

REMARKS,

&c.

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REMARKS

ON THE

INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA,

IN A LETTER

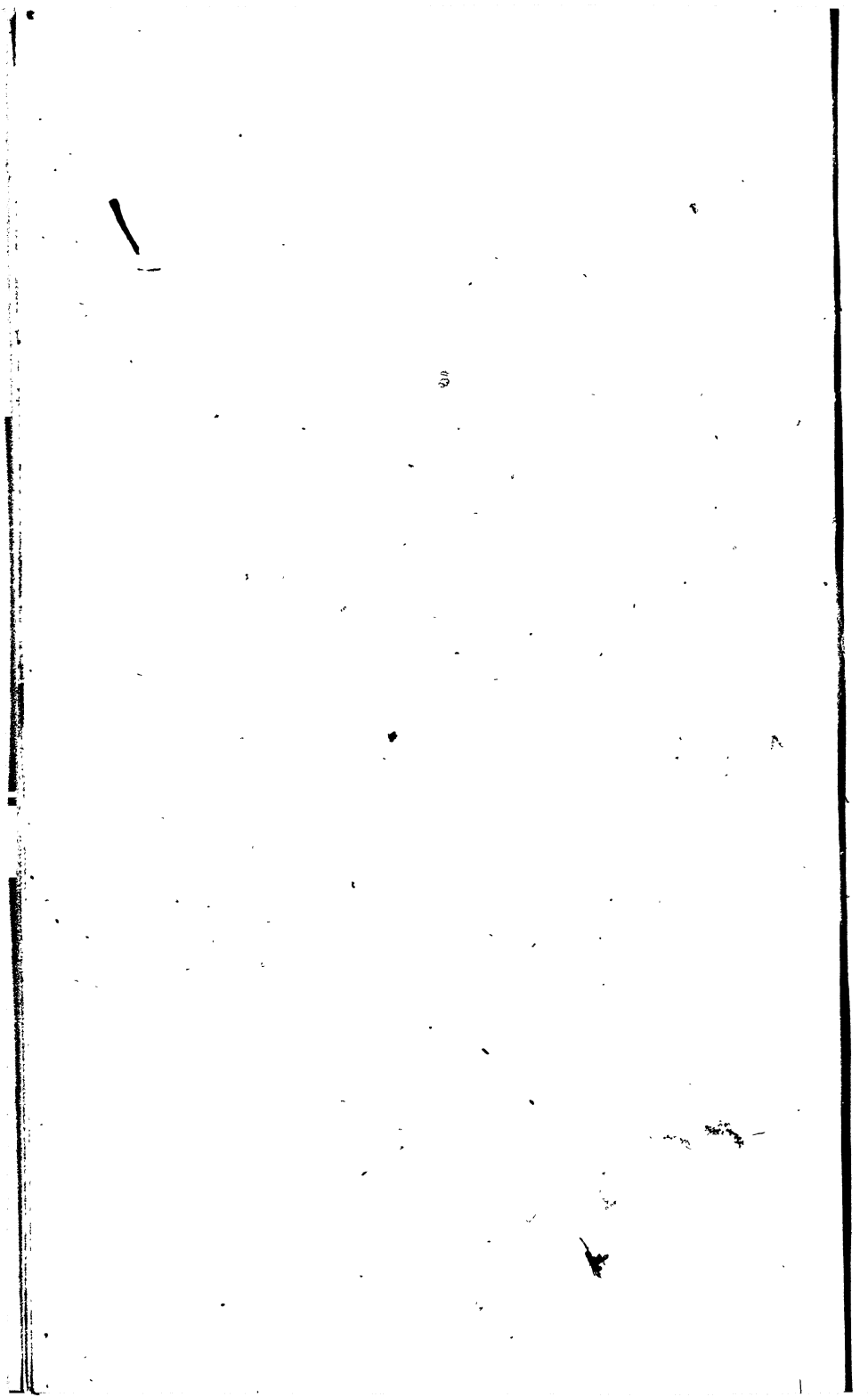
TO AN

EDINBURGH REVIEWER.

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TO THE

EDINBURGH REVIEWER,

WHO NOTICES THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA,
NO. 73, PAGE 268.

SIR,

IN the article that occasions this address there are some assertions which, if true, would render the history of the Indians of North America of still greater interest than even now it is felt to be, by all who study it. As, however, conclusions directly opposed to yours have forced themselves upon the minds of many individuals, both in Europe and in the other hemisphere, I take the liberty of reviewing your statements.

The passage which is the subject of this letter is in pages 267, 268, of the 73d Number of the Edinburgh Review. It is in the following words:—

“ From all that we learn of the state of the
“ aborigines of this great continent from this vo-
“ lume, and from every other source of informa-
“ tion, it is evident they are making no advances

B

“ towards civilization. It is certainly a striking
“ and mysterious fact, that a race of men should
“ thus have continued for ages stationary in a
“ state of the rudest barbarism. *That tendency to*
“ *improvement*, a principle that has been thought
“ more than perhaps any other to distinguish man
“ from the lower animals, *would seem to be to-*
“ *tally wanting in them.* Generation after ge-
“ neration passes away, and no trace of advance-
“ ment distinguishes the last from the first. The
“ mighty wilderness they inhabit may be traversed
“ from end to end, and hardly a vestige be dis-
“ covered that marks the hand of man. It might
“ naturally have been expected, that, in the course
“ of ages, some superior genius would have arisen
“ among them, to inspire his countrymen with a
“ desire to cultivate the arts of peace, and establish
“ some durable civil institution ; or that, at least,
“ during the long period since the Europeans have
“ been settled amongst them, and taught them,
“ by such striking examples, the benefits of in-
“ dustry and social order, they would have been
“ tempted to endeavour to participate in blessings
“ thus providentially brought within their reach.
“ But all has been unavailing : and it now seems
“ certain that the North American Indians, like
“ the bears and wolves, are destined to fly at the

“ approach of civilized man, and to fall before his
 “ renovating hand, and disappear from the face
 “ of the earth, along with those ancient forests,
 “ which alone afford them sustenance and shelter.”

It is a cruel sophism, after debasing a people by bad governing and by hard treatment, to argue from their degradation that they are essentially not fit to share the benefits of civil institutions. You seem to have adopted this narrow view; and, unhappily, the condition to which *a few* of the Indians are reduced, has obscured their finer qualities: their best friends cannot deny the truth of many remarks made to their disadvantage; and proof of their true and natural capacity, if not oppressed, seems sometimes to depend on conjectural reasoning.

But you have done more than speak harshly of *a few* of the Indians in their *present* condition. The past and the future are equally dark in your melancholy estimate of their genuine character and of their prospects. You anticipate the extinction of *all* their tribes; and you declare it to be falling upon them through their own defects. Yet the task is far from difficult, of showing that they are *not* “ exceptions” to the whole race of mankind, whom, in our Bibles, we find declared to be one blood, and for whom our liturgy puts up

a common prayer: nor was it to have been expected, that a publication, known as the Edinburgh Review has been for its able exposure of this species of logical error, in its defence of the negroes in the West Indies, should have committed the same fault with regard to those who, in their worst state (never being slaves), are infinitely less degraded.

From what sources you have derived information carrying you to different reflections upon this kindred subject of the character of the Indians of North America, it is, I am inclined to think, in vain to seek. For one, I promise it earnest examination when produced.

The grounds of your conclusion, that “generation after generation of Indians passes away, and no trace of the advancement distinguishes the last from the first;” and your surprise, that “no superior genius should have arisen among them, to inspire his countrymen with a desire to cultivate the arts of peace,” are, I am satisfied, equally matter of fruitless curiosity. It is so clear that these conclusions are erroneous, that you cannot have done more than consider the probable capacity of the most degraded of the Indians, as you have found them described by some recent travellers, and by their deadly enemies. So far indeed

from its being true, that there has never appeared amongst them men disposed to raise their countrymen from the misery under which, for centuries, they have been sinking, nothing is easier than the proof that at all times they have duly estimated the absolute value of European endowments, and the necessity that they should themselves acquire them, in order to prolong their own existence. The examples illustrative of this assertion, which now fill a few back scenes in history, are too familiar to need enumeration; the sublime language in which the Logans, the Philips, the Brants, and the Tecumthes expressed their noble aspirations to a better fate, will never fail to be listened to with respect.

Although you are perfectly unaware of the fact, it is nevertheless not to be denied, that *at all times*, since the first settlement of Europeans in America, *traces of advancement in the Indians have been distinguishable*, and men "of superior genius" have arisen among them, capable and desirous of inspiring their people with wishes to establish durable civil institutions.

Instead of repeating what is to be readily found in general histories, it may be more acceptable to produce, from earlier accounts, a few proofs of what Indians have desired to be, and what, under

good auspices, they have, from time to time, actually become.

