Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

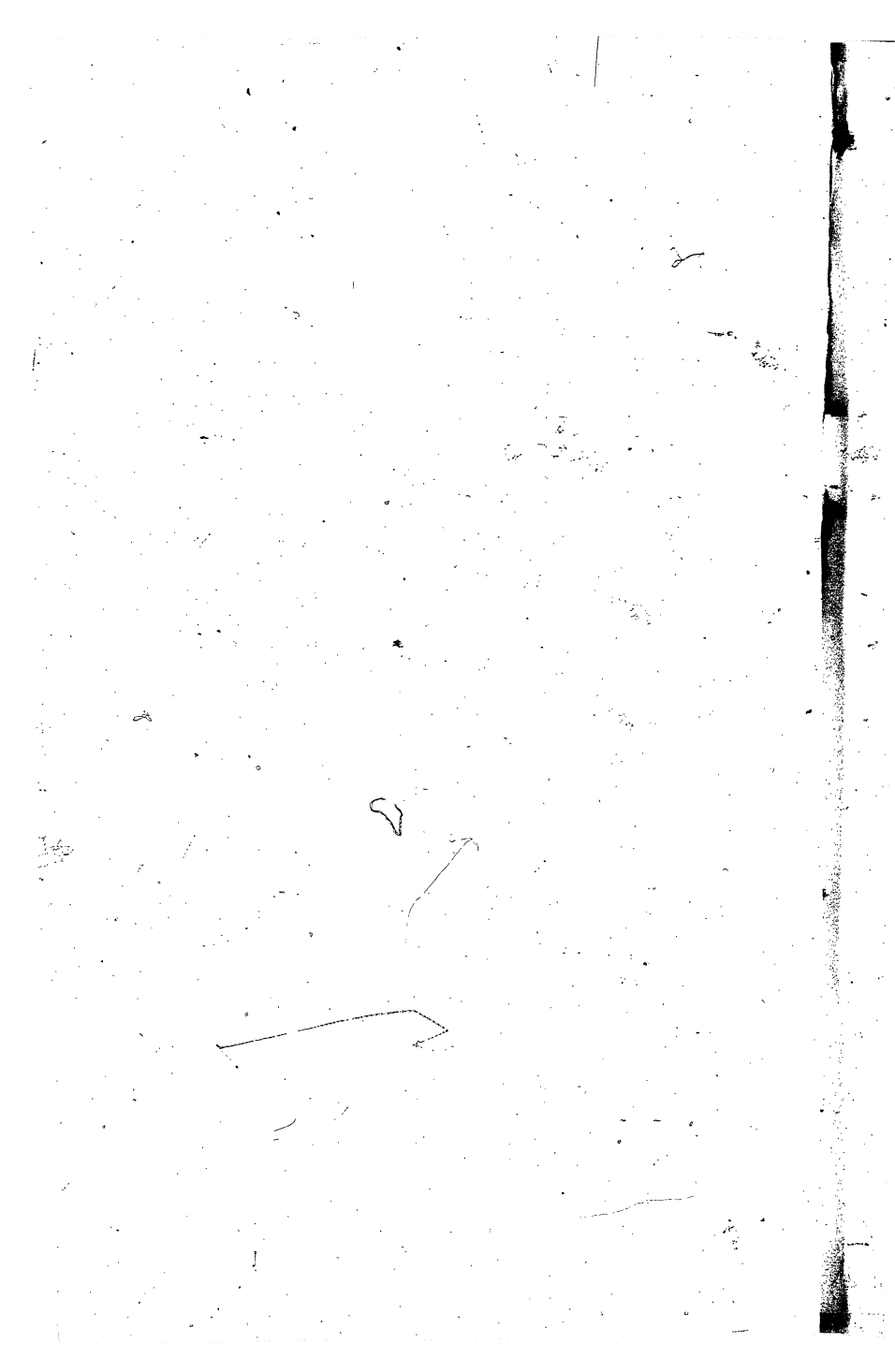
L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- ☐ Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- ☐ Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- ☐ Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- ☐ Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- ☐ Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- ☐ Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/ Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- ☐ Coloured plates and/or illustrations/ Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- ☐ Bound with other material/ Relié avec d'autres documents
- ☐ Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/ La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distortion le long de la marge intérieure
- ☐ Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/ Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- ☐ Additional comments:/ Commentaires supplémentaires:

- ☐ Coloured pages/ Pages de couleur
- ☐ Pages damaged/ Pages endommagées
- ☑ Pages restored and/or laminated/ Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- ☑ Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/ Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- ☐ Pages detached/ Pages détachées
- ☑ Showthrough/ Transparence
- ☐ Quality of print varies/ Qualité inégale de l'impression
- ☐ Includes supplementary material/ Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- ☐ Only edition available/ Seule édition disponible
- ☐ Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/ Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
				✓							



Mary Hannah [illegible] 1845

INDIAN RESEARCHES

OR,

FACTS CONCERNING

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS;

INCLUDING

NOTICES OF THEIR PRESENT STATE OF IMPROVEMENT,

IN THEIR SOCIAL, CIVIL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION;

WITH

HINTS FOR THEIR FUTURE ADVANCEMENT.

BY BENJAMIN SLIGHT.

MONTREAL:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY J. E. L. MILLER.

1844.

TO

THE REVEREND AND VENERABLE WILLIAM CASE,

THE ARDENT AND PERSEVERING

PATRON OF

INDIAN IMPROVEMENT AND ADVANCEMENT,

AND

THE FATHER OF WESLEYAN INDIAN MISSIONS

IN UPPER CANADA;

AND TO

THE REVEREND JOSEPH STINSON,

THE LATE INDEFATIGABLE

SUPERINTENDENT OF MISSIONS IN UPPER CANADA,

AND SINCERE FRIEND

OF THE TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL PROSPERITY OF THE

INDIANS;

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED BY

THEIR FELLOW-LABOURER,

BENJAMIN SLIGHT.

CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

THE different varieties of the human species afford interesting objects of contemplation, not only to the naturalist, but to the metaphysician, and to the Christian philanthropist. Notices of the various families of uncivilized men, especially of those merging from that state, may be of special interest. By exhibitions of this kind, the human character is unfolded; man is seen, not only under the effects of human culture, and polished refinement, but as the child of nature.

In the following pages, perhaps, the young may find entertainment, and receive some useful and instructive hints; the natural curiosity of the enquirer may be satisfied; and the necessity of missionary exertions may appear to be evident. But one of my principal objects is to show to the Christian philantropist that his benevolence is not employed in vain, and to prompt him to renewed exertion. This, I trust, he may see fairly illustrated, by the contrast of the former and present conditions of the North American Indians—which is attempted in these pages.

There are various persons, who have taken barely a bird's eye view—a passing glance of these people, who have presumed dogmatically to state various things concerning them, which cannot be supported by the evidence of *facts*. Notwithstanding the acknowledged ability of those writers, it cannot be expected that they should arrive at *accuracy*, principally from the want of opportunity to give correct information. I regret that in these investigations I have to contradict some of their statements; but I beg the reader to consider that I write from personal and continuous observation; and my observations have been made not barely on one isolated spot, or on one solitary tribe, but from an acquaintance with several. First, I

spent two years with the Wyandots, or Hurons; afterwards four years with the Missisaugahs, or Ochipwas, at the Credit. I have also visited other branches of the Ochipwas; also the Mohawks on the Grand River. While living at Amherstburgh, in the western district of Upper Canada, I had the opportunity of seeing thousands of Pagans, and other Indians from the North West, who used to resort thither yearly for their presents.—In addition to this, I have had the pleasure of intimate acquaintance with nearly all the most talented Indians in Upper Canada.

Should some of these relations appear strange and incredible, I would remind the reader that they are well attested. I cannot for a moment doubt the evidence upon which they are founded. I leave each individual to form his own judgment, and to draw his own conclusion —to receive or to reject as he may think proper.

It may be thought that there is something similar in some parts of the following remarks to what has appeared in some other works on missions; but if so, I have only to observe that they are no imitations. My plan was formed long before I had seen any of those works. I may differ from some authors who have written on the Indian character, but I have given my own unbiassed opinion.

I must regret that I have not had an opportunity of consulting some eminent Indian Missionaries, especially the Rev. Messrs. W. Case, J. Evans, W. Scott, and others, from whom I might have derived many valuable suggestions, and important facts.

I can scarcely say why I have written such a work. From my first intercourse with the Indians, I have been in the habit of writing down any thing worthy of remark, and afterwards I employed myself in arranging them: and the thought occurred to me, that if published they might be read with some degree of interest by some. After several reflections on the subject, I resolved on making the attempt, and the result is now before the public.

INTRODUCTION.

For ages the tribes and families of men lived isolated from, and unknown to each other. There seemed to have been an insurmountable barrier to separate one half of the world from the other. So far as mutual intercourse with and knowledge of each other extended, the population of the eastern and western portions of our globe, especially, might as well, almost, have been the inhabitants of different planets.

The spirit of enterprize, however, began at length to awaken; and the boundaries of science to enlarge; and discoveries in various departments were gradually and continually being made. At length Columbus, who possessed a vigorous and inquisitive mind, and a stock of knowledge uncommon to his day, by the exercise of his powers of reason on a variety of principles and facts, expanded his ideas many steps beyond those ordinarily entertained, and began to conceive that there must be another side to the globe—some *terra incognitas*—to complete the habitable earth. With acuteness of understanding Columbus possessed energy and perseverance in action; and after many impediments being removed, and astounding difficulties surmounted, he discovered the object of his search. Great has been his fame, and many the honours conferred upon him, at least, by posterity.

But the enquiry will naturally arise, what benefits have accrued to the inhabitants of those regions by the discovery; and their consequent intercourse with the old world? This, I am aware, has been made a serious question by

many; and many have dilated upon it with different objects in view. For a length of time, instead of being bettered by their intercourse with Europeans, their circumstances were rendered worse. In consequence of the cupidity of man, many evils unquestionably ensued to the noble race who were found inhabiting this vast region. In reading this portion of history, a tear must drop on the page which records their wrongs and woes. Cruel exactions were imposed upon them, and they groaned under hardships of an appalling nature. Also, along with some degree of refinement of manners derived from European example, they imported a sad and awful degree of European vices and sins; so that those heathens were rendered still more earthly and sensual than before.

But does this statement contain the whole of the answer to this question? No: there are, on the other hand, real advantages which have resulted from this important event —advantages, too, which, when placed in contrast with evils, great and awful as they were, far outweigh them. By this event they have been made acquainted with the revelation from heaven addressed to them in common with their fellow men—the Gospel has been preached to these *poor* outcasts—the "common salvation" has been experienced and enjoyed by them—and civilization has followed evangelization; and they have been exalted to the proper rank of *man*. Could all this have been anticipated by the savages who met Columbus when he landed on the shores of the new world; instead of that wonder and astonishment which they manifested, they would have joined him in the attitude and expression of devotion to the Author of these blessings. The sequel will, perhaps, make this evident. It will, at least, tend to show, that deploring these evils which had been inflicted, Christians have endeavoured to compensate them as far as possible.

Great Britain, in the all wise providence of God, is put in possession of vast Colonial territories, in consequence

of which her commerce is greatly extended. And why is it that he has given Britain, ships, commerce, and empire, but that she may be the harbinger of the Gospel of peace. This is the effect that follows, and this is the effect which should follow. To facilitate the spread of Christianity is an object not unworthy of the attention of those politicians at the helm of public affairs. The present actual possessions of the orignal discoverers and first possessors of those regions should be admonitory to us. Nearly all those territories in which they so greatly gloried, have been wrested from their grasp; and doubtless God has permitted it, because they did not promote the real spiritual advantage of the people. