of carrying the products of the chase to a market, where they would learn to feel the excitement induced by competition, and where, as they wandered from shop to shop, a variety of articles, differing in quality and price, would be offered in exchange, we cannot doubt that the result would be beneficial.

The Indians are prevented from keeping live stock, or making any permanent provision for the future, by the insecurity of the lives they lead. The corn raised by their women, their only grain, and often their sole provision for the winter, is kept in pits dug in the ground, which is carefully levelled over the concealed treasure, so as to baffle the search of a stranger who might seek for it. But though hidden from an enemy, a large portion of the corn is inevitably destroyed by the moisture of the place of deposit, and in some seasons but little would be saved by this rude plan of preservation. An Indian who was asked, by an inquisitive traveller, why they did not store their corn in houses as we do, instead of burying it, at the risk of having so much of it destroyed, replied, promptly, that if they were to put their corn in houses their enemies would come in the winter and kill them to get it. If they were asked, why they keep no domestic animals but dogs and horses, the reply would be similar. They have no prejudice against any means which would furnish them with a regular supply of food without labour. They build no houses, make no fields, nor attempt any provision for a permanent residence; and all for the same reason—*property* of any description would tempt the rapacity of their enemies. Security is only found in poverty and swiftness of foot, and in their happiest state they are always prepared for instant flight. The attempt to civilize a people thus situated is absurd. We have begun at the wrong end. Their habits must first be changed, and their physical wants supplied, before any beneficial effect can be produced upon their minds and hearts. The pressure of external danger, which now keeps their minds excited and their passions in a state of continual exaltation, must be removed, and the inducements to war decreased, by lessening the occasions of provocation.

When placed, as we propose, under the immediate care of our government, and restrained from war, the first measure should be to collect them in villages, and give them *permanent* habitations. They should be encouraged to build houses, to own cattle, hogs, and poultry, and to cultivate fields and gardens. They should at first be assisted in building, and a liberal supply of domestic animals should be given to them. But this aid should be extended to them with discrimination; and, while it furnished them with the means of improving their condition, it should not degenerate into a mere gratuity to support them in idleness, and to be looked for with the return of each revolving season. It should be distinctly understood that the government would not supply them with food and clothing. The annuities, which we are bound by treaty to pay, would have to be paid in good faith; but all other gratuities, except such as their change of life might render temporarily necessary, should be withheld.

The Indians, placed under these circumstances, would soon become an indolent pastoral people. They would not at first become an agricultural or an industrious race. That change would be too violent. The transition from the chase and the war-path to the plough would be difficult. Their indolence, their pride, their martial and gentlemanly dislike of labour, and their love of sleep, would all rebel against every sort of muscular exertion which could by any means be avoided, while all their prejudices would rise up in opposition to the indignity of performing the servile offices, which they suppose to lie peculiarly within the province of the women. They would grow lazy and harmless. Prevented from going to war, they would lose their martial habits, the influence of the war chiefs would be destroyed, and the propensity for rapine would be blunted. Their cattle, roaming over the rich plains to which nearly all the tribes have now been driven, would require but little care, and would soon increase to large herds. Abundance of food would lessen the necessity for hunting; and the men, left without employ and with little necessity for mental or bodily exertion, would lose their active habits.

The women, as they now do, would cultivate corn, but with increased encouragement to industry, for the fruits of their labour would be more abundant, and would be secured to them. In other respects their condition would be improved and elevated, and they would become important agents in the civilization of their race. The savage woman is debarred of the prerogatives, and deprived from exercising the virtues, of her sex, by her wandering life. The fireside, the family circle, all the comforts, luxuries, and enjoyments which are comprised in the word *home*, are created and regulated by female affection, influence, and industry—and all these are unknown to the savage. He has no home. The softening and ennobling influences of the domestic circle are unknown to him; and the woman, having no field for the exercise of the virtues peculiar to her sex, never appears in her true character, nor is invested with the tender, the healthful, the ennobling influence which renders her, in her proper sphere, the friend and adviser of man. We would elevate the savage woman to her legitimate place in the social system, and make her the unconscious, but most efficient, instrument in the civilization of her race. We feel, and see, and acknowledge, in every department of life, the ameliorating and conservative influence of female virtue, and we would give this inestimable blessing to the savage, even against his will. We would restrain his feet from wandering, and his hand from blood, and force upon him the softening and elevating endearments of *home*. Then would the Indian woman assume her appropriate station and her proper duties. The wretched wigwam, or the temporary skin lodge, afford no theatre for her ingenuity, no field for the exercise of any feminine virtue or accomplishment. The drudge, who spends her whole existence in following the savage hunter in his perilous wanderings, may learn to share his hardihood and ferocity, but can never have either the power or disposition to soften his rude nature. Mistress of a *house*, she would awaken to a sense of her own importance, and become alive to kind and generous impulses, which she knows not in her present condition. The possession of a home would suggest ideas of comfort, and bring into action the whole train of household cares. Pride and affection would unite in suggesting new wants and novel improvements. That fidelity which she now exhibits in the patient endurance of toil and danger, would expand and thrive in the more genial exercise of the domestic economy; and even her vanity, leaning to virtue's side, would exert a genial influence. One article of furniture after another would be introduced; and, as every woman desires to be as rich and as respectable as her neighbours, whatever one procured would be desired by all the others. From the mere necessaries of life, they would advance to its comforts and its luxuries. Vanity would kindle the love of dress and furniture; and rivalry, if no better feeling, would introduce cleanliness and good housewifery. The passing generation might not be materially changed;

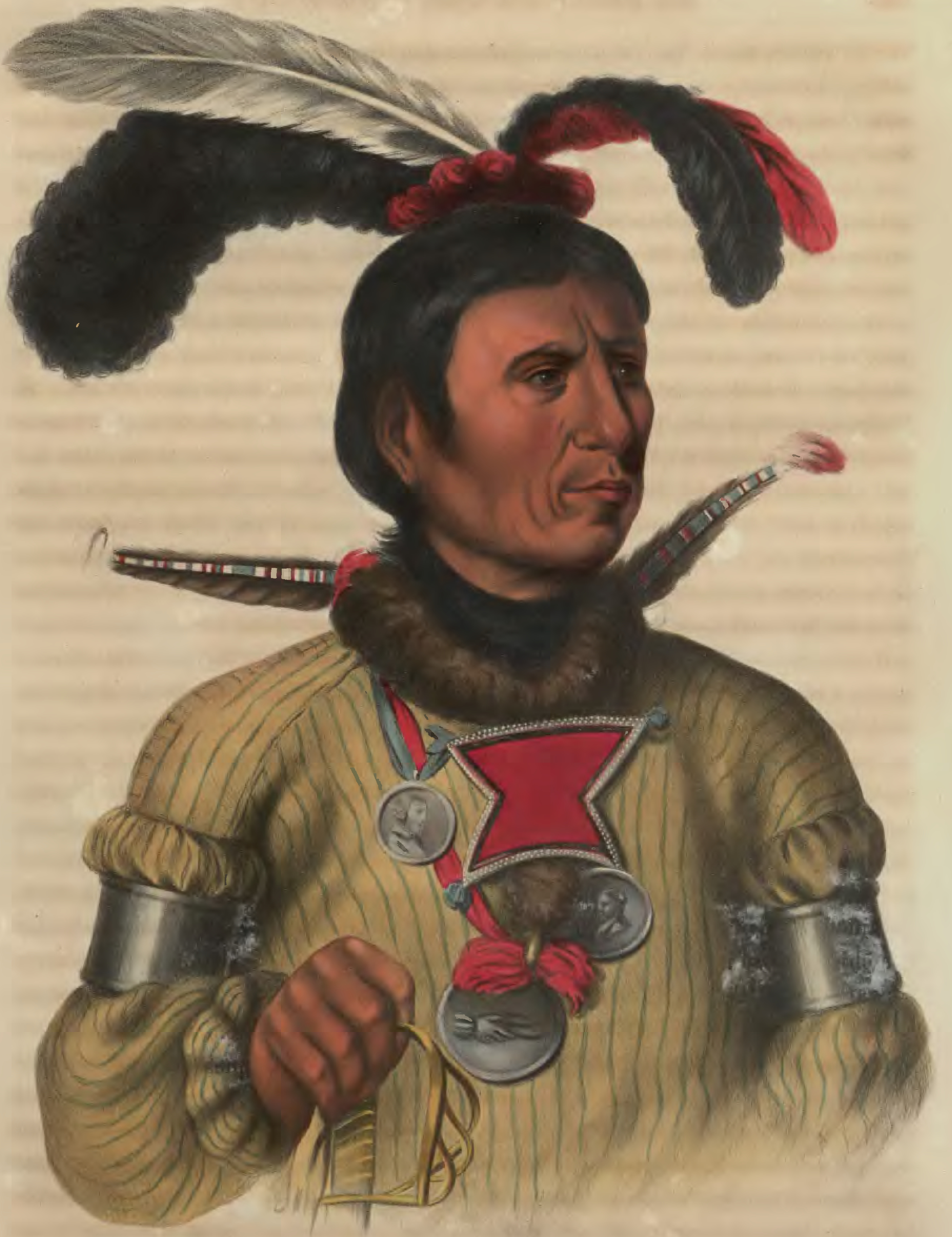
but the young would grow up with a new train of habits and associations. They would be accustomed to sleep on beds, to sit upon chairs, and, softened as well as enervated by indulgences unknown to their ancestors, they would be less fitted for the fatigue of war and the chase, and more susceptible of the enjoyments of social life.

It is worthy of observation, that those who have been most successful in gaining the confidence of the Indians have been the Quaker and the Roman Catholic;—the one displaying all the magnificence of a gorgeous ceremonial, and the other all the simplicity of entire plainness. But the success of both was attributable to the same principle. They both secured the attention of the Indian by kindness; and their forms of faith, in both cases, appealed to the senses. The Quaker exhibited a practical demonstration of the doctrines of the Redeemer, by the observance of peace, humility, kindness, temperance, and justice; and there could be no mistake as to a faith, the effects of which were so marked and salutary. The Catholic, in his explanations to the heathen, dwelt chiefly on the moral code of the Bible, and exhibited outward forms and symbols, which awakened attention, excited the imagination, and impressed the memory. The Protestant missionary has usually proceeded upon a different plan. He attempts to explain to the uncultivated mind of the savage the scheme of salvation by a Saviour; that complex, wonderful, and stupendous plan, in the contemplation of which the highest mental powers of the philosopher find full employment; and the savage listens with incredulity, because he listens to mere abstractions which convey to his mind no definite ideas. Such teachers forget that the Creator, in revealing His will to man, gave first to the Patriarchs the simplest form of faith; to the more enlightened Hebrews a more complex system was revealed, and a wider range of thought was opened; the coming of a Divine Saviour was shadowed forth through a long series of years, and at last, upon minds thus enlightened, dawned the full effulgence of the Christian religion. The reasoning powers of the Indians have never been exercised. An acute and experienced observer of that race has said, that, in regard to the mass of the people, they give no evidence of having ever entertained an abstract idea. Thus, in their speeches, the figurative language, which some have attributed to a poetical temperament, is really used from necessity to supply the want of thought, of descriptive powers, and even of words; for they can only make themselves understood by referring to sensible objects around them. Now I humbly conceive, that, if ever the Christian system is to be successfully communicated to such a people, we must follow what I suppose to be the gospel plan—first, teach them the simple duties and virtues of a pastoral people, then surround them with the restraints and obligations of a moral and civil law; and, lastly, when their minds are trained to thought, to obedience, and to a sense of responsibility, unfold to them the glorious truths of the gospel of salvation.

The almost frantic passion for ardent spirits, which is evinced by all savages, would probably be corrected by a change of life; for we have no doubt that one of the causes of their attachment to it is that it deadens the painful sense of hunger, which among them has become constitutional. An Indian, like a wolf, is always hungry, and of course always ferocious. In order to tame him, the pressure of hunger must be removed; it is useless to attempt to operate on the mind while the body is in a state of suffering. It is well ascertained that the Indian is for about half his time destitute of food, and obliged either to endure the pangs of hunger, or to use the most arduous exertions to procure provisions. The habitual improvidence of the savage, his wandering mode of existence, and the insecurity of property, prevents him from laying up any store during the season of plenty, and, when winter covers the bosom of the earth with her mantle of snow, hundreds and even thousands perish for want of food. Unexpected vicissitudes of the seasons, and long-continued extremity of heat or cold, sweep off these unprotected wretches with fearful havoc. A drought, which, by destroying the herbage, deprives the game of support, or a deep snow which shuts up all the sources of supply, spreads a famine throughout the tribes, and thins their numbers with fearful rapidity. In the inhospitable regions which border on the northern lakes and extend thence to the Missouri, including the country of the Chippeways, Ottaways, Menomines, Winnebagoes, and a portion of the Sioux, the horrors of starvation brood over the land during the continuance of their long and dreary winters, and recur with each revolving year.

To be fully satisfied on this point, it is only necessary to read "Tanner's Narrative," which was carefully prepared by one who was capable of understanding the exact meaning of the relator, and stating it with clearness. His whole thirty years among the Indians were spent in active exertions to get something to eat. The Narrative presents an affecting picture of an active and energetic life, checkered with dangers, toils, and struggles, yet with no higher object than that of obtaining a bare subsistence. The incidents are stirring in their nature; the adventures exhibit a boldness, a patience of toil and fatigue, and a hardihood of endurance, which exerted on a more dignified scene of action, would have elevated the actor into a hero; but the vicissitudes are chiefly those induced by the changes of the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of game; and the joys and sorrows of Tanner resulted from the alternations of poverty and plenty, of repletion and starvation! Few solemnities, and fewer amusements, are spoken of throughout the volume; of rest, domestic quiet, or social enjoyment, there is none; and whenever a number of Indians collected together they were presently dispersed by hunger. To live three, four, or five days without food was not uncommon. Sometimes they subsisted for weeks upon a little bear's grease; sometimes they chewed their peltries and moccasons. Often they were reduced to eat their dogs, or to subsist whole days upon the inner bark of trees.

The moral influence of this mode of life, as disclosed in the volume alluded to, is most deplorable. The frequent and sudden recurrence of famine enervates the mind, and destroys its energy and elasticity. The want of employment, and the absence of a laudable object of pursuit, leaves the thinking faculty dormant, and gives place to childish desires and puerile superstitions. Good and bad fortune are ascribed to friendly or malignant spirits, and a blind fatalism usurps the place of reason. Their



A WINNEBAGO.

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necessities and sufferings, and the want of social intercourse, render them selfish, and lead them to steal, to hide from each other, and to practise every species of rapacity and meanness; and this is not the tale of one day, or of a year, but the disgusting burthen of a story which comprehends a series of years, and describes the people of a whole region.

Among the more southern tribes, a milder climate, and a country more prolific in the supply of food, exempt the inhabitants the frequent occurrence of wide-spread and long-continued famine, but they are far from being regularly or well supplied with food. On the fertile plains—watered by the Missouri, the Arkansas, and Red river—the Indian brave, mounted on the native horse and attired in all the finery of the savage state, exhibits the most favourable aspect of the savage state, and his character rises to the highest grade of elevation attained by man as a mere animal. The great droves of buffalo that roam over those prairies supply him with food and clothing; and the use of the horse, while it adds largely to his pride and his efficiency as a warrior, contributes greatly to his success as a hunter, and his enjoyment of his wild mode of life. But the existence of the man who depends on hunting for a subsistence, is, at best, extremely precarious. The migrations of animals, though somewhat mysterious, are frequent; and the same district which at one time abounds in buffalo, deer, bear, or some other animal, is at another entirely deserted by the same description of quadrupeds. Extremes of heat and cold, and the consequent failure of subsistence, are probably the more usual causes of these movements; but there are instances in which they cannot be traced to any apparent cause.

The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, when first visited by the Europeans, were savages, as uncivilized and barbarous as the North American Indians, and were besides addicted to some vices which are comparatively unknown to the latter. Their insular position, their climate, their indolent and luxurious habits, and several other peculiarities of condition and character, rendered them much less likely to become the subjects of civilization than the more hardy inhabitants of the North American continent. Yet here the experiment has been triumphantly successful. The civilization of the Sandwich Islanders has been so complete, as to leave no room for a doubt or a cavil. They have formally abrogated their savage customs, renounced their pagan superstitions, and abandoned their former mode of life. The change has not been merely formal and theoretical, but actual, practical, and thorough; and these islanders, so lately plunged in the most brutal practices of heathenism, rank among the civilized and Christian nations of the earth. They have received the Bible, and become converted to the Christian faith. The American missionaries established among them have been eminently successful in teaching the doctrines of the gospel, and in building up the church of the Redeemer. The converts are numerous, embracing the majority of the population, and they give abundant evidence of sincerity, zeal, and devotion. The schools are well attended, and include as pupils the great mass of the population. So complete has been the revolution, and so rapid the progress of this amiable people in the attainment of religious instruction, and in the amelioration of their general condition, that they will probably soon become, if they are not now, an uncommonly moral and well disciplined nation, and afford an example of piety and good government, which might be followed with advantage by some of the oldest communities of Christendom.

In marking the characteristic features of this revolution, we discover some of the elements which we have insisted upon as indispensable in bringing about a similar result among our own Indians. The insular position of the islanders restrained them from the wandering habits, which we consider peculiarly hostile to the introduction of civilization, while it greatly curtailed their opportunities for war, and the indulgence of those propensities which are inseparable from the state of war, especially among savages—the lust for carnage, and the lust for plunder. They were free from the sinister influence of a loose population upon their borders, preying upon their substance, and demoralizing their character; and, from the pressure of a superior population, exciting continually their jealousy and hatred. There was, it is true, a malign English influence, which would have kept these people savages for ever, for the worst of purposes; but this was happily overcome by the perseverance of the American missionaries, strengthened by the aid of our naval officers, and of a large portion of our commercial marine trading in those seas.

The rapid and complete revolution effected in the character of these islanders affords so apt an illustration of our subject, that we think it may not be uninteresting to quote a few paragraphs, from an authentic source, in regard to that remarkable people. Our authority is Jarves's "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," recently published.

"The general cast of features prevailing among the whole group was similar to that of all Polynesia, and analogous to the Malay, to which family of the human race they doubtless belong. A considerable variety in colour existed, from a light olive to an almost African black; the hair was coarse, and almost equally dissimilar, varying from the straight, long, black, or dark drown, to the crispy curl peculiar to the negro. This latter was comparatively rare. White hair among the children was common. A broad, open, vulgarly good-humoured countenance prevailed among the males, and a more pleasing and engaging look with the females. Both bespoke the predominance of gross animal passions. Many of the latter, when young, were pretty and attractive. Though farther from the equator, both sexes were some shades darker than the Tahitians, Marquesans, or Ascension islanders; all of whom excel them in personal beauty. As with them, a fulness of the nostril, without the peculiar flatness of the negro, and a general thickness of lips, prominent and broad cheek bones, and narrow, high, and retreating foreheads, resembling the Asiatics, predominated. Instances of deformity were not more common than in civilized life. Their teeth were white, firm and regular; but their eyes were generally bloodshot, which was considered a personal attraction. The hands of the women were soft, well made, with tapering fingers. When the sex arrived at maturity, which took place from ten to twelve years of age, they presented slight and graceful figures;

which a few years settled into *embonpoint*, and a few more made as unattractive as they were before the reverse."

"No regular marriage ceremonies existed; though, on such occasions, it was customary for the bridegroom to cast a piece of cloth on the bride in the presence of her family. A feast was then furnished by the friends of both parties. The number of wives depended upon the inclination of the man, and his ability to support them. Though the common men usually lived with one woman, who performed household labours, no binding tie existed; each party consulting their wishes for a change, joining or separating, as they agreed or disagreed."

"Some doubt formerly existed, whether cannibalism ever prevailed in the group. The natives themselves manifested a degree of shame, horror, and confusion, when questioned upon the subject, that led Cook and his associates, without any direct evidence of the fact, to believe in its existence; but later voyagers disputed this conclusion. The confessions of their own historians, and the general acknowledgment of the common people, have now established it beyond a doubt; though, for some time previous to Cook's visit, it had gradually decreased, until scarcely a vestige, if any, of the horrible custom remained. This humanizing improvement, so little in accordance with their other customs, was a pleasing trait in their national character. It may have resulted from instruction and example, derived from their earliest European visitors, or a self-conviction of its own abomination. Be that as it may, a public sentiment of disgust in regard to it prevailed at that period, highly creditable to them as a nation, and which distinguished them from their more savage contemporaries of New Zealand, the Marquesas, and even from the more polished Tahitian."

"The cleanliness of the islanders has been much praised, but without reason. Frequent bathing kept their persons in tolerable order; but the same filthy clothing was worn while it would hold together. The lodging of the common orders was shared with the brutes, and their bodies a common receptacle of vermin."

"The Hawaiian character, uninfluenced by either of the foregoing causes," (civilization and Christianity,) "may be thus summed up. From childhood no natural affections were inculcated. Existence was due rather to accident than design. Spared by a parent's hand, a boy lived to become the victim of a priest, an offering to a blood-loving deity, or to experience a living death from preternatural fears—a slave not only to his own superstitions, but to the terrors and caprices of his chief. Life, limb, or property, were not his to know. Bitter, grinding tyranny was his lot. No mother's hand soothed the pains of youth, or father's guided in the pursuits of manhood. No social circle warmed the heart by its kindly affections. No moral teachings enkindled a love of truth. No revelation cheered his earthly course, and brightened future hopes. All was darkness. Theft, lying, drunkenness, riots, revelling, treachery, revenge, lewdness, infanticide, murder—these were his earliest and latest teachings. Among them was his life passed. Their commonness excited no surprise. Guilt was only measured by failure or success. Justice was but retaliation, and the law arrayed each man's hand against his brother. Games and amusements were but the means of gambling and sensual excitement. An individual selfishness, which sought present gratification, momentary pleasure, or lasting results, regardless of unholy measures or instruments, was the all-predominating passion. Their most attractive quality, it cannot be called a virtue, was a kind of easy, listless, good nature, never to be depended upon when their interests were aroused. Instances of better dispositions were sometimes displayed, and occasional gleams of humanity, among which may be mentioned friendship, and a hospitality common to all rude nations, where the distinctions of property are but slightly understood, enlivened their dark characters; but sufficient only to redeem their title to humanity, not make us altogether blush and hide our heads to own ourselves their fellow men. Individuals there were who rose above this level of degradation, and their lives served to render more prominent the vices of the remainder. La Perouse, though fresh from the Rousseau school of innocence of savage life, thus expressed his opinion:—'The most daring rascals of Europe are less hypocritical than these natives. All their caresses are false. Their physiognomy does not express a single sentiment of truth. The object most to be suspected is he who has just received a present, or who appears to be the most earnest in rendering a thousand little services.' "

The following remark conveys, in a few words, a strong picture of depravity. "So dark were their conceptions of one of the most pleasurable emotions of the heart, gratitude, that there was found in their language no word to express the sentiment. While it abounded in terms expressive of every shade of vice and crime, it was destitute of those calculated to convey ideas of virtue or rectitude."

Revolting as this picture may appear, it is but a softened portraiture of the disgusting depravity of these islanders. The details are so shocking as to be unfit for publication. Yet this is a true representation of savage nature, as we find it exemplified in all parts of the world: it is the human heart "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked," as described in the inspired volume, and as it exists everywhere, when untouched by the ameliorating influence of gospel truth. It is modified, it is true, by circumstances. It is influenced by the climate, by the abundance or scarcity of food, and by the habit and opportunities of engaging in the pursuits of war and rapine. The North American Indian is of a colder temperament than the islander of the Pacific ocean. He is trained to war, and his passions are disciplined to obedience. Every desire and emotion of his heart is brought in subjection to a martial police, and his individuality is to a great extent merged in a kind of military *esprit du corps,* which takes the place of patriotism. He is less sensual than the islander, constitutionally, and from his location in a colder climate; is less given to self-indulgence, in consequence of his military training, and the laborious life of the hunter; and is more manly in his bearing, from the effect of athletic exercises and frequent exposure to danger. But after these allowances are made, and the necessary deductions drawn from them, we shall find that these varieties of the savage character, however superficially different, are the same in structure, and in every elemental part and principle. The islander became by far the more depraved and vicious from the enervating influence of climate, and from a variety of degrading influences incident to his position.

Yet this people have become civilized so rapidly, that the same generation has witnessed their transit from the total darkness of paganism to the effulgence of gospel light. They have established a regular government, and have been recognized as an independent nation by the United States and Great Britain. They are governed by the wise and equal laws of a free people. The same writer, from whose valuable work we have already quoted, says:—

"Suitable harbour and quarantine regulations are incorporated in the body of laws. The penal code recognizes a just distinction between offences, and provides proportionate punishments. Courts of appeal and decision are established, in which, by the help of foreign juries, important cases, involving large amounts of property, have been equitably decided. This legislation is extended to all the wants of the native population, and regulates the landed distinctions, fisheries, transmission of property, property in trust, collection of debts, interest accounts, weights and measures; in short, is sufficient, except in complex cases, arising from mercantile affairs, to provide for all the emergencies of the civilized population."

"Taxation is rendered lighter and more equal. All taxes can be commuted for money; when this is wanting, they are assessed in labour or the productions of the soil. Foreigners pay nothing but a voluntary capitation tax of a trifling amount annually."

"A great interest is manifested in education; the law provides schools and teachers for all children; encouragement for agricultural enterprises is freely afforded, and bounties for the introduction of the useful arts and productions, and for those whose time and abilities shall be made of public benefit. An enlightened spirit pervades the whole system; in its present incipient stage, it cannot be expected to bear the fruits of maturity, but on such a foundation a fair and firm fabric will doubtless arise. The government, not to let their laws and enactments become a dead letter, have provided for their monthly exposition, by the judges and subordinate officers, to the people. If they do not eventually become what their legislators would have them, the burthen will rest upon their own shoulders; government has opened wide the door of moral and political advancement; and no more efficient aids to the cause exist than His Majesty, Governor Kekuandoa, and some chiefs of lesser degree. In 1840, to the surprise of the foreigners, who predicted the customary leniency towards rank, the majesty of the laws was fully asserted in the hanging of a chief of high blood for the murder of his wife. Later still, in 1841, the English consul was fined by a municipal court for riotous conduct, while the judge addressed a withering rebuke to him, as the representative of an enlightened nation, for setting aside all respect for his office or character, and appealed to the other official gentlemen present for their countenance in the support of good order."

"The annual assemblages of the king and council have been held at Lahaina, the capital of the kingdom. Every succeeding one has manifested an improvement on the last. Legislative forms are becoming better understood, and modifications of the code made to suit the necessities of the times. In 1842, a treasury system was adopted, which, in its infancy, has given a credit to the government it never before possessed. Instead of the former squandering methods, by which moneys were entrusted to courtiers or dependents, and never strictly accounted for, they are deposited in a regular treasury, at the head of which is Dr. G. P. Judd, a man eminently qualified to give satisfaction to all classes. Assisted by intelligent natives, accounts of receipts for taxes, port charges, and the customs, for which, within the past year, a slight duty on imports has been laid, are kept, and from the proceeds the expenses and debts of the government are regularly paid. Instead of living upon their tenants, the officers receive stated salaries; but these and other changes are too recent to be chronicled as history; they are but landmarks in the rapid improvement of the nation."

"From the great quantity of liquors introduced, and their cheapness, it was feared, and with reason, that the old thirst for ardent spirits would be awakened. Many did drink to excess, and men and women reeling through the streets were common sights. As it was impossible to exclude the temptation, the chiefs, though partial to their use themselves, determined to restrict the sale by preventing the demand. The natives were prohibited from manufacturing ardent spirits; temperance societies were formed; and by combination and addresses the enthusiasm of the nation enkindled; thousands, particularly of the young, joined them, and finally the king, setting an example which was followed by most of the chiefs, pledged himself to total abstinence."

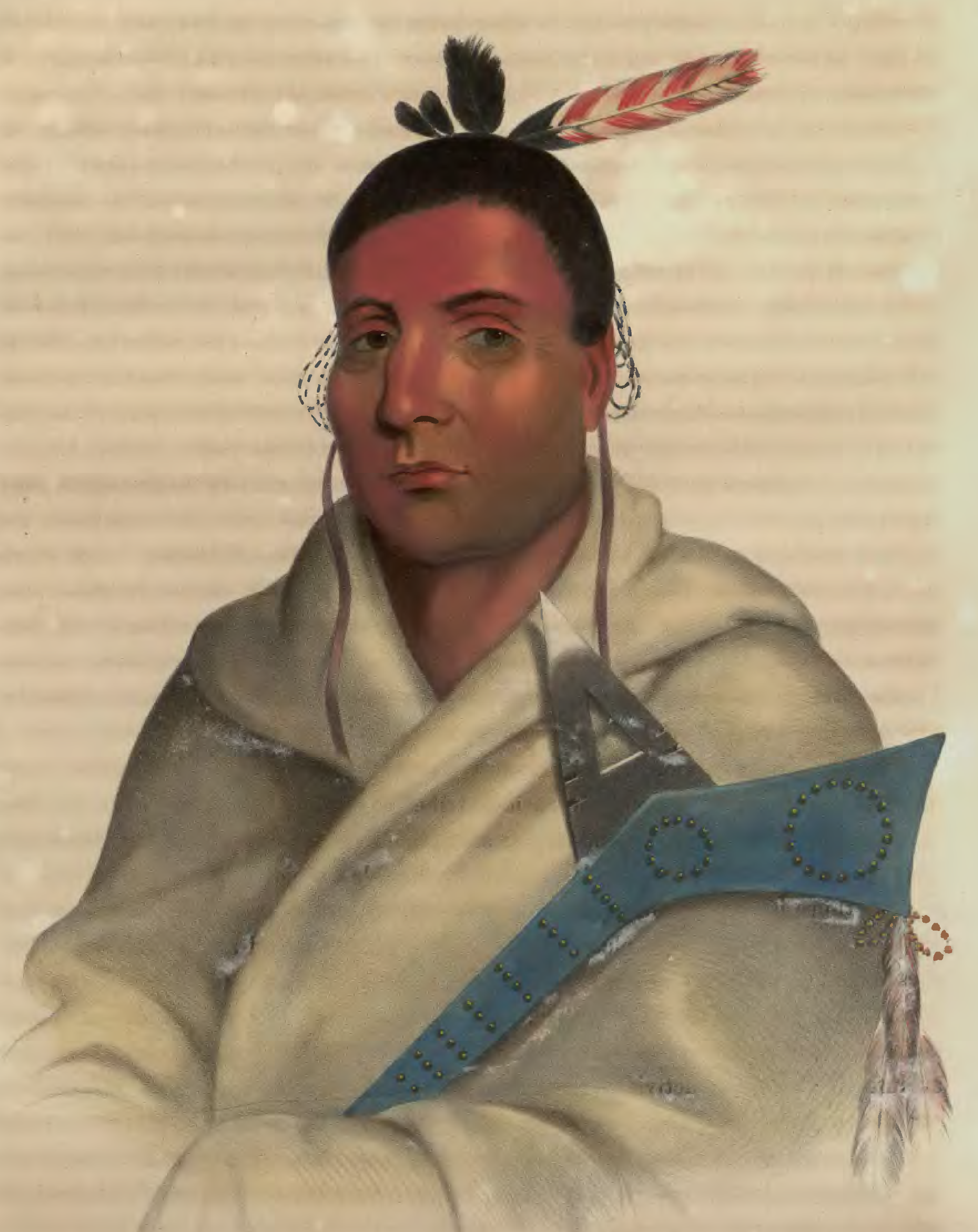
"In religious knowledge the progress of the nation has been respectable. In 1841, there were sixteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-three members of the Protestant churches, and this number was increasing. Upwards of eighteen thousand children are receiving instruction in the schools, most of which, however, embrace simply the elementary branches; these are so generally diffused, that it is uncommon to find a native who cannot read or write, and who does not possess some knowledge of arithmetic and geography. In the High School, and some of the boarding schools, a much more extended education prevails, sufficient to qualify the pupils for becoming teachers, or eventually filling more responsible professions. It is a striking fact, that of all the business documents in possession of the Hawaiian government, accumulated in their intercourse with foreigners, *one-half* bear the *marks* of the latter who were unable to write; while there is but *one* instance of so deplorable ignorance on the part of the natives, and that was Kaikoewn, late governor of Kanai, whose age and infirmities were a sufficient apology for his neglect. If a belief that the Bible contains the revealed will of God, the sacred observance of the Sabbath, the erection of churches, the diffusion of education, gratuitous contributions of money for charitable purposes to a large amount annually, a general attendance on divine worship, and interest in religious instruction, and a standard of morality rapidly improving, constitutes a Christian nation, the Hawaiians of 1842 may safely claim that distinction. Rightly to appreciate the change, their original character should be accurately known."

"At their rediscovery by Cook, heathenism had waxed hoary in iniquity and vileness. Little better than miserable hordes of savages, living in perpetual warfare, writhing under a despotism strained to its utmost tension, and victims to the unsatiable avarice of a bloody-minded priestcraft, they had reached that period when decline or revolution must have ensued. By the adventitious aids of commerce, the aspiring Kamehamela effected the latter; blood was freely spilt; but, under his universal rule, the horde of priestly and feudal tyrants were merged into one—himself—whose justice and benevolence, imperfect as they were when viewed in the light of increased wisdom, are allowed, by the concurrent testimony of Hawaiians and foreigners, to have formed a new era in their history. During his reign, civilization had full scope for its effect upon barbarism; good men advised, moral men were examples; and the result was in accordance with the strength of the principle brought to bear upon them. The Hawaiians became a nation of skilful traders, dealing with an honesty quite equal to that which they received; mercantile cunning succeeded former avaricious violence; good faith became a principle of interest; scepticism weakened bigotry. This was all, the spirit of gain, in its civilized costume, could accomplish; it had bettered the condition of the savage, inasmuch as it was itself superior to brute lust. It carried them to the height upon which it was itself poised, a modern Pisgah, from which glimpses of the promised land could be seen. By inoculating their minds with the desire, though crude, for better things, it became the instrument of the rising of the spirit of liberty, and the first step toward mental ascendency. Further progress could only be gained by the active recognition of the Divine command, 'Go ye and teach all nations.' This was obeyed by that people who have been most alive to its commercial advantages. The struggles and labours of twenty-one years of missionary exertions, and their general results upon the political and religious character of the nation, have been depicted. During that time upwards of five hundred thousand dollars have been devoted by the 'American Board of Foreign Missions' for this purpose; more than forty families of missionaries employed throughout the group: the advantages of well regulated domestic circles practically shown; one hundred millions of pages printed and distributed, among which were two extensive editions of the Bible, and translations and compilations of valuable school and scientific books. The multiplicity of religious works have been varied by others of historical and general interest; newspapers printed; in fine, the rudiments of a native literature formed, which bids fair to meet the increasing wants of the nation. Several islanders have manifested good powers of composition, and, both by their writings and discourses, have been of eminent advantage to their countrymen. Neither have the mechanical arts been neglected by their instructors. Under their tuition, the labours of the needle have been made universal. Weaving, spinning, and knitting, have been introduced. With the same illiberality which characterized some of the earliest white settlers, who refused to instruct the natives for fear they would soon 'know too much,' a number of the mechanics of the present day associated themselves to prevent any of their trade from working with, or giving instruction to natives. But their mechanical skill was not thus to be repressed; with the assistance of the missionaries, numbers have become creditable workmen; among them are to be found good masons, carpenters, printers, bookbinders, tailors, blacksmiths, shoemakers, painters, and other artisans. Their skill in copper engraving is remarkable. They are apt domestics, expert and good-natured seamen, hard workers as labourers, and in all the departments of menial service, faithful in proportion to their knowledge and recompense."

"It is no injustice to the foreign traders to attribute this general prosperity mainly to missionary efforts. By them the islands have been made desirable residences for a better and more refined class of whites; these have been instruments of much good, and even of counteracting the somewhat too rigid and exclusive tendencies of the mission. But they came for pecuniary gain, and the good resulting from their intercourse was incidental. The whole undivided counsels and exertions of the mission have been applied to the spread of Christianity and civilization. How far they have been successful, let the result answer."

The question, so important to humanity, and so long considered doubtful, as to the practicability of civilizing the various tribes of savages scattered over the face of the earth, may now be considered as settled. The experiment at the Sandwich Islands was commenced under the most unfavourable auspices. Human nature had reached there its lowest point of degradation. The darkness of ignorance in which they were plunged was complete—not a ray of light illumined it. They had all the vices of savages, and were destitute of that manliness of character which sometimes gives dignity to the barbarian state. They were inferior to the North American Indian in courage, in self-command, in discipline, and in decency of deportment, and far inferior in bodily activity. Yet from the first regular and sustained effort to introduce civilization, that noble enterprise has gone forward with scarcely any interruption; and they are now a civilized people, having a written constitution, a regular government, a settled commerce, laws, magistrates, schools, churches, a written language, and the gospel of salvation.

To produce an effect equally happy upon our own Indians only requires the same energy of effort directed by the same singleness of purpose. Whenever the civilization of our Indians shall be undertaken by the government, with an eye single to that object, it will be accomplished with a facility which will astonish even those who are neither unfriendly to such a result, nor incredulous as to its actual consummation. We desire to be fully understood in this proposition. We have in



WAA-TOP-E-NOT.

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another place spoken of our government and people as decidedly friendly to this humane object; they have expended millions of treasure with this avowed purpose. But this has been done without system, and much of the munificence of the government has been wasted by careless application, intercepted by fraud, or misdirected by knavish hypocrisy. The civilization of the Indians has been a secondary object, lost sight of in the multiplicity of other concerns, and has never engaged the share of attention demanded by its importance and solemnity. Whenever it shall be attempted with earnestness, in good faith, under the immediate sanction of the government, and under the influence of a public sentiment fully awakened to the subject, it must succeed.

AN ESSAY
ON THE
HISTORY
OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY

JAMES HALL.

PART FOURTH.

CAN the North American Indians be civilized? Are their minds open to the same moral influences which affect the human family in common, or are they the subjects of any constitutional peculiarity, which opposes a permanent barrier to an improvement of their condition? Perhaps the shortest reply to these questions, would be found by asking another—Is the Bible true? Are all men descended from Adam and Eve? If we believe that there is but one human family, the conclusion is inevitable, that however, by a long process of degeneration the race may have become divided into varieties, that operation may be reversed through the agency of the same natural causes which produced it. We cannot entertain the doctrine of multiform creations, or with any show of reason admit the existence of separate races, miraculously established after the flood, by the same power, which brought about the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of the inhabitants of the earth. But if we did, it would bring us back to the same point; we should still acknowledge a common ancestry, and claim for every branch of the human family, a common destiny. The promises were given to all; no exception is made in the offers of salvation. If it be admitted that men were divided into races, and certain distinctions of colour and physical structure established, to separate them permanently, still they are all the intelligent creatures of God; the subjects of his moral government, and the objects of a great system of rewards and punishments, which he has vouchsafed to reveal, without debarring any from its benefits, or absolving any from its obligations. We cannot, consistently with these views, give up any portion of the human race to hopeless and everlasting barbarism.

In the last number of this work we alluded to the rapid progress in civilization, made by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, as affording ample testimony on this subject; and we shall now attempt to corroborate those views, by reference to what has been done towards reclaiming the Indians of our own continent.

In summing up this evidence, we beg the reader to bear in mind, the proofs we adduced in the former parts of this essay, of the originally favourable disposition of the savages towards the whites, as evinced by their kind reception of the first colonists. In the settlement of Pennsylvania, for instance, the most amicable intercourse was maintained between the stranger races, for a series of years, and a mutual kindness, respect, and confidence towards each other was established. This experiment must be satisfactory, as far as it goes, to the most incredulous; to our own mind it is conclusive: for we consider the question to be, not whether the Indian intellect is endowed with the capacity to receive civilization, but whether his savage nature can be so far conciliated, as to make him a fair subject of the benevolent effort. The question is not as to the possibility of eradicating his ferocity, or giving steadiness to his erratic habits, but as to the practicability of bringing to bear upon him, the influences by which his evil propensities and his waywardness must be subdued. The wild ass may be tamed into the most docile of the servants of man; the difficulty is in catching him—in placing him under the influence of the process of training. Whenever the bridle is placed upon his head, the work is done; all the rest follows with the certainty of cause and effect—in the contest between the man and the brute, between intellect and instinct, the latter must submit. So it is between the civilized and savage man. The difficulties to be overcome, are the distance by which the races are separated, and the repulsion which impedes their approach. There is no sympathy between the refinement of the civilized man and the habits of the savage; nor any neutral ground upon which they can meet and compromise away their points of difference. They are so widely separated in the scale of being, as to have no common tastes, habits, or opinions; they meet in jealousy and distrust; disgust and contempt attend all their intercourse; and the result of their contact is oppression and war. And why? The repulsive principle is never overcome, the attraction of sympathy is never established. The parties do not gaze upon each other patiently, long enough to become reconciled to their mutual peculiarities, nor sit together in peace until they become acquainted. The habit of enduring each other's manners is not established, nor the good fellowship which results from pacific intercourse, even between those who are widely separated by character and station.

We have said that the first European visitors were kindly received. They were so: but it was not from any thing attractive in their appearance, or from any love or sympathy impelling the poor savage to the practice of hospitality. Fear and wonder quelled the ferocity of the Indian, and curiosity impelled him to seek the presence of these singular beings, who came mysteriously to his shores, in human shape, but wielding apparently the powers of the invisible world. It was the white man who dispelled an illusion so advantageous to himself, by the exhibition of meanness, weakness, and vice, which demonstrated his human nature so clearly, that even the ignorant savage could not mistake.

From the general misconduct of the whites, there were some noble exceptions, and from these we select the settlement of Pennsylvania, as the most prominent. The Quakers were sincere in their religious professions. They did not make religion the cloak of a rapacious spirit of aggrandizement, nor murder the savage in the name of a Creator who commands love, and peace, and forgiveness. They met the savage on terms of equality, overlooking the vast disparity of intellect and education, and breaking down all the barriers of separation. The first step was decisive; there was no room for distrust; no time for prejudice to rankle, and ripen into hatred. The Indian threw aside his fears and his wonder, and met the Quaker as a brother. They dwelt together in unity; for more than half a century they lived in peace, in the daily interchange of kindnesses and benefits. The experiment was successful; because, whenever the civilized and savage man can be brought into amicable and protracted intercourse, the latter must unavoidably and imperceptibly acquire the arts and habits of the former.

The history of the Praying Indians of New England, is fraught with instruction on the subject of this essay, and forms a pathetic episode in the history of this people. Although the conversion of the Heathen, is alleged in nearly all the royal charters and patents, as one of the pretences for taking possession of newly discovered countries, and for granting them to individuals and companies, it does not seem to have occupied much of the attention of the first colonists. The name of John Eliot, is justly entitled to honour, as that of the pioneer of this noble enterprise; for previous to his day we do not find that any systematic effort was made to communicate the gospel to the Indians of New England. Resolving to devote himself to their service, he first proceeded to qualify himself for the office of teacher, by learning the language of the Nipmuks, and he was probably the first white man who studied the language of the Indians for their advantage. He is said to have effected this in a few months, by hiring an Indian to reside in his family. His first meeting with the natives for the purpose of conversing with them, in their own language, on the subject of religion, was on the 28th of October, 1646, which was twenty-six years after the landing at Plymouth. In this and subsequent conferences he endeavoured to explain to them the leading points in the history and doctrines of the Bible, and was met with all those popular and obvious objections which are used by the ignorant, or those who are but superficially acquainted with the sacred volume. The chiefs and conjurers also, opposed the introduction of the new religion; for wherever government and religion are controlled by the same persons, or by persons who act in concert, all reform is objected to, as subversive of ancient usages, and dangerous to the ruling powers. The most enlightened aristocrat, and the most ignorant savage chief, are equally alive to an instinctive dread of change, and especially of changes which appeal to the reflective faculties of the people, and lead them to independent thought and action, instead of the more convenient plan for the ruler, of being wielded in masses like machines. Notwithstanding this opposition, a number of the Indians became attached to Mr. Eliot, and placed themselves under his teaching, while a still larger number were willing to entrust their children to be instructed by him.

Eliot became sensible of the necessity of separating his converts from the rest of their people, as well to shield them from the bad influence of the unconverted, as to train them in the arts and habits of civilization. It was an axiom with him, that *civilization* was an indispensable auxiliary to the *conversion* of the savage. Proceeding upon this principle, he collected his proselytes in towns, instructed them in rural and mechanical labours, and gave them a brief code of laws for their government. Some of these laws afford curious evidence of the simplicity of the times: for instance: "If any man be idle a week, or at most a fortnight, he shall pay five shillings." "If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the place of justice to be severely punished." "Every young man, if not another's servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other wigwams." "If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but hung loose, or be cut as men's hair, she shall pay five shillings." "All men that wear long locks shall pay five shillings."

The whole of the Bible was translated into the Indian tongue, by Eliot, and also *Baxter's Call, Shepherd's Sincere Convert,* and *Sound Believer,* besides a variety of other books, such as grammars, psalters, catechisms, &c.

Cotton Mather remarks of Eliot's Indian Bible: "This Bible was printed here at our Cambridge; and it is the only Bible that was ever printed in all America, from the very foundation of the world." The same author tells us, "the whole translation was writ with but *one pen,* which pen had it not been lost, would have certainly deserved a richer case than was bestowed upon that pen, with which Holland writ his translation of Plutarch."

That worthy and quaint compiler, Drake, from whose Book of the Indians we have taken this and some other valuable items, appends in a note the following lines, which Philemon Holland, "the translator general of his age," made upon his pen:

"With one sole pen I write this book,
Made of a gray goose quill;
A pen it was, when I it took,
And a pen I leave it still."

The towns established under the auspices of the Missionary Eliot, are said to have been fourteen in number, and the aggregate population is stated to have been eleven hundred and fifty; but as this enumeration includes whole families, the number of converts must have been much less. At the close of Philip's war, 1677, the number of towns, according to Gookin's account, was reduced to seven, but when an attempt was made during the war, to collect the Praying Indians in one place for safety, but about five hundred could be found, and this number was reduced to three hundred at the close of the war. Six years after that war, there were but four towns, and the number of inhabitants are not stated.

It is difficult to ascertain with precision the results of the early efforts, on the part of the English colonists generally, to convert the Indians, because the accounts of these transactions are not only incomplete, but greatly perverted by prejudice and exaggeration. There were among the early Puritans many excellent men who fervently desired the conversion of this branch of the human family, and laboured zealously in the cause, and we have good reason to believe, in regard to some of them at least, that their zeal was according to knowledge. But we have their own testimony, that the sympathies of the public were not with them, in this good work, and that the dislike of the whites towards their red neighbours, interposed a barrier which thwarted the best exertions for the civilization of the latter. We have before us the "Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675, 1676, and 1677, impartially drawn by one well acquainted with that affair, and presented unto the Right Honourable the Corporation, residing in London, and appointed by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for Promoting the Gospel among the Indians in America." The author was "Master Daniel Gookin," of whom Cotton Mather wrote:

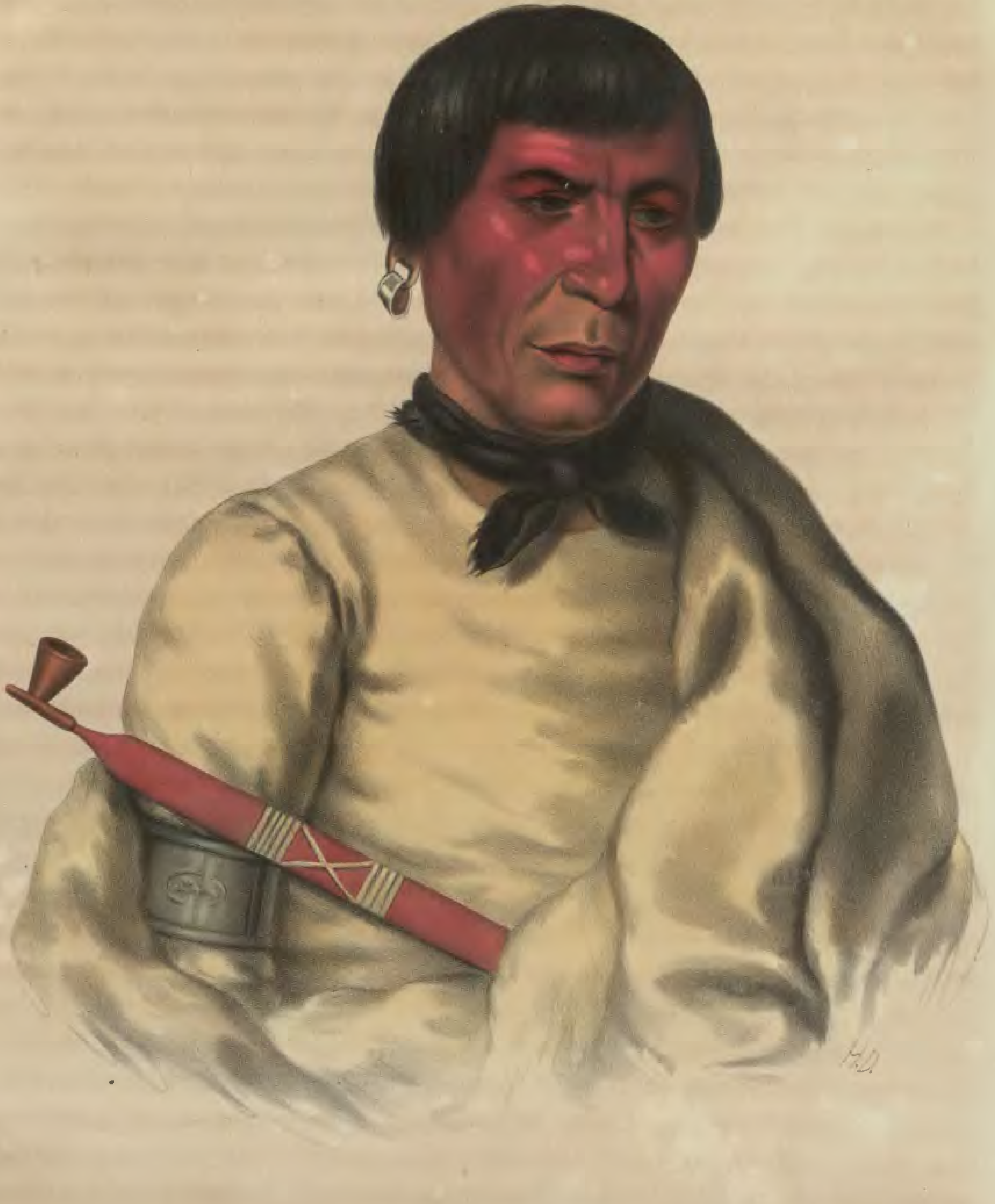
> " A constellation of great converts there
> Shone round him, and his heavenly glory were.
> Gookins was one of these."

He was superintendent of the Indians, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, during many years; was a man of high standing, distinguished for his humanity, his courage, and his fidelity to the cause of the Indian. The publishing committee of the American Antiquarian Society, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in a preliminary notice of this work, say:

"The policy adopted by Gookin towards the Indians, did not at all times escape the censure of the public; for during the troubles that arose from the aggressions of the hostile tribes, the people could with difficulty be restrained from involving in one common destruction the whole race; and while it required the most determined spirit, on the part of the superintendent, to stem the torrent of popular violence, he did not fail to draw on himself undeserved odium and reproach. Gookin was eminently the friend of the Indians, and never hesitated to interpose his own safety between the infuriated white man, and the unoffending object of his vengeance."

The immediate purpose of Master Daniel Gookin, is to describe the sufferings of the Praying Indians, in the war between the whites and Indians, during the period covered by his narrative. The Christian Indians, having nothing to expect from the savage tribes of their own race, who despised and hated them, for their adhesion to the faith of the white men, were solicitous to be received as allies of the colonists; and as their towns lay along the frontier, contiguous to the white settlements, their friendship would have been valuable, had it been cultivated in good faith, as the towns of the friendly Indians would have covered the most exposed settlements from the inroads of the savages. The protection would have been mutual, and the community of danger, and military service, would have strengthened the bands of friendship, while the converted Indians would have been confirmed in their new faith, and the prejudices of both parties softened by an intercourse so beneficial to each. The public manifestation on the part of the colonists, of a disposition to adopt and protect the converted heathen, connected with the evidence of power to render that protection effectual, must have produced a salutary effect upon the savage mind. The policy pursued, was unfortunately the very reverse of that dictated by sound prudence and Christian charity. No sooner were hostilities commenced, than the friendly Indians became objects of suspicion and persecution from both sides. Although they volunteered their services to the colonists, and were often employed both as warriors and guides, they were continually subjected to all the insult and injury, which the petty tyranny of military officers, and the malignity of a bigoted popular sentiment, could inflict on them. Their fidelity to the whites is attested by Mr. Gookin, and other men of high character, yet they were suspected to be traitors, and almost every disaster and reverse of fortune, was attributed to their agency, and drew down upon their devoted heads, the vengeance of an infuriated populace. The work of Mr. Gookin is filled with incidents of this kind, of the most pathetic interest, in which these unfortunate people are seen on the one hand, warning the colonists of approaching danger; guiding them through the mazes of the wilderness, or sharing with them the dangerous vicissitudes of the battle; while on the other, we see them falsely accused, arrested, beaten, imprisoned, their property plundered, and their families turned out to starve. That the red man should shrink with utter aversion, from a civilization offered him upon such hard terms, and turn with scepticism and disgust from a gospel offering such bitter fruit, cannot be surprising.

We learn from this work, that the "Praying Indians" were numerous, which is a sufficient proof of their willingness to receive the gospel, if it had been offered to them in an acceptable manner. "The situation of those towns was such," says this writer, "that the Indians in them might well have been improved, as a wall of defence about the greatest part of the colony of Massachusetts; for the first named of those villages bordered upon the Merrimack river, and the rest in order, about twelve or fourteen miles asunder, including most of the frontiers. And had the suggestions and importunate solicitations of some persons, who had knowledge and experience of the fidelity and integrity of the Praying Indians, been attended and practised in the beginning of the war, many and great mischiefs might have been (according to reason) prevented; for most of the praying towns, in the beginning of the war, had put themselves in a posture of defence against the common enemy."



PEE-CHE-KIR,

A CHIPPEWA CHIEF.

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"But such was the unhappy state of their affairs, or rather the displeasure of God in the case, that their counsels were rejected, and on the contrary, a spirit of enmity and hatred conceived by many against those poor Christian Indians, as I apprehend without cause, so far as I could ever understand, which was, according to the operation of second causes, a very great occasion of many distressing calamities that befel both one and the other."

The worthy author conceiving it both practicable and desirable to conciliate the Indians, and willing to apologize for his countrymen for their failure to discharge so obvious a duty, proceeds to argue the matter thus: "I have often considered this matter and come to this result, in my own thoughts, that the most holy and righteous God hath overruled all counsels and affairs, in this and other things relating to this war, for such wise, just, and holy ends as these:

"First.—To make a rod of the barbarous heathen, to chastise and punish the English for their sins. The Lord had, as our faithful minister often declared, applied more gentle chastisements, gradually, to his New England people; but these proving in a great measure ineffectual, to produce effectual humiliation, hence the righteous and holy Lord is necessitated to draw forth this smarting rod of the vile and brutish heathen, who indeed have been a very scourge unto New England, and especially unto the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

"Secondly.—To teach war to the young generation of New England, who had never been acquainted with it; and especially to teach old and young, how little confidence is to be put in the arm of flesh. * * * *

"Thirdly.—The purging and trying the faith of the godly English and Christian Indians, certainly was another end God aimed at in this chastisement. And the discovery of hypocrisy and wickedness in some that were ready to cry 'Aha!' at the sore calamity upon the English people in this war, and as much as in them lay, to overthrow God's work in gospelizing the poor Indians.

"Fourthly.—Doubtless one great end God aimed at was the destruction of many wicked heathen, whose iniquities were now full." * * * *

The author proceeds to state that "the Narragansetts, by their agent Potuche, urged that the English should not send any among them to preach the gospel, or call upon them to pray to God. But the English refusing to concede to such an article it was withdrawn, and a peace concluded for that time. In this act they declared what their hearts were, viz: to reject Christ and his grace offered to them before. But the Lord Jesus, before the expiration of eighteen months, destroyed the body of the Narragansett nation, that would not have him to reign over them, particularly all their sachems, and this Potuche, a chief counsellor and a subtle fellow, who was then at Rhode Island, coming voluntarily there, and afterward sent to Boston and there executed." It appears from other authorities, that this Potuche was an eminent warrior, that he was a prisoner of war, and that his only offence was that of being taken in arms against the enemies of his country. The whole of this account affords a singular exposition of the spirit of the times. An intolerant people, brooking no religion but their own, nor any form of their own, but that which they professed, enforcing their own harsh dogmas upon an ignorant nation by the edge of the sword, yet coolly averring themselves to be the passive instruments of Providence in this work of carnage! An eminently religious people, actuated by a benevolent desire to convert the heathen, yet defeating their own noble purpose by the very means employed to effect it!

We find the following note attached to Gookin's History by the Committee of Publication:—"No remark on the contempt in which the poor Indians were held by men on so many accounts to be venerated, can be more appropriate than the following note by Governor Hutchinson. 'It seems strange,' says he, 'that men, who professed to believe that God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth, should so early, and upon every occasion, take care to preserve this distinction. Perhaps nothing has more effectually defeated the endeavours for Christianizing the Indians. It seems to have done more; to have sunk their spirits, led them to intemperance, and extirpated the whole race.' This remark was made upon a passage in Major Gibbon's instructions, on being sent against the Narragansetts in 1645, in these words: 'You are to have due regard to the distance which is to be observed betwixt Christians and barbarians, as well in war as in other negotiations.'"

In another note to the same book we read:—"So obnoxious were the friends of the Praying Indians to the mass of the people, that Gookin said on the bench, while holding a court, that he was afraid to go along the streets; and the author of 'A Letter to London,' says, that his (Gookin's) taking the Indians' part so much, had made him a by-word among men and boys."

As a further evidence of the cruelty and bad faith which were observed towards the Indians by the people of New England, we quote the following passage from Drake's Book of the Indians.

On the 4th of September, 1676, according to Church's account, Tispaquin's company were encamped near Sippican, doing "great damage to the English, in killing their cattle, horses, and swine." The next day Church and his rangers were in their neighbourhood, and after observing their situation, which was "sitting round their fires in a thick place of brush," in seeming safety, the captain ordered every man to creep as he did; and surrounded them by creeping as near as they could, till they should be discovered, and then run on upon them, and take them alive, if possible (for their prisoners were their pay). They did so, taking every one that was at the fires, none escaping. Upon examination they agreed in their story, that they belonged to Tispaquin, who was gone with John Bump and one more to Agawam and Sippican to kill horses, and were not expected back in two or three days." Church proceeds: "This same Tispaquin had been a great captain, and the Indians reported that he was such a great powwau, priest or conjurer, that no bullet could enter him. Captain Church said, he would not have him killed, for there was a war broken out in the eastern part of the country, and he would have him saved to go with him to fight the eastern Indians. Agreeably, he left two old squaws of the prisoners, and bid them tarry there until their captain Tispaquin returned, and to tell him that Church had been there, and had taken his wife, children and company, and carried them down to Plymouth; and would spare all their lives and his too, if he would come down to them, and bring the other two that were with him, and they should be his soldiers, &c. Captain Church then returned to Plymouth, leaving the old squaws well provided for, and biscuit for Tispaquin when he returned."

"This, Church called laying a trap for Tispaquin, and it turned out as he expected. We shall now see with what faith the English acted on this occasion. Church had assured him, that if he gave himself up he should not be killed, but he was not at Plymouth when Tispaquin came in, having gone to Boston, on business for a few days; 'but when he returned he found to his grief that the heads of Annawon, Tispaquin, &c., were cut off, which were the last of Phillip's friends.'"

"It is true," continues Mr. Drake, "that those who were known to have been personally engaged in killing the English, were, in time of the greatest danger, cut off from pardon by a law; that time had now passed away, and like many other laws of exigency, it should then have been considered a dead letter; leaving out of the case the faith and promise of their best servant, Church. View it therefore in any light, and nothing can be found to justify this flagrant inroad upon the promise of Captain Church. To give to the conduct of the Plymouth government a pretext for this murder, (a milder expression I cannot use,) Mr. Hubbard says, 'Tispaquin having pretended that a bullet could not penetrate him, trial of his invulnerableness was resolved upon. So he was placed as a mark to shoot at, 'and he fell down at the first shot!'"

"This was doubtless the end of numerous others, as we infer from the following passage in Dr. Mather's '*Prevalency of Prayer.*' He asks, 'Where are the six Narragansett sachems, with all their captains and counsellors? Where are the Nipmuck sachems, with their captains and counsellors? Where is Phillip, and squaw sachem of Pocasset, with all their captains and counsellors? God do so to all the implacable enemies of Christ, and of his people in New England!'"

If the pious men of that day could thus pray for the blood of the Indian, what could be expected from the unreflecting portion of the community, and especially from that portion of them who were trained to war? And what degree of efficacy could we attribute to the prayers and efforts for the conversion of the heathen, mingled with such ejaculations of triumph for their destruction, and so prodigal a shedding of their blood?

There is not a more touching passage in the history of this devoted people, than that which records the pious labours of the Moravian brethren, and the melancholy catastrophe by which the fruits of their exertions were blasted. The Moravian missionaries seem to have been persons of irreproachable purity; humble and simple minded; who brought to their work a truly apostolic singleness of purpose. Their preaching was not connected with any plan of colonization, aggrandizement, or conquest; nor was it accessory to the propagation of a particular form of faith. It did not contain within itself the elements of discord, as has been the case with too many of the professed plans for converting the heathen, even under the most imposing auspices. The missionaries had no other object in view, than the conversion of the Indians; and we contemplate the adventures of Heckewelder, Jung, Zeisberger, Senseman, and Edwards, with sentiments of respect for them, and sorrow for the fate of their enterprise.

The missionary, Frederick Post, visited the Indians on the Ohio, in 1758, and several others penetrated into the wilderness at an early period. The Moravian towns, whose history we learn from the publications of Heckewelder and Loskiel, were founded previous to that time. They were situated on the Muskingum river, in Ohio, and were established while that country was yet an unbroken wilderness. Here the Moravians collected a number of converts, from among the Delaware Indians, estimated by some writers at about four hundred, and erected them into a religious community, inhabiting three villages, Salem, Schoenbrund, and Gnadenhutten. These villages were six or seven miles apart, and were situated south from the present town of New Philadelphia, from which place the nearest of them was distant about fifteen miles. They were sixty or seventy miles west of Pittsburgh, which was then the nearest place inhabited by civilized men. The country in that vicinity is healthful and fertile, and well adapted to agricultural purposes; and the little fraternity of believers, who separated themselves from the world, to cultivate and enjoy the peaceful fruits of religion, combined with useful labour, might have found here the happiness they sought, and have created a blooming paradise in the wilderness, had not the unsettled state of the times left them unprotected, and exposed to insult and finally to destruction. It is impossible to ascertain, what progress was made by these converts, in the arts of civilization, as their existence was brief, and their history little known to any whites but the missionaries. It is certain that they embraced the Christian faith, abandoned war, and resorted to agriculture for subsistence. They became essentially a pacific people, and prospered so far as was dependent on their own exertions. But the times were not propitious to a fair trial of the experiment. The revolutionary war was about to break out, and the agents of the British government were busily employed in the incendiary work of inciting the savages to war. The adventurous backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia, had crossed the Alleghany mountains, and were exploring the luxuriant forests of the West, in search of fertile lands. They had surmounted the barrier which the Indians had supposed would protect their hunting grounds, and which the officious foreigner had pointed out to them as a natural boundary between the white and red races. The excitement was great throughout the whole frontier, and at no time in our history have the hostilities between these parties assumed a more fierce and unrelenting character, than that which characterized the wars of this period. Two of the British emissaries, McKee and Girty, were men who to great industry and perseverance in their despicable office, added a cold-blooded and sanguinary cruelty, for which a parallel can scarcely be found in the annals of crime. The savage mind, already irritated by the encroachments of the white settlers, became infuriated by the inflammatory harangues of these agents, accompanied by presents, by promised rewards, by the hope of plunder, by the lust of revenge, and, by that most fearful engine of destruction, the intoxicating draught.

The Moravian villages were situated about midway between some of the Indian towns and the advanced settlements of the whites, and as they practised a pacific demeanour towards both parties, receiving both alike with Christian kindness and hospitality, they soon became suspected by each of secretly favouring the other. The rights of unarmed neutrals are seldom respected by warriors with arms in their hands, and with appetites whetted for plunder. The rough militia from the frontier, and the painted savage, equally despised the humble convert of the cross, and branded as hypocrisy and cowardice that spirit of non-resistance which they could not understand.

Under all these disadvantages the community continued to flourish until the actual breaking out of the revolutionary war in 1775. Up to that period there had been encroachments, jealousy, quarrels, marauding excursions, and occasionally a petty border warfare; but now there was a general war of a bitter and unsparing character. The American colonies, barely able to maintain the contest on the seaboard, against the fleets and armies of Great Britain, had no troops to send to the frontier, where the pioneers were obliged to defend themselves against the combined British and Indian force. It was a warfare such as we trust will never again disgrace the flag of any Christian people, or pollute the soil of our country—a war against individuals, which brought distress and ruin to the fireside, without any perceptible effect upon the national quarrel, or any advantage to either of the principal parties. The burning of the settler's cabin—the murder of women and children—the plunder of an indigent peasantry, whose whole wealth yielded to the ruffian invader nothing but the fruits of the earth and the spoils of the chase,—all this was poor game for the diplomatic skill and military energies of a first-rate European power. The backwoodsmen, left to contend unaided against this formidable allied power, imbibed the bitter feeling, and adopted the savage warfare of their enemies, so that the contest became not only fierce and bloody, but was marked by cruelties of the most atrocious character.

The war parties of either side, in passing the villages of the Christian Indians, often found it convenient to stop, and were always kindly entertained, by this pacific community, who would not have dared, even if so disposed, to refuse the rites of hospitality to armed men. It was not easy under such circumstances to avoid the suspicion of partiality. Even their benevolence, and their aversion to the shedding of blood, led them into acts which, however humane, were incautious. They sometimes became apprised of the plans of the Indians, to surprise and massacre the whites, and by sending secret messages to the latter, saved them from the impending destruction; and when the famished and way-worn fugitives, who had escaped from captivity, sought a refuge at their doors, they secreted and fed them, and assisted them in eluding their pursuers. The red warriors, on the other hand, were always received with hospitality, and experienced, no doubt, all the kindness which was extended to our own people. The charities of this kind people were probably numerous, for it was a rude season, and many were the sufferers driven by the blasts of war to seek shelter within their doors. It followed naturally, that whenever a secret plan failed of success, in consequence of its being discovered and frustrated by the opposite party, the Moravians were charged with the disclosure. Their habitual kindness was forgotten, the benevolence of their motive was not taken into account, and they were cursed as spies and traitors, for actions of which they were wholly innocent, or which were honourable to them as men and as Christians.

The Moravian villages were called "the half-way houses of the warriors," and this phrase was used in fierce derision by the lawless men, who despised the meek professors of a pacific creed, who were content to till the soil, taking no side in the portentous war, whose thunders were rolling on every side. The neutrality implied in the term *half-way house*, was any thing but pleasing to warriors embittered by an implacable hatred; and the helplessness that should have protected the brethren only invited insult.

As early as 1754, they are said to have been oppressed by a tribute exacted from them by the Hurons; and about the same time a plot to remove their residence to Wajonick, on the Susquehanna, was set on foot by the "Wild Indians," in alliance with the French, for the purpose of getting the Moravians out of the way, that they might with more secrecy assail the English settlements. Many of the brethren fell into this snare, and some of the chiefs among them were tempted to advocate the measure, from a latent desire to return to the war path. The missionaries discovered the moving springs of the intrigue, and refused to sanction the removal; but about seventy of their followers emigrated to that and other places.

In the spring of 1778, the English emissaries McKee, Elliot, Girty, and others, having been arrested at Pittsburgh as tories, made their escape, and passing rapidly through the tribes, proclaimed that the Americans were preparing to destroy the Indians, and called upon the latter to strike at the settlements in self defence. The whole frontier was thrown into a ferment by this incendiary movement.

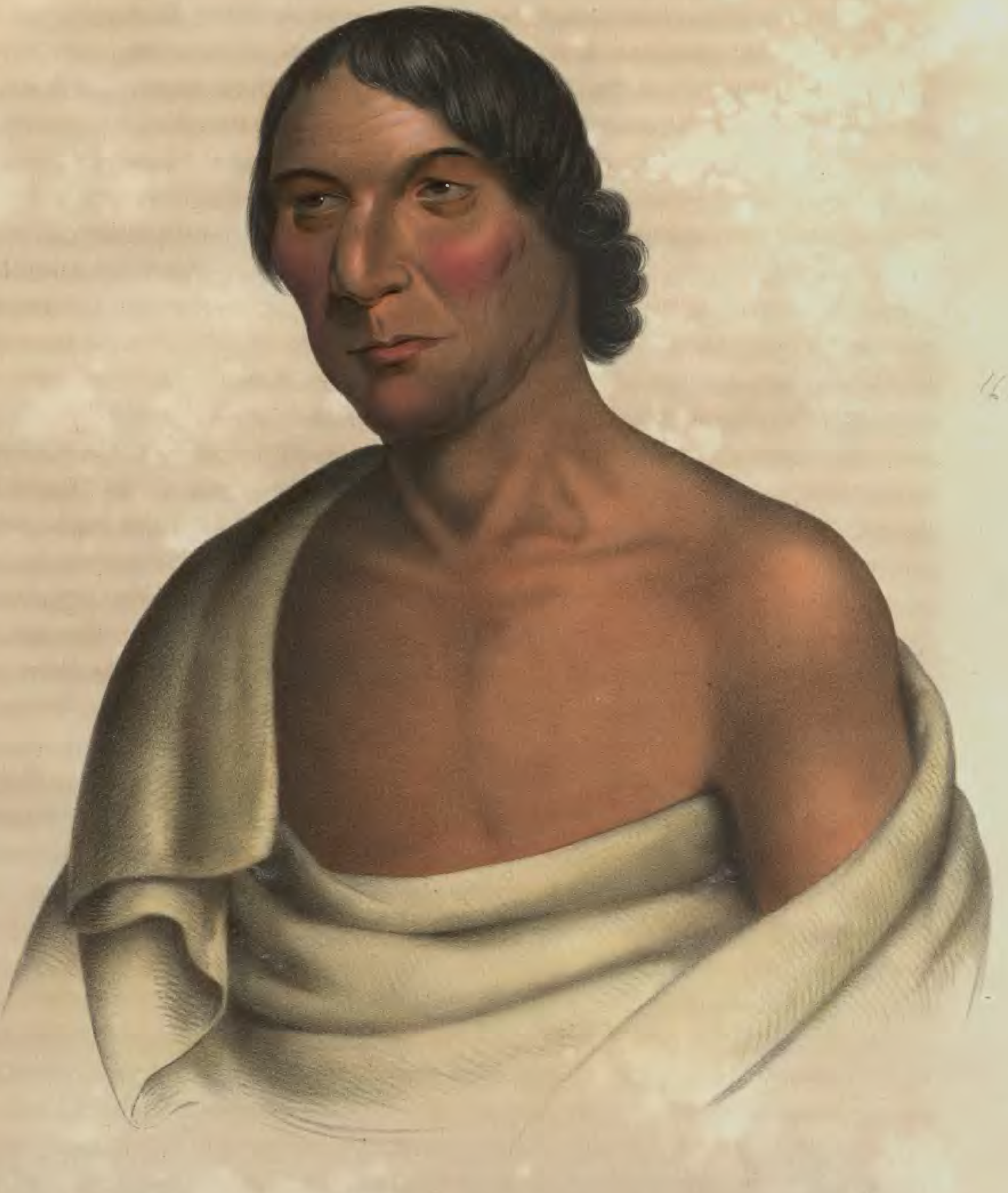
About the year 1780 a large Indian force was collected for the purpose of striking a decisive blow at the settlements of Western Virginia, but on reaching the points intended to be assailed, full of expectation, and flushed in advance with the hope of plunder, they were disappointed by finding that preparations were made for their reception. Mortified with this result, they retreated to a safe distance, and having taken a number of prisoners, they deliberately tortured and murdered them, with every refinement of savage cruelty. The sufferers were so numerous, and the barbarities practised upon them so aggravated, as to cause an extraordinary excitement in the American settlements. In 1781 Col. Broadhead, of Pennsylvania, led an expedition against the hostile Indians; and halting near Salem, directed the inhabitants to collect their people and remain within doors, that they might not be mistaken for enemies by his exasperated troops. While this officer was assuring the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder that the Moravian Indians should be protected, the incensed militia were preparing to destroy the towns, and it was only by the most strenuous exertions of the officers that the poor Indians were saved from destruction.

Not long after this event, a chief called Pach-gaut-schi-hi-las appeared suddenly at Gnadenhutten, at the head of eighty warriors, and surrounded the village, so as to allow no one to escape. The panic-stricken brethren, expecting that the hour for their extermination had arrived, prepared to meet their fate. The chief, however, relieved their fears, by demanding the delivery of certain leading men, who were found to be absent. After consulting with the brethren, the chief greeted them kindly, spoke with respect of their pacific habits, and deplored their exposed position on the very road over which the hostile parties must pass to reach each other. They had just escaped destruction from one of these parties, and he advised them to remove to a distance from the war path. The Christian Indians, relying upon the innocence of their lives, declined to remove.

In the autumn of 1781, "a troop of savages, commanded by English officers," surrounded and pillaged the unprotected villages of the Moravian Indians. The corn fields, just ready for the harvest, were ravaged by the ruthless invaders, "two hundred cattle, four hundred hogs, and much corn in store," were taken from them. Their houses were broken open, their altars desecrated, and themselves treated with merciless contempt. A young Indian woman, who accompanied the warriors, was so touched by the distresses of the brethren, some of whom were her own tribe and kindred, that she left the camp secretly, and taking a horse of Captain Pipe, the leader of the marauding Indians, rode to Pittsburgh, where she gave intelligence of the misfortunes which had befallen the brethren. This spirited woman was a near relative of Glikhikan, a distinguished chief of the Delawares, described by Heckewelder as "an eminent captain and warrior, counsellor and speaker," who was now a member of the Christian community, and on him the savages determined to wreak their vengeance, on the discovery of the mission of his kinswoman. He was seized at Salem, and carried to Gnadenhutten, singing his death song. It was proposed to cut him in pieces at once; and the Delawares, who were exasperated against him for having quitted the usages of his people, were clamorous for his instant execution; but he was saved by the interposition of a chief, who insisted that he should be fairly tried. Upon examination, he was found to be innocent, in regard to the matter which had caused his arrest, and he was set at liberty, but not until his persecutors had given vent to their malignity, by loading him with the vilest epithets. Their rage was now directed to the missionaries, and the chiefs were nearly unanimous in the conclusion to put them to death. On so important a matter, it was considered requisite to consult one of their sorcerers, whose reply was that "he could not understand what end it would answer to kill them." The chiefs then held a council, at which it was resolved to put to death, not only the missionaries and their families, but those of the Indian converts who were prominently engaged in religious duties. But the sorcerer again interposed the powerful shield of his protection; he said that some of the chief men among the brethren were his friends, and that he would serve them at every hazard. "If you hurt any of them," said he, "I know what I shall do." The threat was effectual; and the Christian ministers were rescued from a cruel death, by the priest of superstition. But the sufferings of this devoted community did not end here. The missionaries were carried to Detroit, and arraigned before the British commandant, as traitors and enemies of the king. The modern Felix, after a full examination of the charges, was compelled to admit the innocence of the prisoners, and they were discharged. But the object of the instigators of this flagitious transaction, was accomplished. The Indians were driven for the time from their villages. Heretofore, though often pillaged and threatened, their lives and persons had been spared, and some respect was attached to their character: but this bold outrage, sanctioned by the British authority, destroyed all feeling of restraint on the part of the savages, and they were now continually harassed by the war parties. Compelled to quit their once quiet habitations, they wandered through the wilderness to the plains of Sandusky, distant about one hundred and twenty-five miles, where many of them perished miserably of famine, during the succeeding winter.

In the ensuing month of February, a wretched remnant numbering about a hundred and fifty of these persecuted converts, returned to their former habitations, to seek among their ruined huts and desolated hearths, some relics of the former abundance, to save themselves from starvation. Here they met with a party of militia from the settlements, who in the brutal indulgence of that hatred for the red men, which embraced every branch of that unhappy race, slew ninety of these starving fugitives. The remainder crawled back to their companions at Sandusky.

However broken and disheartened by these various calamities, the Moravian Indians still clung to their bond of union, for in 1782 they were again collected at their villages. Their previous misfortunes seem to have been attributable to the intrigues of Elliot, Girty, and McKee, the British agents, who were always their implacable persecutors. But they were singularly unfortunate in having no friends on either side, for the American borderers were not less their enemies. Exasperated by the continual incursions of the Indians, and the atrocious cruelties perpetrated by them, they imbibed a spirit of revenge, which was too bitter and too blind, to leave any power of discrimination between the guilty and the innocent. They assumed, strangely enough, that the Praying Indians of the Muskingum, were the tools of these foreign agents, of whom in fact they were the victims, equally with themselves. Nourishing a deadly rancour against the whole race, they took no pains to inquire into the justice of their suspicions, for revenge is always blind and



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A CHIPPEWA CHIEF.

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incapable of any just measure of retribution. In 1782 an expedition was planned by the settlers in Western Virginia, under Colonel William Crawford, against the hostile Indians, and the destruction of the Moravian towns was deliberately contemplated as a part of the plan. Unhappily the hand of desolation had already performed its work so effectually as to leave little to be done; but that little was now completed. The followers of Crawford found desolated fields and ruined habitations, tenanted by a few broken-spirited wretches, who were again driven forth into the wilderness, never to be re-assembled. While the unresisting Christian fell thus a prey to every fierce marauder, the sword of retributive justice was not sleeping in its scabbard; it was now ready to fall on the head of the offender. The ill-fated troops of Crawford proceeded to the plains of Sandusky, where they encountered a large Indian force, and a battle ensued which lasted from noon until sunset. The next day the savages increased in number, the camp was surrounded, and the most gloomy apprehensions began to be entertained. The troops were brave and hardy volunteers, but they were raw and insubordinate, and there seems to have been but little skill or firmness among the officers. A retreat was resolved upon; but hemmed in by a numerous and active foe, this measure was scarcely practicable. Discordant councils were added to the difficulties; a difference of opinion arose as to the mode of retreat, some proposing that the army should retire in a compact body, while others advised a division into a number of parties, who should cut their way through the enemy in different directions. Both plans were attempted, but neither of them with energy. The troops became panic-struck, discipline was thrown aside, and every movement was the result of mere impulse. The routed troops retreating in disorder were cut to pieces or captured in detail, and but few escaped to tell the dismal story. Crawford himself was taken prisoner, and carried to an Indian town, where he was beaten, tortured with lingering torments, and burnt at the stake with every indignity and aggravation of suffering which the malignity of the savage could suggest. Girty, the British agent, witnessed these shocking rites, laughed at the agonies of the sufferer, and was an active party in the bloody and atrocious scene.

We have already seen that the bad faith which marked the conduct of the English towards the aborigines, was not confined to any locality, or to any sect of the colonists. To show the universality of that misconduct, it is only necessary to open at random the history of the early settlements, which are fraught with instances of the reckless imprudence, or desperate perfidy of the English adventurers.

General Oglethorpe, who landed in Georgia in 1732, was kindly received by the Indians, who professed a high degree of veneration for the character of the English, in consequence of the amicable intercourse which had prevailed between themselves and a commander who had visited them a century before, supposed to have been Sir Walter Raleigh. Oglethorpe carried several of their chiefs to England in 1734, where they were entertained with great hospitality, and whence they returned with the most favourable impressions towards the white people. It is lamentable to remark that an intercourse commenced under such promising auspices, should have been almost immediately broken up by the misconduct of individuals. As early as 1743, when Georgia was invaded by the Spaniards, the natives were enlisted as auxiliaries on both sides, and thus placed in a position which must inevitably be ruinous to them, by drawing upon them the resentment of the whites. In the expedition against Fort Du Quesne the Cherokees were prevailed upon to join the English; but they became soured by the military restraints under which they were placed, by suspicions of their fidelity, which they alleged to be unfounded, and by various other injuries, either real or imaginary. Having lost their horses, and being worn with the fatigue of a long journey, they unfortunately, on reaching the frontiers of Virginia, supplied themselves by taking some horses which were found running at large. The inhabitants, as usual, proceeded to inflict summary justice, and about forty of the Cherokee warriors were shot down, in cool blood, in different places, as they passed through the settlements. After Braddock's defeat, the English offered a reward for Indian scalps, a cruel and inexcusable expedient, which doubtless led to the murder of many of their own allies, as their agents, in paying for the bloody trophy, could not distinguish between those taken in battle from their enemies, and those torn, for a wretched bribe, by the mercenary hand of murder, from the heads of their own friends. Another instance occurred about the same period, in which a party of Cherokees, who had been regaled at the house of a white man, under the implied safeguard of hospitality, were surrounded, and shot down by ruffians lying in ambuscade, as they passed from the place of entertainment! No provocation could excuse such deeds. The capture in the woods of a few wild horses of little value, by savages unskilled in the laws relating to property, afforded no just plea for the shedding of blood; and no offence could justify a deliberate violation of good faith, by the murder of confiding guests. In this respect the Indians themselves displayed a more generous conduct. When the intelligence of these massacres reached the Cherokees, they rushed to arms, and would have slain several Englishmen, who were then in their country on some business connected with the negotiation of a treaty; but their chief Attakullakulla interfered, and secreted the whites, until he calmed the excited feeling of his people. He then assembled his warriors in council, and proposed an immediate war against the English. "The hatchet shall never be buried," said he, "until the blood of our people be avenged. But let us not violate our faith, by shedding the blood of those who are now in our power. They came to us in confidence, bringing belts of wampum to cement a perpetual alliance. Let us carry them back to their own settlements, and then take up the hatchet and endeavour to exterminate the whole race of them." The Indians not only adopted this advice; but proceeded regularly to demand the murderers from the English authorities, who refused to comply with the request; and the result was a war attended with the usual atrocities of border warfare, and followed by the common, and still more lamentable result of such hostilities, a lasting hatred between the parties—a hatred, the more calamitous to the Indian, as it placed an insuperable barrier between him and all the blessings of Christianity and civilization.

Without multiplying any further our instances from American history, it may be perceived that the colonists never acted towards the Indians with any system; no rule either of justice or humanity regulated their conduct, no limit restrained the dictate of caprice, or the hand of violence. Every man behaved himself towards the savage as seemed good in his own eyes: to cheat the savage was not dishonest, to rob him not criminal, to slay him not murder; while the attempt to protect him from injury, or to teach him the way of salvation, was scarcely deemed meritorious. For all these atrocities, the European governments are responsible, who interposed no restraint between their own subjects who came to this continent for mercenary purposes, and the natives who were delivered over to their tender mercies. In the charters and patents granting territory to the North American colonists, extensive boundaries were set forth, but no reservation was made in favour of the ancient inhabitants, no recognition of their present occupancy, nor any mode prescribed for the purchase or extinguishment of their title. We do not assert that they were not attended to, nor deny that they were sometimes mentioned in terms of affected benevolence; but we do say that they were not recognized in those solemn public documents, as nations or individuals having rights to be respected. The intercourse with them was left to be directed by circumstances; and this momentous interest, fraught with consequences so portentous to them and to us, was modified and moulded, not only by the characters of the various leaders, but the caprice, the interest, and the passions of all those who came in contact with the natives. Hence the multifarious incidents, and diverse causes and influences which have operated in producing the present condition of that people, and in forming our opinions concerning them.

Previous to the revolution we find a better feeling growing up in most of the colonies. The aspirations of our forefathers for liberty, enlarged their minds, and implanted noble and generous sentiments, in regard to the whole scheme of government, and the entire system of human rights and happiness. Among the first acts of the new confederation were measures of a considerate, and just, and conciliatory character towards the Indians; the right of the Indians to the occupancy of their lands was distinctly avowed, and a system adopted for the gradual extinction of their title by purchase, which, in most cases, has been observed.

The boundaries of the colonies extended from the sea-coast, into the interior, so far, in most cases, as to embrace large districts of wild land, occupied by the Indians. Some of them extended indefinitely to the west, and we believe that none of them acknowledged any other boundary than that of a sister colony, or some European possèssion, except where the ocean set bounds to the sway of man. The country was divided without regard to the Indians, who were included in the new sovereignties, and whose removal or extinction was assumed as inevitable in the natural course of events. The newly formed American states adopted the same boundaries, and were obliged to take the country subject to the existing state of things. There were the Indians, and there were the white population, trained up in the belief that the wilderness before them was destined to be reclaimed and to blossom as the rose, and that they were the appointed instruments to effect the transformation. There was the fixed and hardened public sentiment dooming the Indian to extirpation, and decreeing the descendant of the Saxon to a destiny as brilliant as vanity, self-love, interest, and ambition, could imagine. What government would dare to protect a wretched remnant of savages, by arresting the march of improvement, and palsying the energies of a free, great, and enlightened people? There were the prejudices, the hatred, the rankling feuds, the cherished memory of mutual and oft repeated injuries, transmitted through successive generations, and gaining continual accessions from the tributary streams of current aggression. All these were incumbered upon the inheritance of our fathers, and unavoidably influenced their councils.

There was this marked difference between the policy of the new states and that of the colonial governments which preceded them, that while both contemplated the removal of the Indians from within the boundaries of their several states, that removal was on the one hand proposed to be voluntary, on the other compulsory: the European governments took the land of the natives whenever it pleased them to do so; the American states voluntarily pledged themselves to leave the Indians unmolested until their title to the lands they occupied could be extinguished, peaceably, by purchase.

By the Union of the States the intercourse with the Indians became complicated by a further modification. In adjusting the division of power between the general government, and the several states respectively, of the confederacy, the intercourse with foreign nations was given up to the former, while the latter reserved to themselves all their sovereignty, as regarded the internal police of their states. The intercourse with the Indians was specially delegated to the United States, embracing the whole subject of negotiating for their lands; while the respective states, members of the Union, by their own proper sovereignty, and in the necessary maintenance of their police, claimed jurisdiction over such individuals or tribes, as fell within their boundaries. It is true that this jurisdiction was, in practice, seldom extended over the unceded territory of the Indians; but that states, claiming without dispute certain boundaries, might exercise sovereignty, coextensive with these boundaries, for all the legitimate purposes of government, can hardly be denied. The United States reserving the right of pre-emption to the lands of the Indians, and denying alike to foreign states, to states members of the Union, and to individuals, the privilege of purchasing such lands, or of treating with the Indians, assumed the immediate guardianship over the latter, and became bound to the states to remove them from within their boundaries, whenever that desirable measure could be effected by peaceable negotiation.

The system that embraced the removal of the Indians from their ancient hunting-grounds to lands allotted them west of the Mississippi, was, as a system, doubtless, a humane one. While within the jurisdictive limits of states, they were subject to the action of the anomalous relations growing out of such a position. Beyond those limits, and away from the consuming effects necessarily attendant upon a close approximation of the two races, a season of rest has been afforded them, in which to improve themselves, and be benefited by the agency of those Christian labours, which, if their present possessions are secured to them, by a title as indestructible as a fee-simple right can make it, and the appropriate relations are established between them and the United States, will result in their preservation as a race, and in advancing them to the high destiny of a civilized and Christian people.

Notwithstanding the angry contentions which were continued, down to the period of the removal of the Indians, between citizens of the states, and in some instances, state governments and themselves, several of the tribes, especially the Cherokees, had resorted to agriculture; some were converted to Christianity, schools were established, and missionaries kindly entertained. Their improvement was rapid, and there was a gratifying prospect of an auspicious result. They had even invented an alphabet, established a press, and given to themselves a written language. They adopted a written constitution, and organized a regular government. Here the state of Georgia interposed her authority. The Cherokees were within the limits claimed by her, and recognized by the other states and the Union, and she could not be expected to consent to the erection of an independent state within her boundaries. The formation of such a state would be inadmissible under the constitution of the United States, each member of which, as well as the confederacy, would be bound in good faith to protest against it. The United States especially, being bound to the state of Georgia, to extinguish the title of the Cherokees to their land, by purchase, as soon as the same could be done "peaceably, and upon reasonable terms," could neither consent to, nor connive at, a proceeding which would render the performance of her own undertaking impossible. Nor do we understand that this view of the case necessarily involved the expulsion, as individuals, of such portion of the Cherokees as were engaged in agriculture, or the mechanic arts. As a people they were denied a political existence within the state of Georgia; they were offered a price for their lands, and other lands with full territorial jurisdiction and a national organization, beyond the limits of the states of the Union. But any individual who chose to remain, to submit to the laws of Georgia, and to live the life of a civilized man, might have done so.

We shall now speak of the condition of the south-western tribes of the United States, for the purpose of showing the actual amount of civilization existing among them, previous to their removal, and the causes, so far as we can ascertain them, of the changes which have taken place, in the mode of life, and especially of such of these causes as bear upon the future prospects of these tribes.

The advances in civilization made by the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, afford ground for the strongest encouragement on this subject. These were among the most powerful and warlike of the aboriginal tribes—as wild, as ferocious, as untameable as any of their race. Driven across the Alleghany mountains by the pressure of the white population, they became stationary in the fertile country lying between those mountains and the Mississippi, and within the boundaries of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The tide of civilization, pressing to the west, rolled over them, and left them in an insulated position: Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana became interposed between them and the native tribes lying still farther to the west, leaving them surrounded by a white population. Their hunting-grounds were still sufficiently extensive, to keep up around them an immense wilderness, and to afford room for the free exercise of savage customs; but there were countervailing causes, which gradually restrained and limited the nomadic habits and propensities, and brought about a great revolution. The first of these we have alluded to; the geographical position of the tribes, obliged them to become stationary; their villages became permanent; and their warlike propensities were curbed. Their rich country and fine climate tempted a number of traders to settle among them, who married Indian women, and became identified with the tribes.

The first and most effectual of the causes which have been brought to bear upon this portion of the Indian race, has been the mixture of whites—the introduction into the tribes of persons already civilized. We have elsewhere remarked upon the singular facility with which the Indians admit the naturalization of foreigners among them. Jealous as they are, and as all ignorant people are, of strangers, yet when a white man settles among them, and adopts their mode of life, he soon gains their confidence, and ceases to be in any respect an alien. Cautious and suspicious in all their doings, they receive such persons with hesitation, and watch their conduct narrowly for a while, but their confidence, when given, is without reserve. The adoption of white prisoners into the Indian families, is not an uncommon occurrence; the person adopted takes the place of one who has been lost, succeeds to all his rights, and in all particulars is treated precisely as he would have been whom he represents. They seem to be wholly unconscious of that prejudice of colour, which is so strong with us; and the superior knowledge of the white man, instead of causing dislike, recommends him to favour.

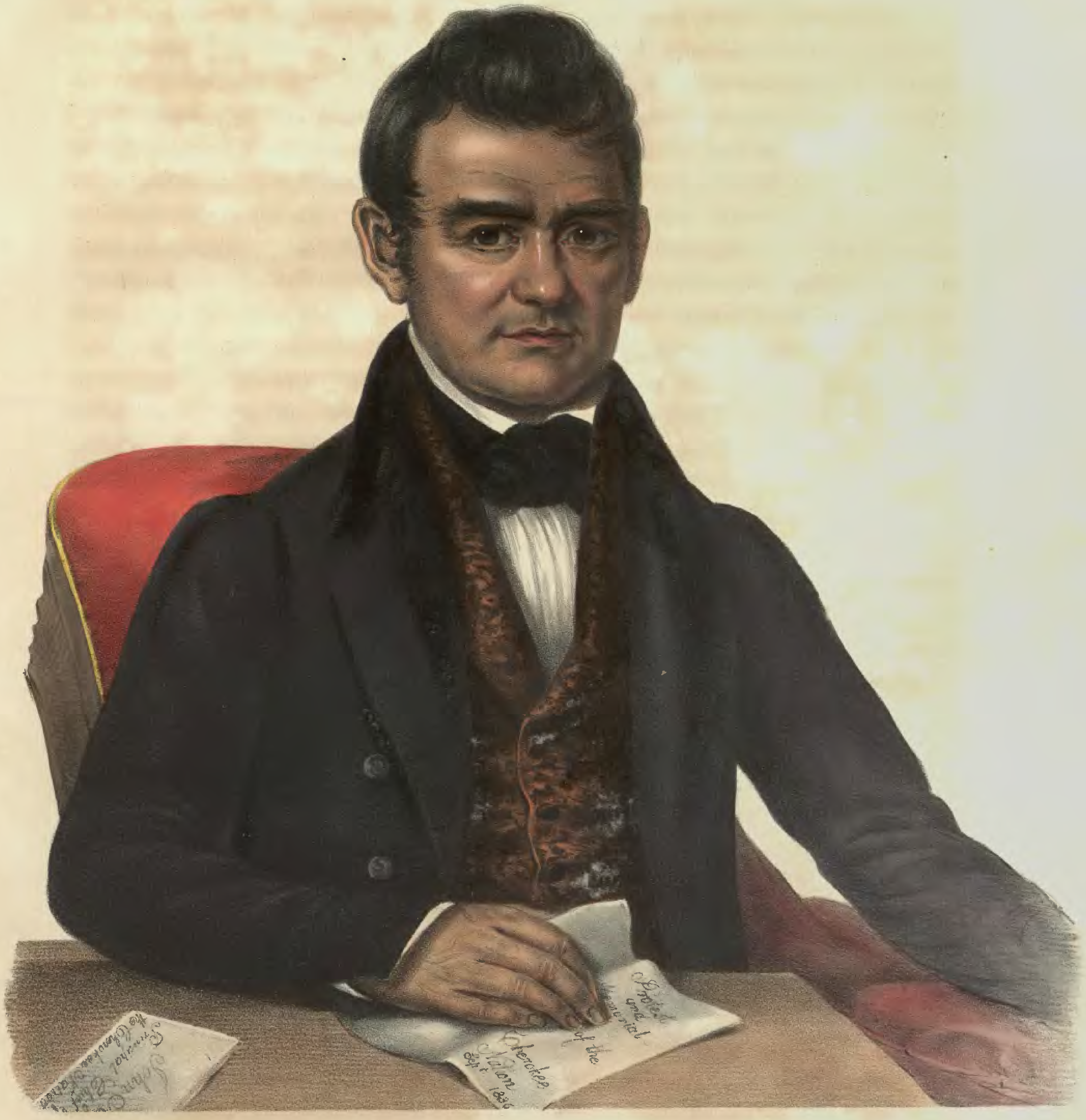
The children of the intermarriages between the whites and Indians, are not placed under any disability, nor does any dislike or prejudice attach to them. On the contrary they are usually a favoured class, and the only observable distinction is to their advantage. Their position places them a little in advance of the Indian; they have the advantages of speaking two languages, and of being taught by one parent the warlike habits and manly exercises of the savage, and by the other the arts of civilized life; and they thus become the orators, the interpreters, the counsellors, and the influential men, in the negotiations between the Indians and the white men. From one of their parents they imbibe notions of property, and being more provident than the savage in his natural state, are better provided with the means of subsistence, and often become wealthy.

Several of the most distinguished chiefs among the southern Indians, were the descendants of white men, and nearly all of those whose influence has been actively and effectually exerted in advancing civilization, have been of the mixed blood, and enjoyed, to a greater or less degree, the advantages of education. Not to mention others, we may point out Alexander McGillivray as an example. He was the head of the Creek nation, and was considered the most conspicuous of the southern chiefs. He succeeded to the chieftaincy in right of his mother, a woman of energy and talents, who ruled before him; but he was also, according to the Indian rule, freely elected by the nation. His father was a Scotchman, a trader, who, by the thrift of his fatherland, made himself an influential man among the Creeks. Young McGillivray was born about 1739, and educated, from the age of ten years, under the care of Mr. Farquhar McGillivray, a relative of his father, in Charleston, South Carolina. He learned the Latin language, was much addicted to literature, and devoted himself assiduously to study. In the revolutionary war he espoused the British cause, but after the peace became reconciled to the American government, visited President Washington, and was much noticed in our eastern cities. He was young when elected chief, and died in 1793, at the age of about fifty-four, so that he must have been in power about thirty years, with the exception of a short period, during which he was expelled from authority by an adverse faction, headed by one Bowles, a white man, and whose temporary success affords a further illustration of the extent of that influence to which we allude.

The white men who settled among the southern tribes of the United States, were traders, whose business was a traffic in furs and merchandise; but who became attached to the savage mode of life, and becoming stationary in the wilderness, adopted the dress and many of the habits of the Indians, while they also devoted themselves, in some degree, to agricultural and pastoral pursuits. They introduced the domestic animals, which running at large *in the range*, as the luxuriant wild pastures are called, multiplied rapidly, with but little care or expense to the owners, who soon became the proprietors of large droves of horses, cattle, and swine. These alone, in the sylvan state in which they lived, constituted wealth, and gave importance. They erected large and comfortable houses, and became surrounded with the comforts of life. Living on the borders of the slave states, they were enabled to purchase and hold slaves, who were employed in agriculture, in the cultivation chiefly of corn. Having all the means of living in great abundance, they lived rudely, but plentifully, and practised a generous hospitality. Their women, elevated from a wretched servitude, to be the companions of their husbands, relieved from the drudgery of cultivation, and the toil of following the hunter in the chase, and surrounded by the conveniences and luxuries of houses, furniture, and domestic servants, experienced a rapid improvement in character. The domestic virtues were developed, and the kindly affections appropriate to the sex, were intelligence. The missionaries and the agents of the United States, threw all their influence into the scale of civilization, and those who could not officially countenance the scheme of framing an independent government, within the limits of Georgia, did what they could to urge the moral reformation which accompanied that movement. The party opposed to reformation were compelled reluctantly to make concessions; laws were made for the protection of life and property; patroles were established to scour the country, to arrest offenders, and to preserve the peace; the schools were taken under the public protection, and the germs of a regular government widely scattered. In the mean while such men as John Ross, Elias Boudinot, John Ridge, and others, whose minds had been enlarged by education and travel, laboured assiduously with the pen, and by their personal influence, not only to disseminate information among their countrymen, but to enlist the sympathies of the American government and people.

The most prominent man of this movement was **JOHN ROSS**, a Cherokee of the mixed blood, whose portrait is contained in this number of our work, and who is now at the head of the confederated Indian nation west of the Mississippi. We regret that the want of materials for a separate memoir of this chief has prevented us from giving him the place in the biographical portion of our work, to which his eminent services, and conspicuous position, entitle him. But this has been prevented by the difficulty of procuring authentic information, and by our reluctance to enter in detail upon a life so eventful and important, without such full and accurate materials, as would enable us to do justice as well to him, as to the numerous friends and enemies, who have acted with and against him. We must speak of him in general terms as the leader of his people in their exodus from the land of their nativity to a new country, and from the savage state to that of civilization. Through the whole of this interesting and exciting movement he has been an efficient actor, and of some of the most important events the prime mover. He has no fame as a warrior, nor do we know that he has ever been in the field. His talents are those of the civilian. Plain and unassuming in his appearance, of calm and quiet deportment, he is a man of great sagacity and of untiring energy. Assiduous in the pursuit of his objects, he has spent many of his winters at Washington, where he was well known to all the leading statesmen, and to the philanthropists who concern themselves about the affairs of the neglected Aborigines, while the remainder of his time has been actively employed among his own people. So far as we can judge of his character, by his acts, we believe him to be an able man, who has done good service for his people.

It could hardly be expected that a leader and chief of such prominence would escape the missives of those with whom he differed. Many, and varied as had been the excitements prior to the conclusion of the treaty of New Echota, of 29th December, 1835, they bore no comparison to those which grew out of this transaction. The party to this treaty, which at no time, it is believed, exceeded a hundred Indians, was headed by Major Ridge, his son John, and Elias Boudinot;


Protest and Memorial of the Cherokee Nation Sept 1836
John Ross Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation

JOHN ROSS.

A CHEROKEE CHIEF.

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and against them was the entire remainder of the Cherokee nation, at the head of which was John Ross. These excitements would have been of short duration, had not the Ridge party been recognized and sustained by the United States government. We have no desire to introduce into this work, the elements, even, much less the details of this controversy, or, if we had, the entire history would be too voluminous for this work.* We cannot refrain, however, from introducing in this place, because it illustrates not only the ability of Ross, as a writer, but the nature and grounds of the controversy itself, the following touching remonstrance, in the form of a memorial, addressed by Ross and those whom the Cherokees had associated with him, for the purpose,—"To the honourable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America." This memorial was transmitted from Red Clay council ground, Cherokee Nation, East, and bears date September 28, 1836; it is signed by 1,245 male adults. After a few preliminary remarks the memorial proceeds:—

"By the stipulations of this instrument, (the treaty of New Echota,) we are despoiled of our private possessions, the indefeasible property of individuals. We are stripped of every attribute of freedom and eligibility for legal self-defence. Our property may be plundered before our eyes. Violence may be committed on our persons; even our lives may be taken away and there is none to regard our complaints. We are denationalized! We are disfranchised! We are deprived of membership in the human family! We have neither land, nor home, nor resting-place, that can be called our own. And this is effected by the provisions of a compact which assumes the venerated, the sacred appellation of treaty. We are overwhelmed! Our hearts are sickened! Our utterance is paralyzed, when we reflect on the condition in which we are placed by the audacious practices of unprincipled men; who have managed their stratagems with so much dexterity as to impose on the government of the United States, in the face of our earnest, solemn, and reiterated protestations.

"The instrument in question is not the act of our nation. We are not parties to its covenants. It has not received the sanction of our people. The makers of it sustain no office or appointment in our nation, under the designation of chiefs, head-men, or any other title, by which they hold or could acquire authority to assume the reins of government, and to make bargain and sale of our rights, our possessions, and our common country. And we are constrained solemnly to declare, that we cannot but contemplate the enforcement of the stipulations of this instrument on us, against our consent, as an act of injustice and oppression, which we are well persuaded can never, knowingly, be countenanced by the government and people of the United States; nor can we believe it to be the design of those honourable and high-minded individuals, who stand at the head of the government, to bind a whole nation by the acts of a few unauthorized individuals. And, therefore, we, the parties to be affected by the result, appeal with confidence to the justice, the magnanimity, the compassion of your honourable bodies, against the enforcement on us of the provisions of a compact, in the formation of which we have had no agency. In truth, our cause is your own. It is the cause of liberty and of justice. It is based on your own principles, which we have learned from yourselves! for we have gloried to count your Washington, and your Jefferson, our great teachers. We have read their communications to us with veneration. We have practised their precepts with success. And the result is manifest. The wilderness of forest has given place to comfortable dwellings and cultivated fields—stocked with the various domestic animals. Mental culture, industrious habits, and domestic enjoyments have succeeded the rudeness of the savage state. We have learned your religion also. We have read your sacred books. Hundreds of our people have embraced their doctrines, practised the virtues they teach, cherished the hopes they awaken, and rejoiced in the consolations which they afford. To the spirit of your institutions and your religion which has been imbibed by our community, is mainly to be ascribed that patient endurance which has characterized the conduct of our people under the lacerations of their keenest woes. For assuredly, we are not ignorant of our condition: we are not insensible to our sufferings. We feel them! We groan under their pressure! And anticipation crowds our breasts with sorrows yet to come. We are, indeed, an afflicted people! Our spirits are subdued! Despair has well nigh seized upon our energies! But we speak to the representatives of a Christian country; the friends of justice; the patrons of the oppressed. And our hopes revive, and our prospects brighten, as we indulge the thought. On your sentence our fate is suspended. Prosperity or desolation depends on your word. To you, therefore, we look! Before your august assembly we present ourselves, in the attitude of deprecation and of entreaty. On your kindness, on your humanity, on your compassion, on your benevolence, we rest our hopes. To you we address our reiterated prayers.

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* For detailed information, see Doc. No. 286, House of Reps., 24th Congress, first Session.

"**SPARE OUR PEOPLE!** Spare the wreck of our prosperity! Let not our deserted homes become the monuments of desolations! But we forbear! We suppress the agonies which wring our hearts, when we look at our wives, our children, and our venerable sires! We restrain our forebodings of anguish and distress, of misery and devastation and death which must be the attendants on the execution of this ruinous compact."

The foregoing sentiments were afterwards, viz. 30th of September, reiterated, in a letter to General Wool, then commanding United States troops in the Cherokee nation, to which the General thus replied:—

"*Head Quarters Army E. T. & C. N.*
Fort Cass, November 3, 1836.

"I am instructed by the President of the United States, through the War Department, to make known to John Ross, and all others, whom it may concern, that it is his determination to have the late treaty, entered into between the United

States and the Cherokee people, and ratified by the Senate the 25th of May 1836, religiously fulfilled in all its parts, terms, and conditions, within the period prescribed; and that no delegation which may be sent to Washington, with a view to obtain new terms, or a modification of those of the existing treaty, will be received or recognized, nor will any intercourse be had with them, directly or indirectly, orally, or in writing; and that the President regards the proceedings of Mr. Ross and his associates in the late council held at Red Clay, as in direct contravention of the plighted faith of their people, and a repetition of them will be considered as indicative of a design to prevent the execution of the treaty, even at the hazard of actual hostilities, and they will be promptly repressed," &c.

Thus circumstanced, it was thought by the Ross party that their brethren on the west of the Mississippi, who had emigrated under the treaties of 1817 and 1819, might take an interest in this question; and that probably if they should view the question in the light they did, and so express themselves, the government at Washington might be induced to listen to them. Whereupon a deputation was sent to lay the subject of the existing embarrassments before the councils of the western Cherokees. A council was convened, and their brethren from the east showed the authority under which they had come, and made known the object of their visit. Among the resolutions adopted on the occasion was the following:—"The course adopted by the general council of the Cherokee nation, east, in regard to the instrument aforesaid, (the treaty of New-Echota,) is hereby approved; and inasmuch as the said instrument is equally objectionable to us, and will, in its enforcement, also affect our best interests and happiness—Resolved, &c., that a delegation be, and hereby are appointed to represent the Cherokee nation west, before the government of the United States, and to co-operate with the delegation east of the Mississippi, in their exertions to procure the rescinding of the aforesaid instrument; and also with full powers to unite with the delegation aforesaid, in any treaty arrangement which they may enter into with the government of the United States for the final adjustment of the Cherokee difficulties, and to promote the advancement of the best interests and happiness of the whole Cherokee people, and to do all things touching the affairs of the Cherokees west, for their welfare." We will let Mr. Ross speak in his own language in regard to this joint mission. We copy from a letter addressed by him to Job R. Tyson, Esq., of Philadelphia.

"We departed with the members appointed to serve upon this delegation, but the severity of the winter, and the obstruction of our route by the ice in the rivers, prevented our arrival at Washington, until the 9th February, 1837, within a month of the close of General Jackson's presidency. We attempted to obtain access to the President, but were denied an official interview with the President or his secretary. We then memorialized the senate, which memorial was presented, but owing to the press of business, no opportunity occurred for presenting that which we addressed to the house. In this memorial we exhibited an account of the treatment we had experienced, and urged our claims in the most earnest and respectful manner. We selected what we considered the strongest arguments in support of our application. We adverted to the extraordinary and inexplicable change which had taken place in the mode of receiving us, and our appeals. Among other things, we said,—'We have asked, and we will reiterate the question—*how have we offended?* Show us in what manner we have, however unwittingly, inflicted upon you a wrong, you shall yourselves be the judges of the extent and manner of compensation; show us the offence which has awakened your feelings of justice against us, and we will submit to that measure of punishment which you shall tell us we have merited. We cannot bring to our recollection any thing we have done, or any thing we have omitted, calculated to awaken your resentment against us.'

"All, however, was vain. It may be observed that our appeal to the senate was necessarily presented so late in the session, that we could not have been fairly heard, whatever disposition may have existed in that honourable body to give their full attention to our case.

"On the 4th March, (continues Mr. Ross,) Mr. Van Buren assumed the Presidential chair. On the 16th of March we addressed the new President, stating to him fully our position and wishes, reviewing the circumstances which had occurred, and the hopes we entertained of receiving redress at his hands. We entreated the President to examine for himself into the ground upon which we rested our charge; that the document called a treaty was fraudulent, and equally an imposition upon the United States, and upon ourselves. We asked—'Will the government of the United States claim the right to enforce a contract, thus assailed, by the other nominal party to it? Will they refuse to examine into charges of such grave import? Will they act in matters so momentous, involving consequences so awful, without inquiry?' Such an inquiry we earnestly courted, saying to the President,—'We do not arrogate to ourselves so high a standing in your estimation as to authorize us to ask that you will rely implicitly upon our statements; but we have deceived ourselves most egregiously, if we have not presented to the consideration of the government sufficient grounds to induce hesitation and inquiry. You have at your command hundreds of individuals, to whom you may confide the duty of making the investigation, which we solicit. Select such as you can implicitly believe, associate with them but a single individual to be approved by us, to direct to the sources of information, and if we fail to establish the truth of our allegations, we shall no longer ask you to delay exercising your power in the enforcement of your rights. Should it, however, appear, from such investigation that this instrument (the New Echota treaty) has been made without authority, that it meets with the almost unanimous reprobation of our nation, that you have been deceived by false information, we cannot, and we will not believe, that under its colour, and under the sanction of those principles of justice which impose an obligation faithfully to perform our contracts and our promises, we shall be forced to submit to its iniquitous provisions.'" Mr. Ross then states under three several heads, the propositions made by the delegation to the government. The *first* was that the President would enter into a negotiation with them, as the duly authorized and regularly accredited representatives of the Cherokees.

Second, That a full and thorough examination be instituted into the New Echota treaty,—to see if any of the forms long recognized by the United States had been regarded in making it,—or,

Third, That the instrument itself be submitted to the whole Cherokee nation, for its admission or rejection. "To this proposition," proceeds Mr. Ross, "we received for answer from Mr. Poinsett, dated March 24th,—That the President regarded himself as bound to carry into effect all the stipulations of the document in question, because it had been ratified according to the forms prescribed by the constitution, under a full knowledge of the conditions now urged against it, and must, therefore, be considered as the supreme law of the land. The two other propositions could not, therefore, be entertained. We were promised a candid examination of any measure we should suggest, if not inconsistent with, or in contravention of, the determination to enforce the treaty against which we had protested.

"It is due to Mr. Secretary Poinsett to say, that in accordance with his professions, every courtesy was extended to us in our intercourse with him."

Mr. Ross then proceeds to examine the objections raised by the authorities at Washington. In justice to him, we continue to quote his words.

"It may not be amiss, however, at this time, to make one or two observations upon the grounds taken by the government, and upon which it appears to have finally resolved to act.

"In the first place it appears to us an extraordinary ground, that because a treaty has actually been made, which the one party deems to be of perfect obligation upon both, that, therefore, no further official intercourse shall take place between the parties. It is obvious that the instrument in question is ambiguous, and of doubtful construction, and it is well known that objections have been made to it on behalf of the Western Cherokees, who think, and we think justly, that it most seriously impairs their rights, although we believe it has not *yet* been assumed that they are bound by its provisions, having not, thus far, at least, been considered as parties to it. These are questions still open between the parties, which, under any view of the case, it appears to us, can only be settled by negotiation and further treaty.

"*Secondly,* It strikes us as equally extraordinary, that because our avowed object was to make a treaty which should annul the provisions of this spurious compact, no negotiations would be opened with us. Had such a ground ever been presumed to present an obstacle to negotiations, why was it not discovered when the treaty of Holstein, and every succeeding treaty ever formed with us, was under consideration. The stipulations of each and every of them, abrogate to a greater or less extent those which preceded it. How insuperably might it have been urged against the pretended treaty itself, which professes to annul and abrogate pre-existing treaties, to annihilate public rights held under its sanction.

"*Thirdly,* The idea that the ratification of the senate, under the circumstances, had at all impaired the rights of either party, is equally incomprehensible. It was the act of one party alone. It was an act required by the constitution of the United States, to give legal effect to a compact, which, until that was consummated, was inchoate and imperfect. But if no treaty had in fact ever been signed, if the instrument was in truth fraudulent or unauthorized, we are not aware that the action of the senate could make that valid which before was void, could impose any obligation upon us who were not previously bound. Indeed if this doctrine be true, to the extent it has been pressed, the Cherokee nation, or even their self-constituted representatives, need never have been consulted, or their signatures obtained. The President himself, might of his own mere motion, dictate the terms of a treaty to the senate, and by the ratification of that body, it becomes binding upon all who never saw or assented to it.

"*Fourth,* But this doctrine, which we candidly confess to be beyond our comprehension, does not seem, to our feeble intellects, to have any bearing upon the question. For surely, if the President and senate are empowered to negotiate and make our treaties for us, without our assent or knowledge, it does not seem very clear, how this power, in this particular so unlimited, can be prevented from at least listening to our objections, and at their good pleasure substituting one less offensive, if they please."

Fifth, Under this head, Mr. Ross refers to the act of the United States in annulling the Creek treaty made in February, 1825, at the Indian Springs, in which he takes occasion to say, that if a like course had been taken in another, meaning the treaty of Payne's Landing with the Seminoles, and against which the body of the tribe protested, the blood and treasure expended in Florida, would have been saved.

Mr. Ross proceeds:—"This last treaty, which may be found in the seventh volume of the laws of the United States, page 782, contains this remarkable preamble:

"Whereas a treaty was concluded at the Indian Springs, on the 12th day of February last (1825), between commissioners on the part of the United States and a portion of the Creek nation, by which an extensive district of country was ceded to the United States:—And whereas, a great majority of the chiefs and warriors of the said nation have protested against the execution of the said treaty, and have represented that the same was signed, on their part, by persons having no sufficient authority to form treaties, or to make cessions, and that the stipulations in said treaty are therefore wholly void:—

"And whereas the United States are unwilling that difficulties should exist in the said nation, which may eventually lead to an intestine war, and are still more unwilling that any cessions of land should be made to them, unless with the fair understanding and full assent of the tribe making such cession, and for a just and adequate consideration, it being the policy of the United States in all their intercourse with the Indians to treat them justly and liberally, as becomes the relative situation of the parties."

Such was the preamble of the treaty of January 24th, 1826: the first article of which declared the previous treaty to be "null and void to every intent and purpose whatever, and any right and claim arising from the same is hereby cancelled and surrendered."

"These were historical facts with which we were familiar, and we had not been informed what had occurred since that period to prevent a similar action under circumstances not similar, only because the case more imperatively demanded such action. We could not understand why the Creeks should be relieved from the burden of an unjust, and illegal, because unauthorized compact, and we should be held to one even more destitute of any semblance of authority. We could not understand why, if President Adams possessed the constitutional power to negotiate such an arrangement as we have just adverted to, how, or why, President Jackson or President Van Buren, would transcend their legitimate functions by instituting an inquiry into the truth of our allegations, and laying the result of such investigation before the Congress of the United States. Nor could we comprehend, what there was so irregular or improper in our requests, as to furnish a reason for debarring us from our accustomed official intercourse with the President, or war department.

"You will perceive that our only object has been, to obtain a fair arrangement upon terms which our nation can approve, to be negotiated with persons whom they have authorized to act on our behalf. Our object has been an honest one and sincerely expressed. We had hoped that the government of the United States would listen to our representations. We knew that they had been led by similar false suggestions and fraudulent devices, into the expenditure of four times the amount of money, in attempting to settle their differences with the Indians by force of arms, which would have sufficed to accomplish all our desires, without exasperation of feeling, and without bloodshed. We asked that an instrument should not be called a treaty obligatory upon us, to which we never yielded, directly or by implication, any assent. We asked if we were to be driven from our homes and our native country, we should not be denounced as treaty breakers, but have at least the consolation of being recognized as the unoffending, unresisting Indian, despoiled of his property, driven from his domestic fireside, exiled from his home, by the mere dint of superior power. We ask that deeds shall be called by their right names.

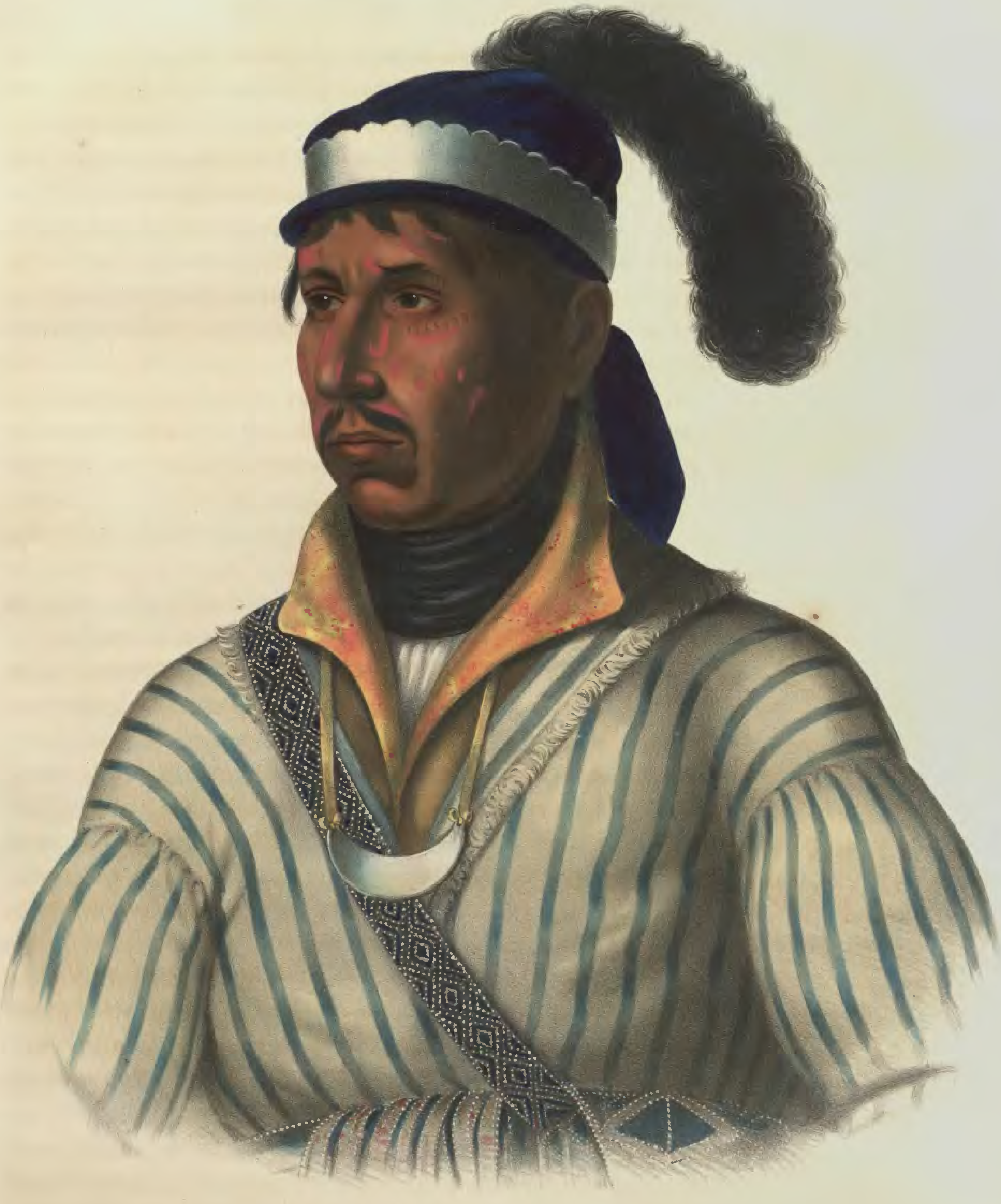
"We distinctly disavow all thoughts, all desire, to gratify any feelings of resentment. That possessions acquired and objects attained by unjust and unrighteous means will, sooner or later, prove a curse to those who have thus sought them, is a truth we have been taught by that holy religion which was brought to us by our white brethren. Years, nay centuries may elapse before the punishment may follow the offence; but the volume of history and the sacred Bible assure us, that the period will certainly arrive. We would with Christian sympathy labour to avert the wrath of Heaven from the United States, by imploring your government to be just. The first of your ancestors who visited, as strangers, the land of the Indian, professed to be apostles of Christ, and to be attracted by a desire to extend the blessings of his religion to the ignorant native. Thousands among you still proclaim the same noble and generous interest in our welfare; but will the untutored savage believe the white man's professions, when he feels that by his practices he has become an outcast and an exile? Can he repose with confidence in the declarations of philanthropy and sincere charity, when he sees the professors of the religion which he is invited to embrace, the foremost in acts of oppression and outrage?

"Most sincerely and ardently do we pray that the noble example of William Penn may be more generally followed, and that the rich rewards which attended his exertions may be showered upon the heads of those, who like him, never outraged the rights, or despoiled the property of the Indian. To such, among their highest earthly comforts, and among the assurances of still higher enjoyments hereafter, will be the blessing and prayer of the friendless native.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
most respectfully your ob't servant,
"JNO. ROSS."

We have considered it due to the Cherokees, in this afflicting crisis of their affairs, to let their chief be heard.

Happily for the parties the removal was effected without an appeal to arms. This harmonious result was produced by the parties agreeing to adopt such modifications in the offensive instrument, as to make it, if not altogether acceptable to the Cherokees, yet preferable to the alternative of a bloody conflict, and perhaps their extermination. Omitting any reflections of our own, upon the means adopted to carry out the policy of removing the Cherokees, and the other south and south-western tribes from the east to the west of the Mississippi, we stop long enough to express our opinion that their present position is better adapted, under every view which we have been able to take of the subject, to their advancement in civilization, in the arts, and in religion, than was their former one, on this side the Mississippi. But we are no less sincere in our belief, that before these remnants of a noble race can be thoroughly imbued with the elements essential to work out such a change, an indispensable one must be superadded—and that is, the element of *equality with ourselves*. Their right in the soil must be made indestructible, and their relations to this Union must be so changed as to bind their territory, and themselves, to our Union, and to our people, by precisely the same ties that connect Iowa, or Ouisconsin to it, including the same constitutional privilege of an ultimate annexation to the United States, as a member of the confederacy. Such relations, and such only, it is our firm conviction, can perpetuate the Indians as a race, and produce upon their future destiny all those blessings which the just and the humane, have been engaged for more than two hundred years, but in vain, in endeavouring to confer upon this hapless race. And unless our present relations with the Indian confederacy, for such it is at present, are changed, and some such new ones are adopted as we have glanced at, it requires no



APAULY-TUSTENNUGGEE.

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very great foresight to see that a heavy retribution awaits us, in the longest, most costly, and bloodiest war, that has ever yet afflicted us.

The Seminoles, after a long and bloody conflict with us, arising on their part out of a like cause of discontent—viz: the recognition of a treaty by the United States, which the body of that tribe assert they had no agency in making, and to the terms of which they refused to submit, and against the demand for their acquiescence of which they rebelled—have also gone west, and now form an integral part of the Indian territory west of the Mississippi.

The Creeks had previously emigrated, and though reluctantly, yet without resistance. The map of the Indian territory which is appended to this work, will point out the location of their present abode, its length, breadth, &c., and number of Indians within it; as will another map the positions occupied by the various tribes on this side the Mississippi prior to their removal.

The actual condition of the tribes who have been removed to the western territory, is in the highest degree flattering. The superintendent of the territory in his report for 1837, in speaking of the Creeks in the vicinity of Fort Gibson, says, "they dwell in good comfortable farm houses, have fine gardens, orchards, and raise forty to fifty thousand bushels of corn more than is sufficient for their own consumption. They furnish large quantities to the commissariat at Fort Gibson annually, and contributed greatly in supplying the late emigrants. They raise also more stock than is necessary for their own use, and carry on a considerable trade with the garrison, in grain, stock, vegetables, poultry, eggs, fruit, &c. There are several traders among them to supply their wants, which are as many and as various as those of the most comfortable livers of our own citizens. Two of these traders are natives, who do considerable business, selling eighteen or twenty thousand dollars worth of goods annually." Of the Cherokees he says, "they are more advanced in agriculture than the other tribes of the superintendency. The number of farms in this nation is estimated at between ten and eleven hundred. *There are no Cherokees who follow the chase for a living;* the nation is divided into farmers, traders, stock-raisers, and labourers. The productions of the farms are, corn, oats, potatoes of both kinds, beans, peas, pumpkins, and melons. The great profit of a Cherokee farmer is from his corn, his horses, his cattle, and his hogs. Some of the Cherokees have taken and fulfilled contracts for the garrison at Fort Gibson, and for subsisting emigrant Indians, to the amount of forty to sixty thousand dollars, without purchasing any article except in the Indian country."

"They have several valuable salt springs, but for want of capital and skill they are not profitable. At the grand Saline, on the river Neosho, forty miles above Fort Gibson, they are making eighty bushels of excellent salt per day, for five days in the week; but the manufacture is carried on at a considerable expense for fuel, labour, hauling, &c."

"The Choctaw nation, including the late Chickasaw emigrants, white men married in the nation, and negroes, number about fifteen thousand. It affords me

They emigrated in 1832, are agriculturists, and are mainly engaged in that pursuit; they raise wheat and corn, and their country is well adapted to raising stock, of which they have considerable herds. Being remote, however, from a market, their cropping is confined to their own wants, and for these they provide liberally of all the substantials of life. The use of coffee, tea, and sugar, is common among them. Their cabins are well constructed, combining both comfort and convenience; and their arrangements in farming have the appearance of neatness and order; they have mills, shops, and some good mechanics. Their resources are abundant, and their condition apparently happy."

The Quapaws "emigrated in the fall of 1834; their country, in point of soil, water, timber, and health, is similar to, and equally as good as that of their neighbours the Cherokees, Senecas, and Senecas and Shawanoese. They are not so far advanced in civilization as the several tribes of Indians above named; but a more honest, quiet, peaceable people, are not to be found in any section of the Indian country. They are industrious, and exceedingly desirous of making for themselves a comfortable home."

The Osages have "made but little progress towards civilization; their subsistence mainly depends upon the game of the country. They raise some corn and beans, but the culture is rude. They raise no stock; they obtain their horses from those Indians residing far to the south and west of them. Their country possesses excellent soil, is well watered and timbered."

The sub-agent on the Osage river, reported within the same year: "The Pottawattamies are now in the act of emigrating to their land on the Osage river. Such of them as have arrived, are preparing to erect log houses, to fence and plough their fields, and show a disposition to adopt exclusively agricultural habits."

"The Weas and Piankeshaws have generally comfortable log cabins, fields fenced and ploughed, cultivated by animal power; own oxen, cows, hogs, horses, fowls, &c.; also agricultural implements and domestic utensils. They are rapidly improving in comfort and agricultural pursuits, and show a disposition to wholly abandon the chase as a means of subsistence."

"The Peorias and Kaskaskias have better houses than those above named; own more domestic animals, have a greater proportion of ploughed land, &c., but are, perhaps, in regard to general improvement, more stationary."

"The Ottawas, recently arrived in their country, have neat hewed log cabins, fields fenced and ploughed, own domestic animals, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, &c., and are rapidly improving." "Of all these tribes it may be remarked, that they raise a surplus of produce, increase in the acquisition of useful property, and evince a desire to adopt the manners and customs of the whites."

These data, selected from the earliest evidences of the prosperity of the emigrated Indians, show with what facility they adopted the new life, appointed them in their new homes. Subsequent accounts show that their improvement has been progressive. The Choctaws have a printing press, from which they have issued, up to September, 1842, thirty-three thousand impressions, or more than three millions of pages, consisting of translations of books, pamphlets, &c. They have also contributed ten thousand dollars to the building of a Central College, where they intend to complete the education of the Choctaw youth, and prepare teachers for their primary schools. Their country is divided into four judicial districts, in each of which there are judges inferior and superior, with all the necessary officers of justice. Religious and temperance societies abound, and trade is carried on with spirit. The population of the four districts which comprise their territory, is seventeen thousand. There are many missionaries among them, who are well supported. In one district there are eighteen, of whom fourteen are of the Methodist Episcopal church.

The western territory is now peopled by a number of tribes:—the Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Senecas, Shawanoese, Quapaws, Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Ottawas, Delawares, Kickapoos, Iowas, Saukies and Foxes, Kansas, Ottoes, Missouris, Omahas, Pawnees, and Osages. The last six named tribes, were occupants of parts of the country before it was selected as a permanent residence for the Indians, and all the others are emigrants removed thither by the government. Each tribe has a separate district, guaranteed to it forever, and over which it exercises a local jurisdiction, through its own chiefs and council; and there is a confederated government over the whole, administered by a general council, to which each tribe sends representatives, and whose laws are binding when sanctioned by the President of the United States. An advisory power is exercised by the United States, through her agents; but this interference will be gradually withdrawn, as the Indians acquire skill in legislation. Thus far the plan has succeeded well, and the experiment may be considered as having resulted satisfactorily.

In the suggestions we have thrown out, we have purposely avoided burthening our plan, for the improvement of the condition of the Indians, with details, because we are indifferent as to the measures that may be employed, provided the principles be observed; and also because the extreme simplicity of our scheme is such as to require but little legislation. The difficulty lies, not in planting, but in clearing the ground. The field is occupied by a bold and well organized corps who will resist all change. The numerous body of stipendiaries and speculators, who find a profitable, and some of them an honest, employment, under the present state of things, would throw every obstacle in the way of reform. Thousands of individuals would be ejected from the Indian country, whose interest it is to keep the savage in his present condition; and hundreds of thousands of dollars would be retained in the treasury of the United States, which are now used to debauch the Indian, or to enrich those who thrive upon his ignorance and his ruin. We should not be particular as to the form of the remedy, provided it be such as would wholly withdraw the patronage of the government from this class of persons, and oblige them to abandon the Indian country.

We have supposed that the pastoral state would be that which would at first be adopted. But we do not propose to keep the tribes in that condition. From feeding herds to cultivating the soil, the transition is easy and obvious, and we have seen, in the example of the Indians in the western territory, that it is rapid. The Indian women already raise corn, beans, and pumpkins. If restrained from wandering, provided with permanent habitations, and secured from being plundered, their industry would be quickened and their economy improved. The products of their husbandry would become more various; they would rise in usefulness, importance, and influence; and as the inducements to train the boys from infancy to the use of arms shall be decreased, the mothers would lead them into the fields, and they would learn the use of the axe, the hoe, and the plough.

Among the men there would be some who would immediately turn their attention to rural employments. We have seen that this has been the case whenever a tribe has become stationary, and enjoyed a season of repose from war. However repugnant the toils of husbandry may be to the majority, there are always some men of pacific disposition, who would slide easily into the habits of civilization. There are also in all our tribes, men of superior capacity, persons of sagacity and prudence, who would adapt themselves to any circumstances in which they might be placed. The annals of these tribes exhibit, in a wide expanse of moral darkness, many gleams of the most exhilarating intellectual light. There have been among the Indians, examples of genius, of vigorous thought, of patriotism, and of sound moral feeling, which commend this race to our sympathies, as men of like passions with ourselves, and as possessed of capacities susceptible of the highest degree of refinement. Such men as Brant, Red Jacket, Tecumseh, and Corn Plant; Ongpatinger, chief of the Omahaws, and the gallant Young Pawnee, Petalesharo; Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, the Hickes, and John Ross; Sequoya and Opothee Yaholo, would never sink into idle drones.

We have an example of that benevolence which assimilates so beautifully with true courage, and which occurs in the history of Tecumseh, who when a young man, on one of his earliest warlike expeditions interfered with his companions to save a prisoner from torture, and through whose influence, it is probable that the practice of torturing captives was discontinued, among the north-western tribes.

The affecting story of Totapia, a Choctaw mother, known to the whites by the name of Jenny, related by the Rev. Dr. Morse in his report, exhibits a touching example of the strength and sensibility of maternal affection, and shows a depth and tenderness of feeling in the Indian woman, which, in a Roman, or a Grecian matron, would have been rendered immortal by the poet and historian. She was the widow of a Choctaw, who, having slain one of his own tribe, was pursued by the relatives of the deceased, and put to death according to the Indian law. After the death of her husband she settled near St. Francisville, in Louisiana, where she lived reputably with four or five children, of whom Hoctanlubbee or Tom, her son, was the eldest.

At the age of twenty-five her son "murdered an *old* Indian; for which act, according to the unalterable law of the nation, his life was demanded, and he was sentenced to die. The day of his execution was fixed, and had arrived, and the relatives and friends both of the murdered and of the murderer, with others, a mingled throng, were assembled after their usual manner, and all things were ready for inflicting the criminal sentence of the law. At this moment of strong and mingled feeling, Jenny, the mother, pressed through the crowd, to the spot where her son stood, by the instruments prepared to take from him his life. She then addressed the chiefs and the company, demanding the life of her son, offering in its stead her own. Her plea was this. "He is young. He has a wife, children, brothers, sisters, all looking to him for counsel and support. I am old. I have only a few days to live at most, and can do but little more for my family. Nor is it strictly just—it is rather a shame—to take *a new shirt for an old one.*"

The magnanimous offer of the devoted mother was accepted, and a few hours were allowed her to prepare for death. She repaired immediately to the house of a lady, Mrs. T., who had been her kind and liberal friend, and without divulging what had occurred, said she came to beg a winding sheet and coffin for her son. Not suspecting the arrangement of Totapia, to preserve her son, the lady acceded to her request. When asked in relation to the length of the coffin and grave-clothes, the Choctaw mother replied, "make them to suit my size, and they will answer for my son."

"Soon after Jenny had left Mrs. T. for the camp, where all things were ready for her execution, a messenger arrived in haste, and informed Mrs. T. of what was passing in camp, and that Jenny was immediately to die. She hastened to the scene with the intention of rescuing her friend; but Jenny the moment she saw her carriage coming, at a distance, imagining doubtless what was her object, standing in her grave, caught the muzzle of the gun, the prepared instrument of her death, and pointing it to her heart, entreated the executioner to do his duty. He obeyed and she fell dead."

We are not told how it happened that the son suffered his mother to die for him, or whether he could have prevented it. It seems, however, that he was despised for permitting it, and that his own conscience goaded him. The friends of the old man whom he had murdered, taunted him: "You coward; you let your mother die for you; you are afraid to die." Unable to endure all this, he stabbed a son of his former victim; but not until five years had elapsed since the death of his mother.

"He returned home with indications of triumph, brandishing his bloody knife, and without waiting for inquiry, confessed what he had done. He told his Indian friends, that he would not live to be called a coward. 'I have been told,' he said, 'that I fear to die. Now you shall see that I can die like a man.' A wealthy planter whose house he passed, he invited to see how he could die. This was on Sunday. Monday, at twelve o'clock, was the hour he appointed for this self immolation."

"Here," says the lady who gives this information, who was present and relates what she saw, "a scene was presented which baffles all description. As I approached Tom was walking forward and back again, still keeping in his hand the bloody knife. With all his efforts to conceal it, he discovered marks of an agitated mind. The sad group present consisted of about ten men, and as many females; the latter with sorrowful countenances, were employed in making an over-shirt, for Tom's burial. The men, all except two brothers of Tom, were smoking their pipes with apparent unconcern. Several times Tom examined his gun, and remained silent. His grave had been dug the day before, and he had laid himself down in it, to see if it suited as to length and breadth."

"No one had demanded his death; for all who were interested, and would have considered their honour and duty concerned in it, resided at a distance of forty or fifty miles. The death song was repeated, as was the shaking of hands. Both were again repeated, the third and last time. Immediately after Tom stepped up to his wife, a young woman of eighteen, with an infant in her arms, and another little child two or three years old, standing by her side, and presented to her the bloody knife, which till now he had kept in his hand. She averted her face to conceal a falling tear; but recovering herself, with a faint forced smile, took it. His sister was sitting by the side of his wife, wholly absorbed in grief, apparently insensible to what was passing; her eyes vacant, fixed on some distant object. Such a perfect picture of woe I never beheld. His pipe he gave to a young brother, who struggled hard to conceal his emotions. He then drank a little whiskey and water, dashed the bottle on the ground, sung a few words in the Choctaw language, and with a jumping, dancing step, hurried to his grave. His gun was so fixed by the side of a young sapling as to enable him to take his own life. No one, he had declared, should take it from him. These preparations and ceremonies being now completed, he gave the necessary touch to the apparatus, the gun was discharged, and its contents passed through his heart. He instantly fell dead to the earth. The females sprang to the lifeless body. Some held his head, others his hands and feet, and others knelt at his side. He had charged them to show no signs of grief while he lived, lest it should shake his resolution. As far as possible they obeyed. Their grief was restrained until he was dead. It then burst forth in a torrent, and their shrieks and lamentations were loud and undissembled."

These scenes are fraught with melancholy interest and instruction. To the philanthropist and Christian they depict in glowing colours the debasing and destructive influence of that superstition, which pervades the savage mind, and offers the most formidable barrier to the reception of the principles of social improvement, and appeal most eloquently in behalf of this deluded race; while they show in the neglected waste of the savage mind a soil rich in the native elements of a noble character. The woman who with such prompt courage and devoted fondness could lay down her life for her son, was capable, under a better culture, of the noblest sacrifices of patriotism or Christian duty. The man who, though he faltered in principle in permitting his mother to die for him, showed in the sequel, the same keen sense of shame and desire of public approbation, which leads, in the most refined communities, to the sacrifice of life, under mistaken notions of honour; and the bereaved women who wept over his corpse, evinced all the sensibility which characterizes the most tender of the sex. Deluded as they all were, we recognize in their acts and their affliction, natures kindred to our own, and impulses in which we sympathize.

We have already commented on the beautiful display of feminine loveliness in the character of Pocahontas; but that instance is not without a parallel. We quote the following incident from the Baltimore American.

"The committee on Indian Affairs, in the late House of Representatives, reported a bill allowing a pension for life to Milly, an Indian woman, of the Creek tribe, daughter of the celebrated prophet and chief Francis, who was executed by order of General Jackson, in the Seminole war of 1817—18. The subject was brought to the notice of the committee by the Secretary of War, at the instance of Lieut. Col. Hitchcock, who communicated the particulars of the incident upon which the recommendation to the favour of the government was founded.

"Milly, at the age of sixteen, when her nation was at war with the United States, and her father was one of the most decided and indefatigable enemies of the white people, saved the life of an American citizen, who had been taken prisoner by her tribe. The captive was bound to a tree, and the savage warriors, with their rifles, were dancing around him, preparatory to putting him to death. The young Indian girl, filled with pity for the devoted prisoner, besought her father to spare him; but the chief declined to interfere, saying that the life of the prisoner was in the hands of his captors, whose right it was to put him to death. She then turned to the warriors, and implored them to forbear their deadly purpose. But she was repulsed; and one of them, much enraged, told her that he had lost two sisters in the war, and the prisoner must die. Her intercession, however, continued. She persevered in entreaties, and used all the arts of persuasion which her woman's nature suggested; and she finally succeeded in saving his life, on condition that the young white man should adopt the Indian dress, and become one of the tribe.

"It appears from the information communicated by Col. Hitchcock, that some time after this event, the white man sought his benefactress in marriage, but she declined, and subsequently married one of her own people. Her husband is now dead. Her father was put to death in the war of 1817—18, and her mother and sister have since died. She is now friendless and poor, residing amongst her people in their new country, near the mouth of Verdigris river. She has three children, (a boy and two girls,) all too young to provide for themselves, and consequently dependent upon their mother for support.

"The committee thought that the occasion presented by this case was a suitable one, not only to reward a meritorious act, but also to show the Indian tribes how mercy and humanity are appreciated by the government. The grant of a pension, with a clear exposition of the grounds of its allowance, would have a salutary influence, it was believed, upon savage customs in future. A bill was accordingly reported, to allow to Milly a pension of ninety-six dollars per annum, or eight dollars per month, for life."

We shall not multiply these instances, but refer the reader to the biographical department of our work, where abundant evidence will be found of the capacity of the Aboriginal American. By carefully comparing these, it will be seen, that not only in boldness and cunning, but in all the nobler attributes of wisdom and generosity, the Indian mind has given evidence of a congenial soil.

These instances show that there are intellects among the Indians, not only capable of civilization, but eminently qualified for the civil state. One or more such men would be found in every tribe, who, perceiving that the war path was no longer the road to distinction, would aim at acquiring superiority through some other avenue. The season for political competition not having yet arrived, the only means of distinction would be wealth; and the glory of accumulating the bloody trophies of the battle field, would be exchanged for the boast of broad fields and numerous herds. The few, possessed of prudence and foresight, or desiring eminence, would see at once the advantages of agriculture, and would become farmers. The example would be salutary, and one after another would desire to possess the comforts and the independence which crown the labours of the husbandman. The best and most influential men would be the first to lead the way in this reformation; and every man who became a farmer would be a powerful advocate of the cause, because it would be his interest to diminish the number of the idle and nonproducing class, who must depend on the public for subsistence, or disturb the peace by crime and violence.

To hasten this result, to hold out a reward for industry, and to provide for a more advanced state of society than that which we have been contemplating, it should be provided that whenever an Indian should have actually become a farmer, and should for a specified number of years have tilled the soil, a tract of land should be granted to him, the title to which should be a life estate to himself, and a fee simple to his descendants. By this provision portions of the land would be converted into private property, and the remainder might be vested in the nation whenever they should have a government capable of properly disposing of it.

In this way the Indian would be allured by his interest, and led to self elevation. We would deprive him of his natural liberty only so long as should be necessary to bring about that lucid interval, in which he would become sensible of his true condition, and apprised of the means held out for his redemption; and we would leave it to himself, to seek out his own further advancement, in his own way. In this we should pursue the plan of nature. The primitive nations were not precociously instructed by their Creator in the whole circle of human knowledge, but it was left for them and their descendants to discover gradually the wealth and resources of the world beneficently given them, and to increase in learning by an easy and healthful gradation.

The attempt to civilize the roving bands, by reason, by the mere force of truth, or by any abstract sense of duty, has always been, and will continue to be abortive. The physical impediments must first be removed. Among white men, Christianity, literature, and the arts, have never flourished during a period of anarchy, or civil war. In those countries where the peasantry are oppressed, and have no rights, property, or education, they are degraded and ferocious; and if the passions of their savage nature are not developed in deeds of carnage, it is because they are bridled by the strong arm of power. If we trace the nations of Europe from their former state of barbarism to their present moral elevation, we shall find the same causes to have always operated. The first step has always been the acquisition of permanent habitations, and the consequent love of country, and of home. Domestic comforts warmed into life the social virtues. The possession of property followed, and then personal and civil rights one after another were conceived. Then emancipation from their chiefs ensued; and political rights began to be demanded. The state of war became inconvenient. It was now the interest of the honest and industrious to protect themselves against plunder and violence; and deeds of murder and robbery ceased to be considered heroic. Commerce between nations softened prejudice, produced the interchange of commodities, encouraged the arts, and enlarged the stock of knowledge. And lastly, hand in hand, came education and religion.

The ministers of the gospel and the schoolmaster have been powerful agents in these changes; but they have never marched in the van. They form an efficient corps in the main body, but their business is to secure and improve the acquisitions which bone and muscle, and skill and courage, have obtained. As the rifle and the axe must first subdue the forest, before the husbandman can cultivate the soil, so must the strong arm of the government produce *peace*, enforce obedience, and organize a system of civil rights and restraints, before the mild precepts of the gospel, and the fructifying streams of knowledge, can be made to pervade the wilderness, and teach the desert to blossom as the rose.

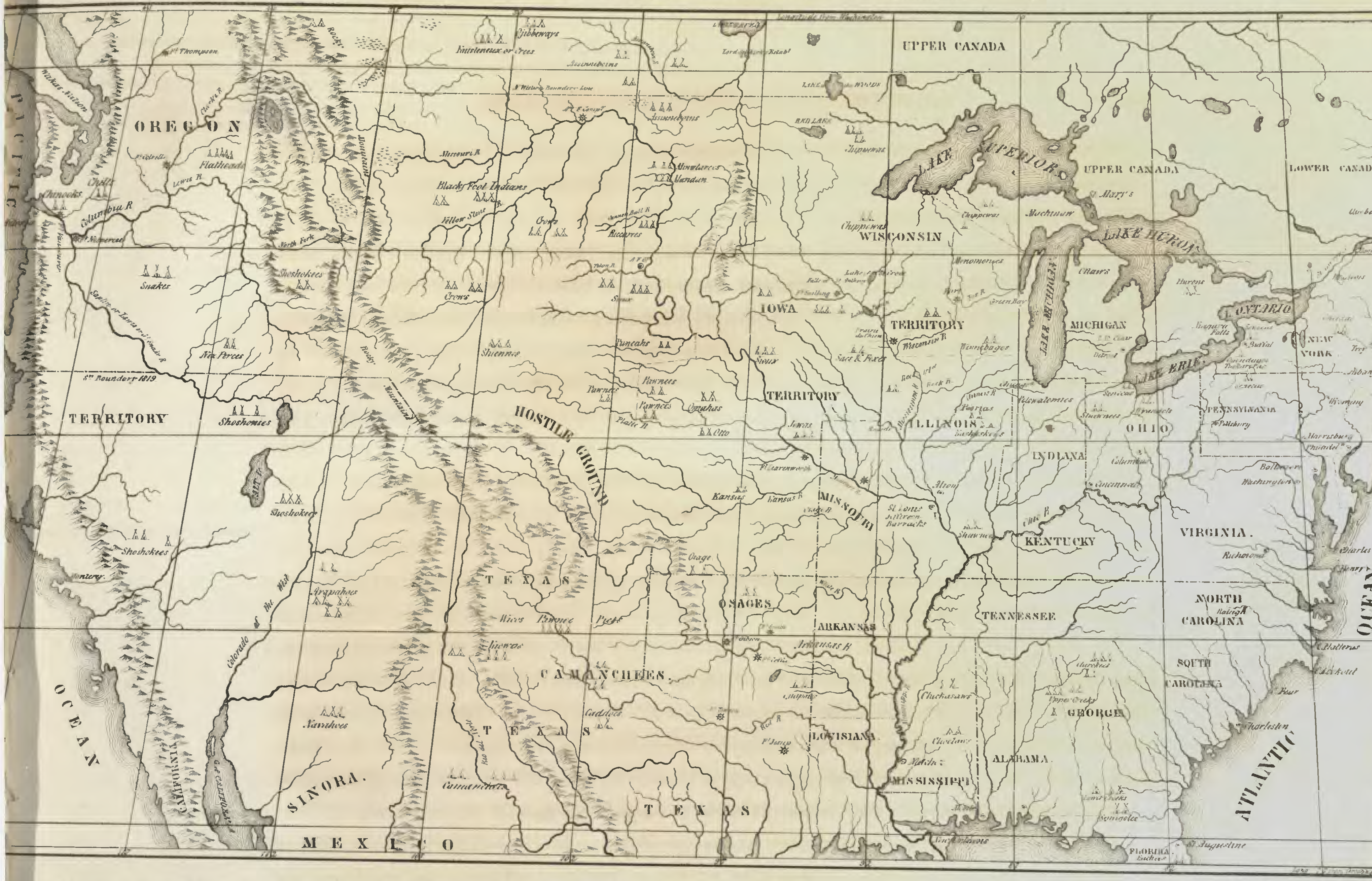
The spirit of the age calls aloud for a change in relations with the Indians. There is a general movement throughout the civilized world, in favour of liberal thought, free principles, and the dissemination of knowledge. Every government in Europe is trembling, and some of them are convulsed with actual revolution, in consequence of the universal spread of intelligence among the people. The contest between ignorance and light, and between despotism and liberty, is going forward throughout Christendom. Everywhere the spirit of improvement is abroad; and the same spirit pervades all ranks, and every department of human thought and industry. In religion, politics, literature, and the mechanic arts, men have resolved to think for themselves. They will neither be machines to do the work that steam engines can do for them, nor will they be slaves of idle, nor the instruments of artful rulers, in church or state.

Ours is moreover an economical age, when nothing is valued that is not useful or practical, and when little value is placed upon mere names. At such a time, with the eyes of the civilized world upon us, we cannot believe that a people, such as we are, can deliberately propose to consign a vast region to eternal sterility, and to support a multitude of human beings, in idleness, ignorance, intemperance, and bloodshed. We are not so wedded to names, as to believe that we are obliged to keep up a state of things which we know to be wrong and impolitic, merely because it exists, and has existed; nor can we adopt the maxims of legitimacy so far, as to feel ourselves bound to respect that which has nothing to recommend it but its long continuance, and nothing to support it but the prejudices of ignorance, and the selfishness of interested individuals.

This whole subject must soon occupy the serious attention of Congress and the people; and when all the facts shall be presented, in a connected view, it will be seen that our existing policy must be radically changed or wholly abandoned; and the question to be decided will be, whether the savage tribes shall be driven beyond our frontiers, and left to their fate, or be subjected to the wholesome constraint of our laws, or connected, by ties of a territorial sort, such as connect Iowa, Ouisconsin, &c., to this nation. The indolent and the timid may shrink from the second alternative, because it is novel, and bears the semblance of violence; humanity shudders at the former, but greets the latter as the only scheme in which justice and mercy meet and mingle, and which has in it all the elements required for the preservation and happiness of the remnants of the aboriginal race. The statements of the interested, or the apprehensions of honest prejudice, may for a while embarrass the decision; but a magnanimous people will hear the evidence on both sides; and we have no fears as to the wisdom or the justice of the nation, in any case where its verdict shall be deliberately made up, and solemnly recorded.

END OF VOL. III.

Localities of all the Indian Tribes of North America in 1833.


Longitude from Washington
UPPER CANADA
LOWER CANADA.
OREGON
TERRITORY
PACIFIC
OCEAN
Chippeways
Knistineaux or Crees
Assinneboins
Assineboins
Black Foot Indians
Flatheads
Chinooks
Columbia R.
Snakes
Shoshokees
Nez Perces
Crows
Minnetarees
Mandan
Riccarees
Sioux
Puncahs
Shienne
Pawnees
Omahas
Otto
HOSTILE GROUND
Shoshonees
Shoshokees
Arrapahoes
Navihoes
SINORA.
CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
TEXAS
CAMANCHES.
Camanches
Kiowas
Wicos
Pawnee
Caddoes
Osage
OSAGES
ARKANSAS
Arkansas R.
Kansas
MISSOURI
St. Louis
Jefferson Barracks
LAKE SUPERIOR
Chippewas
WISCONSIN
TERRITORY
IOWA
TERRITORY
Menomonies
Winnebagoes
Sacs & Foxes
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
MICHIGAN
Ottawas
LAKE ERIE
ONTARIO
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
OHIO
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA.
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA.
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA.
Chickasaws
Choctaws
Cherokees
Creeks
Seminoles
FLORIDA
St. Augustine
Charleston
ATLANTIC
OCEAN

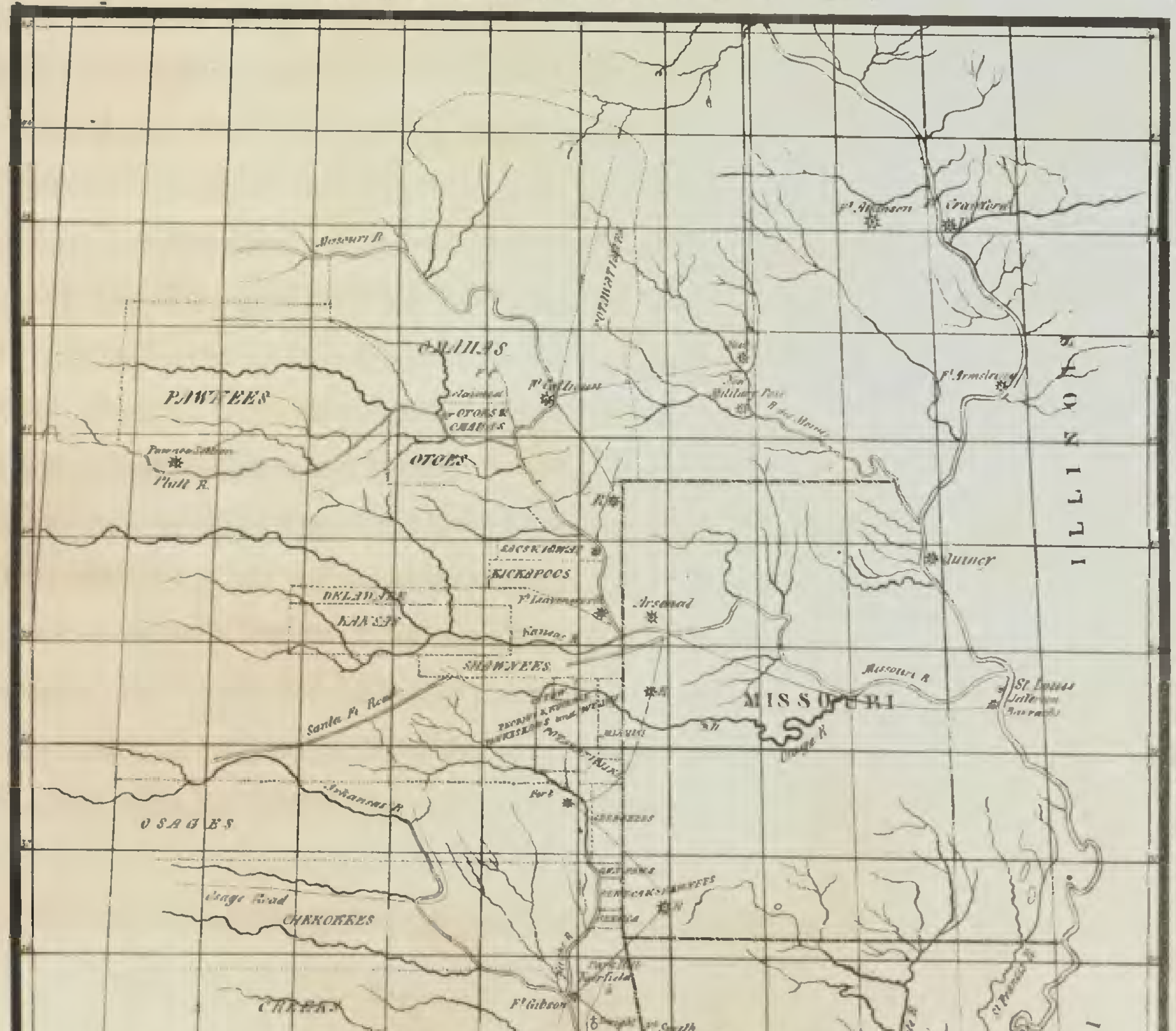
Statement showing the number of each tribe of Indians, whether natives of, or emigrants to, the country west of the Mississippi, with items of emigration and subsistence. 1842 & 1843.

Names of tribes	Number of each tribe indigenous to the country west of the Mississippi	Number of each tribe wholly or partially removed	Present western population of each tribe wholly or partially removed	Number remaining east of each partially removed tribe	Number removed since date of last annual report	Number of each now under subsistence west	Daily expense of subsisting them
Sioux	25 000						
Quapaws	476						
Iowas	470						
Kickapoos		588	505				
Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi	2 348						
Delawares		826	1 059				
Shawnees		1 272	887				
Sacs of Missouri	414						
Weas		225	225	30			
Osages	3 788						
Piankeshaws		162	100				
Kanzas	1 606						
Peorias and Kaskaskias		132	200				
Omahas	1 600						
Senecas from Sandusky		251	251				
Otoes and Missourias	1 000						
Senecas and Shawnees		211	211				
Pawnees	12 500						
Winnebagoes		4 500	2 183				
Camanches	19 300						
Kiowas	1 800						
Mandans	300						
Chippewas, Ottowas, Pottawatomies and Pottawatomies of Indiana.		5 297	5 297				
Creeks		24 594	24 594	744			
Choctaws		15 177	15 177	3 323			
Minatarees	2 000						
Florida Indians		3 612	3 612		422	432	8 .5.29
Pagans	30 000						
Cherokees		25 911	25 911	1 000			
Assinaboins	7 000						
Swan creek and Black river Chippewas		62	62	113			
Apaches	20 280						
Ottowas of Maumee		482	300	92			
[illegible]	800						
Ottowas and Chippewas together with Chippewas of Michigan				1055			
Arrapahoes	2 500						
New York Indians				3 293			
Gros Ventres	3 300						
Chickasaws		4 642	4 642	368	42		
Eutaws	19 200						
Stockbridges and Munsees and Delawares [illegible]		180	278	320			
[illegible]	4 000						
Wyandots of Ohio				575			
Poncas	800						
Miamies				661			
[illegible]	1 200						
Menomonies				2 464			
[illegible]	2 000						
Chippewas of the lakes				2 564			
[illegible]	1 300						
[illegible]	2 000						
[illegible]	1 000						
[illegible]	800						
Oneidas of Green Bay				675			
Stockbridges of Green Bay				207			
Ottowas of Michigan				75			
Pottawatomies of Huron				100			
Totals	168 682	88 124	85 494	23 659	464	422	15.29

[illegible] 14 Broad St. [illegible]

Present Localities of the Indian Tribes west of the Mississippi.

Showing the boundaries of the Indian Tribes in 1843.


Ft. Snelling
Crawford
Ft. Armstrong
ILLINOIS
MISSISSIPPI
OMAHAS
PAWNEES
Pawnee Station
Platte R.
OTOES
Bellevue
Ft. Calhoun
POTTAWATOMIES & OTTOWAS & CHIPPEWAS
Council Bluffs
Des Moines
Quincy
KICKAPOOS
Arsenal
DELAWARES
KANSAS
Ft. Leavenworth
SHAWNEES
Santa Fe Road
Missouri R.
MISSOURI
St. Louis
Jefferson Barracks
Osage R.
OSAGES
Arkansas R.
Osage Road
CHEROKEES
CREEKS
Ft. Gibson
Ft. Smith
SEMINOLES
Ft. Coffee
CHICKASAW part of CHOCTAW DIST.
CHOCTAWS
Little Rock
ARKANSAS
Fort Towson
Red River
Fulton
Doaksville
Longitude West from Washington
LOUISIANA

MAINE.

Frederick W. Bartlett. Harry Pedelford. Alvin Haynes.
James F. Otis. Thomas Harward. Judge Botsford
Cyrus Moore. Moses Patten Jr. A. Woodman

RHODE ISLAND.

J. Fenner. John Whipple. H. N. Slater
Jno Carter Brown. Saml Larned. James McCarthy
Thomas J. Stead. J. M. Thurbough
E. Turner.
W. Peckham. Smith Bosworth. Jno L. Barker
Danl B. Carson. David Greene

M. B. Pierce. Seneca Chief, Darmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

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Leverett Saltonstall. Elizabeth Saunders. Susan Burley
Ichabod Tucker. Benj. Merrill. S. C. Phillips
L. Balcum
Jos. Peabody. Robert Rantoul Jr. Nath Silsbee
Jos. S. Cabot. Geo. C. Shattuck. P. T. Bradlee
J. W. Jenning. John H. Gray. John McNiel
Geo. H. Putnam Jr
Edw. Munroe. Jam. T. Armstrong. Jonathan Russell
Edwd Munroe. Jared Sparks. Josiah Bradlee
David Henshaw. Isaac O. Barnes. Abbott Lawrence
M. Brimmer. Robt G. Shaw. John Mills
B. B. Thatcher. J. P. Cushing. Richard Fletcher
Amasa Winchester. Wm P. Winchester. J. P. Bradlee
Geo. M. Weld.

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Daniel P. Parker
John Henshaw
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S. H. Allen
Saml. Appleton
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Hamilton Davidson
George W. Whistler
Ralph Emerson
G. W. B. Heston.
Henry Keith
William Ferris
John S. Bates.
Wm. R. Carnes
Isaac Bell
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John Tillson
Stephen White
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Richard Sullivan
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James H. Jacobs
L. Johnson
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Richardson
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Thomas Fisher
S. Carr
Isaac P. Wendell
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Maml Nevez Charles Heffmans
Chas A Sewall
Manuel Garcia James Porter Jas Smith
Wm R Barrow Wm H Barrow R. H. Haile
Alexander Barrow David Turnbull Chas Bishop
Lewis Stirling A. G. Carter Geo. T. Dunbar jr
George C. Gooding Wm P. Grayson
Jno B. Dawson M Rontaine Dr Luzenberg George Lee
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Cary Robinson Dr C H Sayer Levi Hubbell
Geo. Bergerot
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Horatio Davis Alex: Cuvillier J. D. Dameron Andrew Bowles
J H Barton Samuel Wright A Mazureau J. Davis Jr
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John P. Barnett W. Bogart Jos: B. Wilkinson
H B Trist

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Hamilton Allen George Henry Penn Henry Mollhausen

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E. Garnett Howell. Alex Montgomery W. H. Burritt

Jno R Grey Saml Wiswall L. M. Patterson A. M. Linton

Geo. Taylor D. C. Michie

Cyrus Marsh Edwd T. Pollard M. D.

Stephen Duncan

S A W Davis M D W. J. Minor Eli Montgomery

A W Macgowan J. T. McMurran Geo. V. Dietz

Ch. A. Lacoste S W Hutchins Elias Ogden E Peale

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John Hutchins

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Wm Mellen Joshua James Jr

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D C Hutchison David Pugh Harry Cage

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A. W. Dunlap Zebulon Butler Andrew Miller
M Shannon. E. W. Morris W. A. Lake
W H Sims W. H. & A. M. Paxton. C. A. Lemington Wm M Gwin
J Van Rensselaer
J. G. Kibby J. O. Harrison Jno. I. Guion
B. L. Hicks M. D.
D. B. Nailer M. D. J. P. Harrison. A. J. Van Rensselaer
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James P. Ryan. W. Venton Huger Jno. F. Dameron

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Thos J Lacy

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Wm A. Eichbaum R. Armstrong g. Thomas L. Marshall
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J. T. Leath. Ed's Barker. Jno. McKeage. Jno. A. Rogers.
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Andrew J. Davis. John Ford. H. L. Hoffman. A. Shields.
Charles F. Hendricks. Jos. Varnum Hamilton. F. W. Risque.
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Ferd. Evans. [illegible]. A. Throckmorton.

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