The first reception of Europeans in America was kind beyond hope. The first adventurers were almost worshipped as angels and deities. Wherever a contrary disposition prevailed towards us, it may uniformly be traced to violences which we committed. From the St. Lawrence to Virginia, settlers and traders were constantly increasing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the contemporary memoirs, *compiled by ourselves*, abound in statements advantageous to the character of the natives, and deeply disgraceful to us. It is also the interesting testimony of a Moravian*, who lived thirty years among them, that a mournful subject of their traditions, which he has heard repeatedly during their long winters, is the hard returns they have ever received for their most unbounded kindness. The just revolution in public feeling produced in the United States of America, and elsewhere, by the writings of Heckewelder, Morse, and other recent authors, proving these points, may perhaps justify the opinion, that their exertions will save the Indians who still inhabit the western continent.

* Heckewelder.

The following extracts, from books of undisputed authority, form a part of a considerable collection of original papers on this subject, which it is intended to print if the present appeal be favourably received.

The first is from "A shorte and briefe Narration of the two Navigations and Discoveries to the north-west Parts, called New France. First translated out of French into Italian, by that famous learned man Gio. Bapt. Ramutius; and now turned into English by Iohn Florio; worthy the reading of all Venturers, Travellers, and Discoverers." 1580*.

The dedication is dated at "Oxenford," in which university the translator Florio seems to have been a resident; he was afterwards one of the gentlemen of the chamber to the Queen.

"Here is the description," says he, "of a country no less fruitful and pleasant in all respects than is England, France, or Germany. The people, though simple and rude in manners, and destitute of the knowledge of God, or any good laws, yet of nature gentle and tractable, and most apt to receive the christian religion,

* The reference to this book was given to the writer by a gentleman who has an interesting work in forwardness on the eloquence of the Indians of North America.

“ and to subject themselves to some good govern-
 “ ment.”

The following passages are from the translated text of Ramuzio. “ The first Relation of James
 “ Cartier, 1534.”

“ In Saint Martin’s Creek we saw a great num-
 “ ber of the wild men ; they went on shore,
 “ making a great noise, beckoning us to land,
 “ showing us certain skins upon pieces of wood ;
 “ but because we had but one only boat, we would
 “ not go to them, but went to the other side.
 “ They seeing us flee, followed, dancing and
 “ making many signs of joy and mirth, as it were
 “ desiring our friendship ; saying, in their tongue,
 “ ‘ Napeu tondamen assurta,’ with many other
 “ that we understood not. But we having but
 “ one boat would not stand to their curtesie, but
 “ made signs to them to turn back ; but with fury
 “ they came about us, and we shot off two pieces
 “ among them, and terrified them. The next day
 “ they came to us, making signs they came to
 “ traffic with us. We likewise made signs to
 “ them that we wished them no evil, and two of
 “ our men carried to them knives, with other iron
 “ ware, and a red hat for their captain. They
 “ seemed very glad to have our ware, and other
 “ things ; and came to our two men still dancing,

“ with many other ceremonies. They gave us
 “ whatsoever they had, not keeping any thing,
 “ that they were constrained to go back again
 “ naked, and made us signs that the next day they
 “ would bring more skins.” P. 15.

Afterwards, “ more than 300 men, women, and
 “ children came to us very friendly, rubbing our
 “ arms with their own hands, then would they lift
 “ them up toward heaven, showing many signs of
 “ gladness; and in such wise were we assured of
 “ of another, that we very familiarly began to
 “ traffic of whatsoever they had, till they had
 “ nothing but their naked bodies; for they gave
 “ us all whatsoever they had, and that was but of
 “ small value. We perceived that this people
 “ might very easily be converted to our religion.”
 P. 18.

In this first relation are other similar accounts; and Cartier took with him to France two sons of a native chief, by the consent of the father. In the next year he went again to Canada, with the two Indians safe; and met with people throughout the country equally well inclined to friendly intercourse. At Hochelaga * “ all the women and
 “ the maidens gathered themselves together, part
 “ of which had their arms full of young children;
 “ and as many as could came to rub our faces,

* On the St. Lawrence.

“ our arms, and what part of the body they could touch, showing us the best countenance that possible was, desiring us with their signs that it would please us to touch their children.” P. 52.

“ As far forth as we could perceive and understand by this people, *it were an easy thing to bring them to some familiarity and civility, and to make them learn what one would. The Lord God for his mercy's sake set thereunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.*” P. 60.

Cartier built a fort in this country, and it is clear, from his own account, that he took possession in defiance of the wishes of the chiefs; and kind and true as his testimony of these people is, he cannot be acquitted of having acted towards them with fraud and violence. One of the Indians, who had gone to France in the preceding year, seems to have penetrated through the designs of the French, but was unable to instil his cautions into his countrymen; and Cartier was enabled to entrap the principal chief and several others, whom he would have his readers believe to have been very speedily reconciled to their destiny. He states that the people made promises of grateful return if their leaders should be brought back again safe. They were never restored to their homes, and the French suffered, during many years, from the enmity which their treachery ex-

cited. Our own countrymen give a similar testimony of their discoveries.

The following domestic scene is taken from an early account of a voyage in 1605. It is a beautiful illustration of the good dispositions of the Indians of North America.

“ The savages from above all their confines
 “ came to see the manners of the Frenchmén, and
 “ lodged themselves willingly near them ; also, in
 “ certain variances happened amongst themselves,
 “ they did make Monsieur De Monts judge of
 “ their debates ; which is a beginning of voluntary
 “ subjection, from whence a hope may be con-
 “ ceived, that these people will soon conform them-
 “ selves to our manner of living.

“ It chanced one day, that a savage named Bi-
 “ tuani, finding good relish in the kitchen of M.
 “ De Monts, settled himself therein, doing there
 “ some service ; and yet did make love to a maid
 “ by way of marriage, the which not being able to
 “ have with the good liking and consent of her
 “ father, he took her to wife by force. Thereupon
 “ a great quarrel ensueth, and in the end she was
 “ taken away from him, and returned to her fa-
 “ ther. A very great debate was like to follow,
 “ were it not that Bituani, complaining to M. De
 “ Monts for this injury, the others came to defend
 “ their cause, (to wit, the father, assisted with

“ his friends) saying that he would not give his
“ daughter to a man, unless he had some means
“ by his industry to nourish and maintain both her
“ and the children that should proceed of the
“ marriage ; as for him, he saw not any thing that
“ he could do ; that he loitered about the kitchen
“ of the said M. De Monts, not exercising himself
“ a hunting. Finally, that he should not have the
“ maid, and ought not to complain. M. De Monts
“ having heard both parties, told them, that he
“ detained him not, and that Bituani was a diligent
“ fellow, and should go a hunting to make proof
“ of what he could do. But yet for all that, they
“ did not restore the maid unto him, until he had
“ shown effectually that which M. De Monts pro-
“ mised of him. Finally, he goeth a fishing, taketh
“ good store of salmons, the maid is re-delivered
“ unto him, and the next day following he came,
“ clothed with a fair new gown of bevers, well set
“ on with matachias, to the fort, which was then a
“ building for the Frenchmen, bringing his wife
“ with him, as triumphing for the victory, having
“ gotten her, as it were, by dint of sword, whom
“ he hath ever since loved dearly, contrary to the
“ custom of the other savages ; giving us to under-
“ stand, that the thing which is gotten with pain,
“ ought to be much cherished.”—*Nova Francia*,
in 1605, p. 22, translated in 1609 by P. Erondelle.

In the first report of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Virginia, it is stated by his captain and followers in 1584, that they * " were entertained " with all love and kindness, and with as much " bounty (after the manner of the natives,) as they " could possibly devise. They found the people " most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all " guile and treason, and such as live after the " manner of the golden age." The same report continues, " there came to us Granganimeo, the " king's brother, with forty or fifty of his people. " When we came to the shore to him with our " weapons he never moved from his place, nor " even mistrusted any harm to be offered from " us; but sitting still, he beckoned us to come " and sit by him, which we performed; and being " seated, he made all signs of joy and welcome, " striking on his head and breast, and afterwards " on ours, to show we were all one, smiling and " making show, the best he could, of all love and " familiarity. A day or two after this we fell to " trading with them, exchanging some things that " we had for chamois, buff, and deer skins. He " afterwards brought his wife with him to the " ships, his daughter, and two or three children. " His wife wore pearls in her ears, whereof we de- " liver your worship a little bracelet. Granga-

* Hakluyt.

“ nimeo was very just of his promise ; for many
 “ times we delivered him merchandize upon his
 “ word, but ever he came within the day, and
 “ performed his promise.”

A settlement was made here, but the settlers seem to have soon outraged the rites of hospitality so bountifully shown to them.

Within two years after the date of this report, Sir Francis Drake * touched upon the same coast, when he found the colony. They were in distress, and had almost despaired of relief. Sir Francis consented to leave two or three ships with them, that if in some reasonable-time they heard not from home, they might return. But a storm arising drove most of the fleet suddenly to sea. “ Those on
 “ land perceiving this, hasted to those three sail
 “ which were appointed to be left there ; and for
 “ fear they should be left behind, they left all things
 “ confusedly, as if they had been chased from
 “ thence by a mighty army. *And no doubt so they
 “ were, for the hand of God came upon them, for the
 “ cruelties and outrages committed by some of them
 “ upon the native inhabitants of that country.*”

Such is the statement in Hakluyt, prebendary of Bristol, an earnest supporter of the early colonists, and the faithful compiler of their histories. This evidence alone is but too complete, and it is mor-

* Hakluyt.

tifying and needless to accumulate the parallel examples which abound in this and other books.

Early in the seventeenth century an English commander carried off six Indian chiefs from New England, whom he sold in Spain for slaves; and laid the foundation for wars, which successive injuries perpetuated. The instances are painfully numerous of violences committed by the early colonists and traders, which have no justification in the conduct of the natives.

In Harriot's account of the first expedition to Virginia, he says of the natives, whom he knew personally, "that in respect of us they are a people
 " poor, and for want of skill in the knowledge and
 " use of our things, do esteem our trifles before
 " things of greater value. Notwithstanding in
 " their proper manner, considering what means
 " they have, they seem very ingenious. Although
 " they have no such tools, nor crafts, sciences and
 " arts, as we; yet in those things they do, they
 " show excellency of wit. And by how much they,
 " upon due consideration, shall find our manner
 " of knowledges to exceed theirs in perfection and
 " speed for execution, by so much the more is it
 " probable that they should desire our friendships
 " and love, and have the greater respect for plea-
 " sing and obeying us. Whereby may be hoped,
 " *if means of good government be used, that they*

“ may in that time be brought to civility, and the embracing of true religion.”—Hakluyt, p. 759.

“ Master Harriot ” appears to have been a worthy follower of Raleigh ; his account of Virginia, preserved by Hakluyt, deserves the consideration of all who are curious inquirers into the early settlements of America.

The advice which Lord Bacon gives with regard to the natives of new countries, was probably suggested to his mind by such narratives, and in consequence of the known injustice and indiscretion with which they were treated by Europeans. “ If you plant where savages are,” says his lordship, “ do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously.”—Essay 33, Of Plantation.

The harmlessness of these people is well shown in the following short passage. Early in the seventeenth century, when the settlers of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, “ had scarce houses to shelter themselves, and no doors to hinder the Indians access to all they had in them ; yet did the Lord so awe their hearts, that although they frequented the Englishmen’s places of abode, where their whole substance, weak wives and little ones, lay open to their plunder during their absence, being whole days at Sabbath assemblies, yet had they none of their food

“ or stuff diminished, neither children nor wives
 “ hurt in the least measure ; although the Indians
 “ came commonly to them at those times much
 “ hungry belly (as they used to say), and were
 “ then in number and strength beyond the En-
 “ glish by far*.”

With respect to the degree in which Christianity has been estimated by the Indians, it may for the present be sufficient, in addition to the foregoing testimonies, to state, that in 1655, the Onondagæes sent deputies to Quebec, accompanied by a large number of their nation, to solicit missionaries of the French, who were accordingly sent to them ; and several of the heads of that tribe became proselytes†. Their disposition in this respect, and their opinions of the advantages of an acquaintance with the arts of European civilization, may also be fairly collected from the following narratives. The first is taken from a volume preserved amongst the books given by the late king to the British Museum.

“ There are about 155 families in the vineyard,
 “ containing 800 souls in six villages. Each vil-
 “ lage has a preacher and schoolmasters, although
 “ not so many as could be desired. They are

* “ Wonderworking Providence,” cited in the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series, vol. vii. p. 13.

† Charlevoix Nov. France, 1. 320.

“ Indian and English ministers and masters. There
 “ is an increase of knowledge among these In-
 “ dians, though it must be confessed that their
 “ progress is but slow, for want of a learned mi-
 “ nistry constantly to instruct them. They com-
 “ plain of the want of Indian Bibles; but they
 “ have, through the care of the honourable com-
 “ missaries, other useful books in their own lan-
 “ guages, viz. The New England Confession of
 “ Faith, several catechisms, the Practice of Piety,
 “ Mr. Shepherd’s Sincere Convert, Mr. Baxter’s
 “ Call to the Unconverted, several sermons of
 “ Dr. Mather’s, beside the Psalter and the Gospel
 “ of John, printed in 1709, and an Indian primer.

“ As to the civil government, the Indians in
 “ Duke’s County, as well as in other places, are
 “ wholly under the English; but because their
 “ state does yet somewhat differ from that of their
 “ English neighbours, there are several laws made
 “ with a particular regard to the Indians, and
 “ there are some English justices for them, who
 “ are directed to appoint officers amongst the
 “ Indians themselves, to assist in the government
 “ of that people.

“ They have but few English houses, though
 “ the number is increasing of late; but they are
 “ clothed as we are, and by degrees learn our
 “ husbandry. Several of them have good teams

“ of oxen, with which they plough and cart for
 “ themselves and neighbours. Many have horses,
 “ cows, sheep, and swine. They have also several
 “ weavers; one or two house-carpenters; one
 “ wheelwright, who is so good a workman that he
 “ is frequently employed by his English neigh-
 “ bours. There are several tailors, and one, if not
 “ more shoemakers; one blacksmith, who not only
 “ took his trade himself, but also made his bel-
 “ lows, and other tools; and one cooper, viz.
 “ William Charles, who is a good workman.”—
The Report of the Minister, Mr. Mayhew, in 1720,
in the “India Christiana,” by Dr. Mather, 1721,
p. 88. In the Library of the British Museum.

The second is worthy of great consideration, both for the character which it exemplifies of Eliot, “the apostle of the Indians,” and for the proofs it exhibits of the effect of an earnest concurrence of the government at home and abroad, in the just mode of proceeding towards them.

It is here copied from the *Modern Universal History*; but the original report in 1647, from which that book, and several other similar statements were compiled, is preserved in the British Museum, amongst the late King’s pamphlets. The editors of the *Massachusetts’s Historical Society* have been unable to find a copy in America. It will be reprinted in the more enlarged *Vindi-*

cation of the Indian character, now preparing for press.

“ In 1643 New England was in a state of perfect tranquillity, and this interval was employed in converting the Indians, by which a civil as well as a religious end was obtained: as by their conversion they were rendered useful members to society. John Eliot, whom we have already named, was the first of the English missionaries who ventured into the countries of the savages to preach the gospel. For this purpose, he applied himself to one of the most discouraging studies, that of *learning their language*. In other respects he was extremely proper for the labours of a mission. He had been educated at Cambridge, where he acquired a considerable stock of learning, and coming over to New England, he was settled at Roxbury, where he continued minister about sixty years. In that time he became such a proficient in the dialect of the natives, that he published a grammar of the Indian tongue. In October, 1646, he set out on his mission, but sent forerunners to apprise the Indians of his intention. He was met upon the borders of the country he intended to convert by five or six of the savages, headed by a grave Indian (Wauban), who welcomed him, and ushering him into a large wigwam

“ he there began to preach and instruct his
 “ new disciples. According to his account, those
 “ Indians were not void either of quickness or
 “ docility ; and, in a short time, several hundreds
 “ were converted. The civil government of New
 “ England wisely seconded the apostolical labours
 “ of this reverend person. They furnished him
 “ with all kinds of tools for agriculture, and with
 “ money to encourage the natives to labour, which
 “ he distributed amongst his converts ; so that, in
 “ a short time, they built a town upon a spot
 “ assigned them by the colony.

“ Their compliance with christianity, and cer-
 “ tain civil regulations touching economy and
 “ commerce, wrought so surprising *a change for*
 “ *the better upon those converts, that the Indians*
 “ *about the town of Concord longed to be converted*
 “ *likewise.* Mr. Eliot, at their request, visited
 “ them, and a spot of ground was assigned them
 “ for building a town.

“ As the Indians have different vices or super-
 “ stitions in every tribe, he prevailed upon those
 “ converts to abolish the powowing, or divinations
 “ of their priests, which were most infamous im-
 “ positions. A short system of legislation was
 “ instituted among them ; and several English gen-
 “ tlemen and divines in the neighbourhood under-
 “ took to enforce the execution of those laws.

“ This rapid progress of christianity alarmed
“ the Indian Sachems, who complained that both
“ their revenues and their authority were dimi-
“ nished since their subjects had turned christians.
“ Even Uncas, the friendly Sachem, seeing his
“ territory now quite surrounded with the English,
“ became apprehensive that their government
“ would issue orders for his conforming to the
“ new discipline ; therefore he came into the ge-
“ neral court of Connecticut, and entered a formal
“ protest against any such measure. Cutshamo-
“ quin, another Sachem, stood very high upon his
“ prerogative, and prohibited all his christian sub-
“ jects from building any town in his territories.
“ He complained that, since the introduction of
“ christianity, both his authority and his revenue
“ were diminished ; but his complaints being little
“ regarded, he in the sequel became a convert
“ himself, that he might not lose all influence
“ among his own people.

“ Notwithstanding the opposition those con-
“ versions met with, the converts multiplied so
“ greatly, that the praying christians, for so they
“ were called, built a large town near Charles
“ river, in the middle of the Massachusets ; and
“ this became the best Indian town that had ever
“ been seen either in the French or English set-
“ tlements of North America. It consisted of

“ three long streets, a large house built after the
 “ English manner, which served for a church, a
 “ school-room, a store-house, and a lodging for
 “ Mr. Eliot. The place grew large and populous,
 “ and the natives called it Natick. Mr. Eliot
 “ was so zealous a missionary, that he translated
 “ several tracts, and, at last, the Bible itself into
 “ the Indian language, which was afterwards
 “ printed. Other ministers were equally laborious
 “ in different parts of this great colony. In a
 “ short time no fewer than eleven Indian christian
 “ settlements, with churches and schools, were
 “ formed; and all of them but three supplied with
 “ Indian pastors and schoolmasters; nay, in some
 “ of the most populous, they had Indian justices
 “ of the peace. *All this success was owing to the*
 “ *good usage those savages met with;* for the re-
 “ mains of the Pequots, the Narragantsets, and
 “ the Mohegins, who had been severely handled
 “ by the English, were still irreconcilable to
 “ christianity.

“ By this time a society for propagating the
 “ gospel was formed in New England, and it was
 “ reckoned that about five thousand Indian con-
 “ verts, supposed the fourth part of all the re-
 “ maining natives, were made in that province.
 “ This pious institution was confirmed in 1649 by
 “ the parliament of England, who then passed an

“ act to encourage the propagating the gospel
 “ amongst the Indians in New England. In con-
 “ sequence of this act a corporation was esta-
 “ blished in England, consisting of a president, a
 “ treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with powers
 “ to receive and disburse money for those pious
 “ purposes; and so popular were the interests of
 “ New England at that time, that the money con-
 “ tributed in one year in Old England enabled
 “ the society to purchase estates to the yearly
 “ value of *six hundred pounds.*”—*Modern Univ.*
Hist. Vol. xxxv. p. 305.

Nor must it be supposed that Eliot and his supporters found the Indians predisposed to reward their pains by any peculiar circumstances favourable to the success of their attempts. This has been sometimes insinuated by those who readily find excuses for the contrary proceedings of less earnest labourers in such works. Eliot's own words, preserved in Shepard's "Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians," are, "That which I first aimed at was to declare and deliver unto them the law of God, to civilize them. But when I attempted it, they gave no heed unto it, but were weary, and rather despised what I said. Awhile after, God stirred up in some of them a desire to come into the English fashions, and live after their manner, but knew

“ not how to attain unto it, yea, despaired that
 “ ever it should come to pass in their days, but
 “ thought that in forty years more some Indians
 “ would be all, one English, and in an hundred
 “ years all Indians here about would so be ; which
 “ when I heard (for some of them told me they
 “ thought so, and that some wise Indians said so,)
 “ my heart moved within me, abhorring that we
 “ should sit still and let that work alone, and
 “ hoping that this mind in them was a preparative
 “ to embrace the law and word of God ; and I
 “ told them that they and we were already all one
 “ save in two things : 1st, we know and pray unto
 “ God, and they do not. 2dly, We labor and
 “ work in building, planting, clothing ourselves,
 “ &c. and they do not : and would they but do as
 “ we do in these things, they would be all one
 “ with Englishmen ; and I told them I would
 “ come to their wigwams, and teach them, their
 “ wives and children, which they seemed very
 “ glad of ; and from that day forward I have not
 “ ceased to do that poor little which you know I
 “ do.”—*Letter of Mr. Eliot to T. S. dated Rox-*
bury, 24 Sept. 1647.

The success of Mr. Eliot proves beyond all doubt
 that Indians are capable of civil improvement. It
 seems very sufficiently to show, that “ generation
 “ after generation has *not* passed away without a

“ trace of advancement distinguishing the last of them from the first,” as you have somewhat rashly asserted. In fact, the defect, the criminality, rest with us alone: we (Europeans) have possessed their country upwards of 200 years; during a small portion only of which time, and in a few spots, have we acted towards them with ordinary justice; but whenever, in all that time, they were fairly dealt with, it is perfectly apparent that “ a desire to cultivate the arts of peace” distinguished them. It is not, however, pretended that the Indians of North America have ever been found in a faultless state of morals. Without doubt vicious habits prevailed amongst them, independently of our example. They appear to have been exposed to wars before our arrival; and tyrannical government, the usual consequence of wars, was then but too well understood and practised in the new world. Many of their customs also appear to be subversive of the well-being of society; but it is not always to be inferred, that the practices which we reject with marks of disgust should be criminal amongst a people differently circumstanced. With regard to the intercourse of the sexes, upon which the Indians have met with great reproach, it is clear, from the foregoing story of Bituani, taken from a very early traveller, that their views are not in all respects imprudent or vicious. On

the contrary, the introducing of similar principles into every family of this empire would be of infinite advantage to ourselves. Hitherto a perfect failure on this point seems to have attended the exertions of all our guides, ecclesiastical as well as civil. If the horrors of Indian warfare also are not to be lightly passed over, it seems to be very far from an unfair excuse for them, that they have been perpetrated by men whose best feelings and dearest interests have been outraged by unceasing persecutions. Most truly may it be asserted of the revenge which they have sometimes visited upon us, that it has been but a "wild justice." Nor must it be forgotten that Indian hostilities have rarely been carried on in the absence of European instigation,

To return: the representatives of Eliot's converts are understood to be now much reduced in number. They have proved themselves capable of civilization, and yet they have sunk before us. A conclusion very different from yours, from the two circumstances, would not be harsh: but to account for their disappearance in various districts, step by step, requires a more minute examination of documents than can *at present* be entered into. As you have published opinions only, it may be permitted to one who is desirous that they should not at least pass unopposed, to

allude, without producing many proofs, to his reasons for thinking those opinions erroneous. He makes accusations in reply to them reluctantly; but he is induced to do so by the hope of exciting attention to an important subject, at a moment when it may be beneficially discussed.

The exertions of the benevolent heretofore, and the advantages of mere contact with civilization, have been directly opposed and counteracted by gross personal violences, by dishonest practices and licentiousness in trading, and by the unrepressed encroachment upon Indian lands, which have marked our progress throughout America.

There is indeed no doubt that an inclination to dispossess them of their lands by any means has been very prevalent amongst most of the white settlers in all Indian countries. Even the fairest seeming purchases must be held to be grossly unequal: they are made with certain reservations to the aborigines of *rights of hunting, fishing, and location*; but the progress of cultivation soon prohibits the enjoyment of these rights to any beneficial purpose, and the sellers thus undoubtedly lose part of the consideration of the sale; or, in more correct terms, they never enjoy it. They are the victims of their own inexperience; and inasmuch as the opinion is now almost obsolete, that the strong and cunning may fairly prey upon the ig-

norant and weak, we may be said to be bound to prevent the fatal consequences of such error on their part, or to abstain from such purchases.

The extent to which injustice has been carried, with respect to the lands of the Indians, cannot be exaggerated by the most indignant reprobation. We have not only stripped them of it in the wild state; but the evidence is clear, that when they may have successfully expended labour on it, their possession is generally disturbed. Mr. Bromley, of Nova Scotia, late paymaster of the 23d fusileers, is an authority on this point beyond suspicion. In his Appeal on behalf of the Indians, printed at Halifax in 1820, p. 24, he says: "One
" of the chiefs, who took up his abode with me a
" few weeks ago, appeared much agitated while
" he related the circumstance of the white people
" having obtained a grant of the burying-ground
" of his ancestors, whose bones they had lately
" ploughed up; and this to an Indian is a species
" of sacrilege which he never can forgive. I am
" also acquainted with a particular part of the
" province of Nova Scotia, where a most ancient
" burying-ground of the Indians is now in the
" possession of the white people; who, however,
" out of courtesy, still allow them to bury their
" dead there." Mr. Bromley adds, "While read-
" ing over this part of my manuscript to a friend,

“ a native of this country, he assured me that the
“ white people had not only dispossessed them of
“ their land, but that they had also driven them
“ from their fishing ground ; and he related the
“ following anecdote, as he was an eye-witness to
“ the circumstance, which took place last autumn.

“ In Chedebucto Bay, contiguous to Fox Island,
“ in the eastern part of Nova Scotia, where the In-
“ dians have been in the constant habit of fishing,
“ and supplying the white fishermen with their
“ manufactures, peltry, &c. for several years, they
“ have been expelled in the most brutal manner
“ from that fishing ground by the white people,
“ who entered their camps, defiled their women,
“ abused and beat the men, and, in fact, con-
“ ducted themselves in such a manner as to pre-
“ vent the possibility of their remaining any longer.
“ My friend assures me, that he has purchased
“ from those Indians, during his visits to that
“ place, more than 300 barrels of mackarel. He
“ described them as strictly honest, sober, and
“ intelligent.”

Since the publication of Mr. Bromley's Appeal, the fishing place which he speaks of is reported to have been restored, by the authority of the government of Nova Scotia.

A female correspondent of Mr. Bromley (p. 35), the lady of a military officer, mentions her en-

deavours to persuade an Indian to cultivate the soil, and states, that "his grand objection to settling was the fact of some Indians having done so, and planted potatoes, when a white man came (with a grant of the land, she supposed), and took it from them." Upon this Mr. Bromley remarks, "This is too often the case: indeed, you will scarcely meet an Indian but who will tell you that he has cleared and cultivated land some time or other, but that the white men have taken it from him. A chief told me a few weeks ago, that his father had cleared no less than 200 acres in different parts of the province; but that he had been dispossessed of the whole by the white people."

You will thus perceive, Sir, that the presenting to the Indians models of civilized life has not been the sole occupation of Europeans in North America. I have shuddered with indignation and sorrow upon hearing accounts from gentlemen of credibility, of the barbarous personal tyranny exercised over these unfortunate people.

Until now, governments have also neglected the obvious duties of christianizing "the heathen," for which they professed to seize upon the New World; they have never attempted to check the ravages of the diseases introduced by civilized

man; and they have expended prodigious sums, and exhausted political misrepresentations, in order to engage the aborigines in quarrels, which, however advantageous to European interests, could only retard their advancing to habits of domestic tranquillity. Indians have been known to wish neutrality, and have been allured to war. The negligence of those whose duty it has always been to do them justice is without excuse.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1764, p. 125, is a plan for civilising the Indians of North America. It closes with "a reserve of what might be further said on the subject to another opportunity, as "leisure or *encouragement* might afford." The writer subscribes himself Philo-Indian, and appears to have been a man of excellent sentiments. He had resolved personally to execute his plans; but, as far as I can learn, met with no "*encouragement*." His whole manuscript has fallen into the hands of the writer of this letter, and will be published. The failure of "*encouragement*" cannot be attributed to deficiency of means, or of opportunity. Rich corporations had long been devoted to this object, and at that very time wanted efficient servants; and the government was in undisturbed possession of North America. The French were dispossessed of Canada, and the most powerful of the hostile

Indians had been subdued in the murderous campaign of the preceding year against the unhappy Cherokees. It is coolly announced in "Letters from Sir Jeffrey Amherst, dated Albany, 13 Aug. 1763, that in the western country Lieut.-Col. Grant had burnt fifteen towns, and all the plantations of the country; destroyed 1400 acres of corn, &c.; driven about 5000 men, women, and children into the woods and mountains, where, having nothing to subsist upon, *they must either starve or sue for peace.*"

The corporation chiefly alluded to confessed their failure in christianizing the Indians; but they discovered "that the Indians themselves obstinately rejected our care;" and those exertions, which ought to have had a better issue, seem to have been much discontinued*. It is disgraceful to the capacity of the governors of that corporation, that its funds have done so little good in one of their peculiar objects, when the exertions of the almost unassisted Moravians have produced

* See the Sermon of this year 1664, and of 1773, before the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, and the pamphlets defending the society. There must be something wrong in the constitution of this society, since its *disposition* to do the Indians service can hardly be doubted. In the present year the expense of reprinting an Indian tract, found in the British Museum, was undertaken upon the suggestion of one who was a stranger to it.

effects fully commensurate to the means employed. It is indeed to be regretted that the trustees, who found their ministers unequal to the execution of their duty, did not pay over the funds to those persons, who, in the midst of prodigious disadvantages, never failed of proving, that, in the worst of times, much might be done. It should also have occurred to the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that even greater want of success than they had experienced might be accounted for by many other causes than by the "untame-
"able savage spirit, which refused to hear the "voice of instruction," as asserted* of the Indians. That society will not deny that religion has been presented to them under many unfavourable characters; and when otherwise well introduced, it must have greatly prejudiced the general cause, that deadly animosities were seen to divide the advocates of the new faith.

It cannot be said that the affairs of these people lay concealed from public view. Independently of the general regard which they have *always* attracted, there have been perpetually occurring incidents which never failed to bring them fully into the consideration of the people of this country. The government has also at all times spent

* Sermon before the Society in 1773, 19 February.

very large sums of money on the Indian department of the colonies. But in this particular year, 1764, public attention was remarkably excited to the subject. A murder was perpetrated upon three men, two women, and a boy, Indians of the Conestagoe village in Pennsylvania, calculated by its unmixed atrocity to have raised a crusade against the murderers, if some overwhelming self-interest had not governed us. Instead of vengeance pursuing these barbarians, fifty of them broke open the door of a workhouse, in which fourteen other Indians of the same village had taken shelter, “ and entered with the utmost fury “ in their countenances. When the poor wretches “ saw that they had no protection nigh, nor could “ possibly escape, and being without the least “ weapon for defence, they divided into their “ little families, the children clinging to the parents; they fell on their knees, protested their “ innocence, declared their love to the English, “ and that, in their whole lives, they had never done “ them injury; and in this posture they all received the hatchet!—men, women, and little “ children, were every one murdered in cold “ blood.”—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1764, p. 174.

The civil authorities appear to have been perfectly aware of the atrocity of the above-mentioned

massacre, and to have saved some of the Indians connected with those who were murdered; but to put the laws in force against the perpetrators of the crime, seems not to have been thought of.—See *Heckewelder and Loskiel's Accounts of the Moravian Settlements amongst the Indians from the Year 1740.*

Besides the infliction of positive wrong, we have in a great measure withdrawn the benefits which were once conferred on the Indians.

What was so well begun under the active patronage of Mr. Boyle, and by the general support of the nation in the seventeenth century, seems to have been less vigorously attended to after the decease of Eliot and his excellent supporter.

In 1783 the British funds were withdrawn from the United States Indians, without being duly expended amongst those who still adhered to us in our remaining North American colonies; and it is remarkable that Boyle's own estate, administered by another society, then suffered a similar diversion: it was indeed applied to a purpose so eminently good (the religious and civil improvement of negro slaves), that it is almost free from reproach. The effects, however, upon Indian interests, must be acknowledged to have been injurious even beyond the immediate falling off of

funds ; inasmuch as it is of great importance that the exertions of the benevolent should not be fluctuating.

Your paper concludes by anticipating the extermination of these tribes ; and, with a signal want of information upon the subject of which you were treating, you utter your prophecy at the precise moment when, to an extent almost beyond hope, means are in active progress which make the *permanent* improvement of the condition of the Indians extremely probable.

As you are obviously unacquainted with what has lately been undertaken in America on their behalf, I will close this reply to your remarks by a short statement of the experiments lately made amongst the western tribes, and in Nova Scotia ; and of the views of a society in the United States, of which all the public men of the Union, without exception, are members. A change in the principles of our intercourse with them is also understood to be in progress in Canada.

The subject is well illustrated by the following extract from the before-mentioned Appeal in behalf of the Indians of North America, p. 45.

“ The Indians in Nova Scotia are perhaps more
“ degenerated than any other tribes ; they prolong
“ a wretched existence by begging. The best
“ means of affording them a regular subsistence,

“ is to give them employment ; and for this desirable purpose a plan has been in operation during the last five years, which has so far succeeded as to prove, by actual experiment, that the majority of the Indians are by no means averse to agricultural pursuits, or the habits of civilized life. Nothing therefore is wanting but pecuniary aid.

“ The following Memorial contains the necessary information relative to the improvements made up to the spring of 1819.

“ *To the Honourable the House of Assembly, now convened at Halifax.*

“ The Petition of Walter Bromley, in behalf of the Indians of Nova Scotia,

“ Humbly showeth,

“ That your petitioner, encouraged by the experiment which he has lately made in ascertaining whether these forlorn brethren of the woods were capable of being trained in some measure to the habits of civilized life, has now the pleasure of laying before your Honourable House the following particulars,—viz.

“ That during the last autumn your petitioner visited the settlement at Shubenacadie, which consists of twelve families, and found that they

“ had cleared fifty acres and three-fourths of land,
 “ twenty-three of which contained excellent crops
 “ of potatoes, turnips, and every kind of grain
 “ peculiar to the country, all of which were in-
 “ closed by good fences: they had taken the
 “ greatest care of six cows, given them by your
 “ petitioner; for the subsistence of which they
 “ have since (of their own accord) cut from twenty
 “ to thirty tons of hay. Their poultry had also
 “ increased abundantly. They have besides erected
 “ one excellent log, and two frame houses, which
 “ they would willingly have occupied this winter,
 “ had not the early frost prevented the com-
 “ pletion of the chimneys. Those improvements
 “ were carefully examined by James Moore, Esq.
 “ a magistrate, and Mr. John Wallace, of Shube-
 “ nacadie, who furnished a joint certificate of the
 “ above facts for the information of his excellency
 “ the governor.

“ Petitioner also visited a settlement of Indians
 “ at Gold River, in the vicinity of Chester, con-
 “ sisting of thirty-two persons, who during the last
 “ winter, for the first time, applied for assistance.
 “ These Indians had also, during the last summer
 “ made considerable improvement: six acres of
 “ their land was in the best possible state of cul-
 “ tivation, and contained excellent crops of po-
 “ tatoes, cabbages, turnips, barley, and English
 “ hay, all of which were enclosed by good fences:

“ they have also assisted in erecting two frame
“ houses, which they now occupy; and as their
“ crops of potatoes, &c. were carefully stored,
“ they have not required the usual supply of fish
“ and meal given by petitioner to other Indians.
“ A certificate of the foregoing facts was furnished
“ for the information of his Excellency the Go-
“ vernor, by David Crandal, Esq., a magistrate,
“ residing at Gold River, whose disinterested aid
“ in this cause of suffering humanity has produced
“ the happiest effects.

“ Petitioner could enumerate other pleasing in-
“ formation respecting the improvements made by
“ smaller divisions of Indians, who have been fur-
“ nished with seed potatoes, &c.; he will, how-
“ ever, briefly state, that if the means afforded
“ were commensurate with the magnitude of the
“ object, in a few years none but the most aban-
“ doned Indians would be found in an uncivilized
“ state in Nova Scotia, as he finds, from his con-
“ stant intercourse with the transient Indians, that
“ there is an increasing disposition on their part
“ to become settlers, provided they could be fur-
“ nished with the common necessaries of life for a
“ limited period; but the circumscribed funds
“ which have been entrusted to the care of your pe-
“ titioner by some benevolent friends in England,
“ have amounted to no more than sixteen dollars
“ per annum for each Indian, which have been con-

“ scientifically expended in the purchase of meal
 “ and fish, some articles of clothing, materials for
 “ building, tools, &c., which, added to upwards
 “ of 100*l.* * gratefully received by your petitioner
 “ from his Excellency the Governor, for the pur-
 “ pose of furnishing seed during the last two
 “ years, have been the means of proving beyond
 “ a doubt, that by a patient perseverance in this
 “ cause, the greatest difficulties may be sur-
 “ mounted ; and under this impression, your peti-
 “ tioner is again induced to appeal to the feelings
 “ of the members of the Legislative Body, for
 “ such aid as in their superior wisdom they shall
 “ deem fit to grant.—And your petitioner will
 “ ever pray.”

“ W. BROMLEY.

“ *February, 26, 1819.*

“ The prayer of the foregoing petition was ably
 “ supported by two of the most respectable mem-
 “ bers; yet when the question was called for, there
 “ appeared a *parity* of votes; the speaker therefore
 “ submitted to the members, whether, agreeably
 “ to the rules of the house, he might be per-
 “ mitted to give the casting vote in favour of the
 “ petition; which he was told he could not do, as
 “ it was an appeal for *pecuniary assistance*: he had
 “ therefore no alternative but to vote against it.”

* A part of the sum of 250*l.* voted by the House of Assembly for the benefit of the Indians.

In New Brunswick an attempt was made in 1814, in favour of the Indians, under Sir Thomas Saumarez, which, it is believed, the present commander-in-chief, General Smyth, has not permitted to fail for want of his support. Sir T. Saumarez's remarks upon the subject are: "I have made the best use of your very interesting papers, in furtherance of the happiness and prosperity of these good creatures. I have great satisfaction in acquainting you, that yesterday I went to the ground lately purchased for them, accompanied by the commissioners appointed by me, to put them in possession (according to the vote of the provincial assembly) and all the subscribers at this place, when the Indians received us in their best dresses, and I could add their best looks, as I never saw them so well pleased, contented, and happy, as upon this occasion; we took a sufficiency of potatoes, the best we could procure in the province, to plant, and such implements of husbandry as they were in immediate want of, which attentions were the more gratifying as they did not expect them.

"We agreed with their neighbours to pay for ploughing fifteen acres of land, already cleared, and we purchased Indian corn, and other seeds, so that they can cultivate the whole of these; they have already begun to cut wood on their

“ estate, and I make little doubt of their making
 “ rapid improvements in a very short time. The
 “ ground we saw them upon is one of the most
 “ beautiful spots I ever saw ; it adjoins a chapel
 “ and burial-place they have long since possessed ;
 “ and it is close to a river, which I was informed
 “ contained plenty of salmon, and other sorts of
 “ good fish, which will prove of incalculable ad-
 “ vantage for their summer and winter stock.”—

Mr. Bromley's Appeal.

In Canada, and in the United States of North America, very considerable sums have been expended to civilize the aborigines, and generally with much success. Recently, also, excellent restrictions have been laid on the traders of the latter people ; and regulations for a similar purpose are about to be adopted by our own government. It is to be hoped, rather perhaps than expected, that the evils which war between us and our neighbours in America will begin to lose some of its horrors, in respect of Indian alliances. It is of the greatest importance that both countries should act with unanimity on this subject.

The following accounts of successful establishments amongst the Western Indians, are taken from many which might be produced as further illustrative of their present prospects :—

“ The journal of the mission at Brainerd, under

“ date of the 1st of November, 1820, presents the
 “ following pleasing intelligence :—

“ ‘The council (of Indian chiefs) have made a
 “ law to compel parents to keep their children at
 “ school, when once entered, until they have
 “ finished their education, or to pay all expense
 “ for clothing, board, and tuition. They have also
 “ given the superintendents of each mission au-
 “ thority to take out of their schools such children
 “ as they shall think proper, and, with the con-
 “ sent of their parents, put them to such trades
 “ as are attached to their missions; and, when
 “ such children have learned a trade, they are
 “ to be furnished with a set of tools at the ex-
 “ pense of the nation.

“ ‘They have also divided their country into
 “ eight districts or counties; laid a tax on the
 “ people to build a court-house in each of these
 “ counties, and appointed four circuit Judges.
 “ The Cherokees are rapidly adopting the laws
 “ and manners of the whites. They appear to
 “ advance in civilization, just in proportion to
 “ their knowledge of the gospel. It therefore be-
 “ comes all, who desires the civilization of the
 “ Indians, to do what they can to send the gospel
 “ among them.

“ ‘In the spring of 1820, Adam Hodgson, esq.,
 “ a distinguished merchant of Liverpool, visited

“ Eliot and Brainerd, on a journey from Natchez
“ on the Mississippi, to Richmond in Virginia.
“ An account of his journey I find in a London
“ publication now before me, from which I beg
“ leave to present a few passages, that you may
“ learn the opinion of an intelligent foreign tra-
“ veller upon the subject now in question. After
“ mentioning his arrival at Eliot, he adds—

“ ‘ Soon after my arrival, we proceeded to the
“ school, just as a half breed, who has taken great
“ interest in it, was preparing to give the children
“ ‘ a talk,’ previous to returning home, 60 miles
“ distant. He is a very influential chief, and a
“ man of comprehensive views. He first trans-
“ lated into Choctaw, a letter to the children,
“ from some benevolent friends in the north, who
“ had sent it with a present of a box of clothes.
“ He then gave them a long address in Choctaw.

“ ‘ As soon as the school was over, the boys
“ repaired to their agricultural labour, their in-
“ structor working with them, and communicating
“ information in the most affectionate manner:
“ the girls proceeded to their sewing and domestic
“ employments, under the missionary sisters. They
“ were afterwards at liberty till the supper-bell
“ rang, when we all sat down together to bread
“ and milk, and various preparations of Indian
“ corn; the missionaries presiding at the different

“ tables, and confining themselves, as is their
 “ custom except in case of sickness, to precisely
 “ the same food as the scholars. After supper a
 “ chapter in the Bible was read, with Scott’s Prac-
 “ tical Observations. This was followed by sing-
 “ ing and prayer; and then all retired to their
 “ little rooms, in their log cabins.

“ ‘ In the morning, at day-light, the boys were
 “ at their agriculture, and the girls at their do-
 “ mestic employments. About seven o’clock we
 “ assembled for reading, singing, and prayer; and
 “ soon afterward for breakfast. After an interval
 “ for play, the school opened with prayer and sing-
 “ ing, a chapter in the Bible, and examination
 “ on the subject of the chapter of the preceding
 “ day. The children then proceeded to reading,
 “ writing, accounts, and English grammar, on a
 “ modification of the British system. The in-
 “ structors say they never knew white children
 “ learn with so much facility; and the specimens
 “ of writing exhibited unequivocal proofs of rapid
 “ progress. Many spoke English very well.

“ ‘ The immediate object of the settlement of
 “ Eliot is the religious instruction of the Indians.
 “ The missionaries are, however, aware, that this
 “ must necessarily be preceded or accompanied
 “ by their civilization; and that mere preaching
 “ to the adult Indians, though partially beneficial

“ to the present generation, would not probably
“ be attended with any general or permanent re-
“ sults. While, therefore, the religious interests
“ of the children are the objects nearest to their
“ hearts, they are anxious to put them in posses-
“ sion of those qualifications which may secure to
“ them an important influence in the councils of
“ their nation, and enable them gradually to in-
“ duce their roaming brethren to abandon their
“ erratic habits for the occupations of civilized
“ life. } The general feelings of the nation, at this
“ moment, are most auspicious to their under-
“ taking. The community at large is most soli-
“ citous for civilization. In this they have made
“ some progress; many of them growing cotton, and
“ spinning, and weaving it into coarse clothing.

“ ‘Of the three districts or towns into which its
“ 15 or 20,000 souls are divided, one has appro-
“ priated to the use of schools its annuity for se-
“ venteen years, of 2,000 dollars per annum, re-
“ ceived from the United States for ceded lands;
“ another its annuity of 1000 dollars per annum,
“ with the prospect of 1000 more; and one has
“ requested the United States not only to forbid
“ the introduction of ammunition into the nation,
“ that the hunter may be compelled to work, but
“ to send their annuity in implements of hus-

“bandry. At a recent general council of the
 “chiefs, 1300 dollars in money, and upwards of
 “eighty cows and calves were subscribed for the
 “use of schools, and the total contribution of the
 “Choctaws to this object exceeds 70,000 dollars.

“‘I was highly gratified by my visit to Eliot—
 “this garden in a moral wilderness; and was
 “pleased with the opportunity of seeing a mis-
 “sionary settlement in its infant state, before the
 “wounds of recent separation from kindred and
 “friends had ceased to bleed, and habit had ren-
 “dered the missionaries familiar with the pecu-
 “liarities of their novel situation.’”

Mr. Lewis, the secretary of an American religious society, whose letter to a Member of Congress contains the foregoing extract, continues—

“Upon this country, sir, rests a responsibility,
 “in relation to the Indian tribes, of deep and
 “tremendous import. ‘Sovereigns, from time
 “immemorial, of the interminable forests, which
 “overshadow this vast continent, this injured race
 “have gradually been driven, by the white usurpers
 “of their soil, within the limits of their present
 “precarious possessions. One after another of
 “their favourite rivers has been reluctantly aban-
 “doned, until the range of the hunter is bounded
 “by lines prescribed by his invader, and the in-

“dependence of the warrior is no more. Of the
“innumerable tribes which, a few centuries since,
“roamed fearless and independent in their native
“forests, how many have been swept into oblivion,
“and are with the generations before the flood!
“Of others, not a trace remains but in tradition,
“or in the person of some solitary wanderer, the
“last of his tribe, who hovers like a ghost among
“the sepulchres of his fathers—a spark still faintly
“glimmering in the ashes of an extinguished race.”
“Alas! sir, shall the sword of avarice, or the strong
“arm of civilized power, still pursue this unhappy
“people? Shall the unceasing and relentless force
“of emigration drive them from forest to forest,
“until the last remnant, struggling for existence,
“shall fall on the verge of the Western Ocean, or
“perish in its flood! Will not the voice of hu-
“manity prompt us to arrest this unremitting pro-
“gress of extermination? Does not the glory of
“our country require that we extend to those
“who still survive the hand of friendship, convey
“to them the blessings of social life, and raise
“them to a high and happy destiny? And how,
“sir, shall this be accomplished? Break down
“the restrictions which have happily been placed
“upon Indian trade, and you will let loose upon
“the untutored tenants of the wilderness a horde
“of selfish and unprincipled adventurers, to pol-

“ lute, debase, deceive, and destroy. But con-
“ tinue and enforce those restrictions—encourage
“ and aid the missionary institutions of our coun-
“ try, and you will find a host of pious ministers,
“ teachers, farmers, and mechanics, who will go
“ forth to the work of civilizing the Indians, with
“ no other motive than that of promoting their
“ temporal and eternal benefit, and expecting and
“ wishing no earthly remuneration for their pri-
“ vations and their toils. Adopt this course, and
“ you will have agents who will carry on the noble
“ designs of the government in relation to the
“ Indian tribes, with a spirit of disinterestedness,
“ perseverance, and fidelity, which, in any other
“ way, or on any other principle, cannot be found.
“ Adopt this course, and with cheering hope you
“ may look forward to the period when the savage
“ shall be converted into the citizen; when the
“ hunter shall be changed to the agriculturalist or
“ the mechanic; when the farm, the workshop, the
“ school-house, and the church, shall adorn every
“ Indian village; when the fruits of industry, good
“ order, and sound morals, shall bless every Indian
“ dwelling; and when, throughout the vast range
“ of country from the Mississippi to the Pacific,
“ the red man and the white man shall every where
“ be found mingling in the same pursuits, che-
“ rishing the same benevolent and friendly views,

“ fellow-citizens of the same civil and religious
 “ community, and fellow-heirs to an eternal inhe-
 “ ritage in the kingdom of glory.”

This statement is supported by the progress which other neighbouring Indians are making. The journal of the mission among the Choctaw nation contains an equally satisfactory report of the proceedings of that people to a late date:—

“ Oct. 1, 1821. A general council, which has
 “ been sitting since the 27th ult., closed their
 “ session this day. They have organised, in the
 “ north-east district, a small company of ten men,
 “ to act as a patrol, for the purpose of punishing
 “ offenders, collecting debts, &c. This is the first
 “ instance of the organization of a civil power
 “ among the Choctaws, to execute the laws. Pro-
 “ vision was made in the last treaty, by which
 “ they are to receive twenty dollars annually per
 “ man.”—*Boston Missionary Herald for April,*
 1822, p. 103.

The accounts from this mission, to March in the present year, are in the highest degree satisfactory:—

“ Jan. 1, 1822. We examined the boys’ school,
 “ and were much gratified with the appearance of
 “ the scholars. Their attention to their studies,
 “ and their eagerness to learn, were very striking.
 “ They were examined in reading, spelling, wri-

“ ting, arithmetic, and grammar; and in trans-
 “ lating English words and sentences into Choc-
 “ taw, and Choctaw words into English. This
 “ last exercise has been recently adopted in the
 “ school, and is attended with much promise of
 “ future good. An Indian was present, who came
 “ about forty miles to visit us, bringing two large
 “ boys, whom he wished to place in the school.
 “ But as the boys, who have not yet returned
 “ since vacation, will about complete our number of
 “ scholars, and as his boys were large, we declined
 “ receiving them. He, however, was very im-
 “ portunate, particularly for one of them, who
 “ was his own son; and told us, if we would in-
 “ struct him, he would engage that the son should
 “ be obedient to us in every respect. After ear-
 “ nest entreaty on the part of the parent and child,
 “ and much consultation among the brethren of
 “ the mission, we finally concluded to receive the
 “ boy. On hearing the result, they both mani-
 “ fested a joy well suited to the occasion. But,
 “ the same day, we were obliged to refuse two
 “ other large boys, for the want of more fellow-
 “ labourers.

“ *Employments of the Children.*”

“ Feb. 2. Have been actively employed this
 “ week in our various labours. The boys are

“ clearing land, culling firewood, splitting rails,
 “ &c. Brother Smith is preparing to enclose a
 “ field of fifteen or eighteen acres. Brother Jewell
 “ is employed in completing two log dwelling-
 “ houses. Our schools are in a prosperous state.
 “ The children gratify us by their industry in
 “ manual labour, and by a regular attention to
 “ their books. When at leisure they generally
 “ have some book in their hands, and this book is
 “ commonly the Bible.

“ Successful Labours of the Boys.

“ 20. This day the boys under brother Bard-
 “ well’s care completed the chopping on the new
 “ field containing fifteen or eighteen acres. This
 “ work has been almost entirely performed by
 “ about thirty boys, who, in addition, have split
 “ many rails, rolled up logs into heaps, and cut
 “ nearly all the firewood which we have used this
 “ winter. We feel very much encouraged by our
 “ present success to hope that much may be done
 “ here on mission ground, to meet our ordinary
 “ expenses.

“ 23. Had a pleasing interview with a young
 “ man, who was desirous of entering our school.
 “ His importunity would hardly suffer a denial.

“ 26. Had further conversation with the young
 “ man mentioned in our journal of the 23d. He
 “ is as ardently desirous of obtaining an educa-

" tion as ever. We think we must not send him
 " away ; and have finally concluded to let him
 " remain and work with some of the brethren,
 " hoping the Lord will make plain the path of
 " our duty. A half-breed came to-day, wishing
 " to place a son in school. He offered to give us
 " a cow and calf, if we would receive him ; but
 " we were obliged to tell him, as we have other
 " persons who have come with the same request.

" Interview with the Parents of several Children.

" *March 3.* This Sabbath has been very inte-
 " resting to our souls. The parents of some of
 " the children were with us. To them we made
 " known a Saviour, in our private interviews with
 " them. They appeared to be interested, and
 " told us they were glad to hear us, and wished
 " all the Choctaws knew what we had told them.
 " They inquired of us if they could pray in the
 " Choctaw language ; if they might call God ' our
 " Father ;' and they wished us to tell them what
 " they must pray for. Truly here is a field for an
 " evangelist.

" 4. When our Choctaw friends left us this
 " morning, taking us by the hand, they said,
 " ' We have seen our children ; all is good. We
 " are glad, and shall go home and sleep sound.'
 " Soon after, a Choctaw, who had heard us say a
 " little about God yesterday, came to a room

“ where some of us had just risen from prayer, to
 “ know more about God. He said he had thought
 “ about that which we had told him, and had come
 “ to hear more. O! that the friends of the Re-
 “ deemer would pray more fervently! Soon might
 “ our walls be salvation, and our gates praise !

“ *Reception of Girls into the School.*

“ 5. A little girl was brought to us to be re-
 “ ceived into the school. As the number of girls
 “ is small, and more can be accommodated in their
 “ school-room, we gladly received her.

“ 7. Another little girl the Lord has this day
 “ put into our hands. The Choctaws are too in-
 “ different to the education of their daughters,
 “ while they are all alive to that of their sons.
 “ Hence we especially rejoice when the girls are
 “ offered. We have now sixteen of them in school,
 “ under the care of sister Thacher. They make
 “ good progress in their studies, and, by their daily
 “ deportment, much endear themselves to all our
 “ hearts. They are a precious little circle of chil-
 “ dren, and we doubt not but all our friends take
 “ pleasure in commending them to God.”

The government of the United States of North
 America is actively engaged in supporting the
 foregoing and similar endeavours to civilize the

aborigines of their country. The principles upon which they are proceeding may be fairly judged of from the following scheme of a society, numbering amongst its members almost every man of eminence in that country.

The purposes of the society formed in the United States in February last, in behalf of the Indians, are numerous and sensible. It is proposed to consider calmly the great problem of Indian civilization; to collect materials for their history; to survey accurately their present condition; and to appropriate, if possible, such means as may be necessary for the accomplishment of their salvation.

I regret that I am unable to present to you a copy of the judicious scheme of this excellent society. The patrons of it are the three late presidents of the United States of North America, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Madison. The members are, almost all the principal officers, civil and military, of the Union; and a long list of active, sincere men, upon whom probably will depend the details of what it is proposed to do. The sanction of Congress seems to be given to the various measures on the subject, and reports appear to be preparing by the instrumentality of the president, of what is accessible of the various

proceedings already in forwardness with regard to it.

Independently of those awful dispensations of Providence in the affairs of the world, which are beyond the control of man, it cannot be denied that events prove the character of the policy adopted by particular states. If revolutions happen in the various relations of society, all who shared in the acts of government, in the largest sense of the word, are responsible to the governed for the good or evil issue of them. The destruction of the Indians, in the now peopled parts of North America, has been accomplished too gradually, and by means too obviously barbarous and human, to be attributable to any other agency than that of man. It is fairly to be inferred, from the fact alone, that our course among them has been marked with injustice. But other proof is not wanting of the insidious policy upon which we have acted. It is not probable that testimony of the best kind can be obtained from our own authorities, showing truly the principles which have influenced us, although the following passages from authentic sources are not much removed from such evidence. "At the first arrival of the English the Indians were treated with kindness, to obtain their friendship and favour; but they having no acquaintance with fire-arms, the En-

“ glish grew by degrees less apprehensive of danger.
 “ The quarrels which the Indians had always
 “ been engaged in amongst themselves were a
 “ further security to the English, who, on the one
 “ hand, endeavoured to restrain them from an
 “ open war with one another ; and, *on the other,*
 “ *to keep up so much of contention as to prevent a*
 “ *combination,* and to make an appeal to us as
 “ umpires necessary from time to time.”—*Hut-*
chinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, p. 275, ed. 2,
 1764.

From a passage in the *Biographia Britannica* it appears that, in Lord Egmont's manuscripts, there are preserved certain reflections of Carteret, Lord Granville, on education and colonial government. With deliberate heartlessness, he reproves the converting of the Indians, because the knowledge of christianity will introduce them to a knowledge of the arts, and such a consummation will make them *dangerous to our plantations.*

Further testimony will hardly be demanded ; and it rests with those who have ceased to dispute the foregoing inferences with respect to the past, to adopt new courses ; for thus alone will they evince the sincerity of their disapproval of the principles upon which their predecessors acted.

I have thus placed before you a few of the grounds upon which I think that your opinions

have been inconsiderately formed ; and I trust that the having received a strong conviction, from these and similar documents, that the Indians may be saved in this world as well as hereafter, is not the result of merely enthusiastic views.

What is now doing throughout the United States, and what has been done and is preparing in parts of our own colonies, may fail ; but, enormous as are the wrongs which hitherto we have perpetrated in North America, there never have been wanting a few individuals to act a better part ; and their exertions have uniformly been successful, when not opposed in various shapes by the cupidity of the white people. It may, therefore, be inferred from the past, that, with the promised change of public policy, the prospects of the Indians will change also. That the tendency to improvement is *not* "wanting in them," as you hastily surmise, will, I think, be your conviction, after you have re-considered their history ; and it is hoped that you will endeavour to make reparation for the injury you have done them, by a candid statement of your future impressions.

This country has still a great stake in the New World ; it has interests to protect there, and a character to support. The excellent societies, which hold large funds applicable to this special object, seem only to require to have their ancient

spirit rekindled. When convinced of the efficacy of certain proposed courses, it is known that they are not backward with the means of promoting them. In order, at least, not to thwart good views, it is most of all to be desired that they who profess to enlighten the public mind should not disseminate errors.

PHILADELPHUS.

NOTES.

Note 1.

The opponents to civilizing the Indians used to deny that the exertions of Eliot, and those like him, could produce any good effects. This was carried so far, that the corporation for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts found it necessary to conclude one of their collections of letters from New England in the following manner: "The reason wherefore we have published so many testimonials, and shall insert more, is, because too many that come from New England labour to blast the work, by reporting here that there is no such work afoot in the country; or, if there be, it is but for the loaves; and if any be truly converted, 'tis not above five or seven at the most. If these testimonies be not sufficient to satisfy any still doubting spirit, there are some eminent gentlemen come from thence, who are ready to resolve them in the truth thereof; as Mr. Edward Hopkins, late governor of Connecticut, Mr. Francis Willoughby, a late magistrate of Massachusetts, and others. Besides, we shall be willing to show the originals of the foregoing papers, which we have received and transcribed for the press."—P. 40 of a pamphlet called *Strength out of Weakness; or, a glorious Manifestation of the further Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England*, 1652. London.

Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts, says, that "Great opposition was made to the collection in England; and the con-

“version of the Indians was represented as a mere pretence to draw money from men of pious minds.”—P. 165.

Eliot succeeded, although his design was executed after twenty-five years' possession of the country, without any similar attempt being made to introduce religion among the Indians; a neglect which they observed in a manner peculiar to themselves, and which must have greatly increased the difficulty of what was to be accomplished.

It is frequently felt to be difficult to reconcile the bad opinions entertained of the Indians by very honourable persons, with the vindication here attempted of them. Such opinions must not, however, be permitted at all to influence us, unless the opportunities under which they have been formed have been favourable. The general testimony of Mr. Hutchinson, the respectable historian of Massachusetts, is decidedly against the Indian character; but it is perfectly clear that he did not reflect upon them with a careful determination to divest them of mere accidental circumstances. He speaks of them sometimes feelingly; but specifies traits which are notoriously not genuine marks of their race. In mentioning their advancement under Eliot, in the seventeenth century, he scarcely alludes to the injury which they must have suffered in our intercourse of twenty-five years without an attempt to civilize them; and never once notices the unjust dealings of the traders with them, or the manner in which their lands were encroached upon.

Note 2.

The testimony of Hutchinson, the respectable annalist of Massachusetts, is a specimen of the injustice with which the case of the Indians has been treated. It is obvious that he was well acquainted with minute details of our intercourse with them, and of the wrongs which they have sunk under. He cannot deny what is urged against his countrymen, and disapproves of their conduct; yet throughout his history, fair as it otherwise may be called, there is not a single word expressive of high-minded in-

dignation, or of earnest entreaty, that better courses should be adopted towards them. "The English have been charged," says he, "by some writers with acts of injustice to the Indians, which have provoked them, and occasioned the frequent wars. There have been many instances of abuses offered to particular persons among the Indians by evil-minded Englishmen; and the inhabitants of some parts of the province, which have suffered most by Indian cruelties, may have been under too strong prejudices, and by this means offenders, when brought to trial, may have been acquitted by too favourable juries*. We are too apt to consider the Indians as a race of beings by nature inferior to us, and born to servitude."—*Hutchinson's History*, p. 283.

"The first grant within the bounds of the Massachusetts was obtained by Mr. Weston, who, in 1622, sent over two ships, with fifty or sixty men, to begin a plantation at Watsagusset, since called Weymouth. They were a dissolute crew, soon brought themselves to poverty, and then robbed the Indians, and offered other abuses to them. The Indians made their complaints to the colony of New Plymouth; but the abuses continuing, the next year they laid a plot for the destruction of all Weston's company."—*Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay*, 2d ed. p. 5.

Yet had "they showed courtesy to the English at their first arrival, were hospitable, and made such as could eat their food welcome to it, and readily instructed them in planting and cultivating the Indian corn; and some of the English, who lost themselves in the woods, and must otherwise have perished by famine, they relieved, and conducted home."—*Ib.* p. 468.

Note 3.

There seems to be a struggle in the United States between the philanthropists, who advocate the civilizing the Indians, and the

* It was one of Penn's laws, that "all differences between the planters and native Indians should be ended by six planters and six natives."—*Conditions of July 11, 1681.*

fur traders. The latter affect to want free commerce ; or, in other words, they wish that their superior arts should be uncontrolled. The government will probably persevere in overcoming the difficulty of carrying the restrictions into effect. One of Penn's laws was, " that all dealings with the Indians should be in open " market." 11 July, 1681. In Canada our own government is now beginning to introduce a system of protection for the Indians against the frauds of the traders.

THE END.

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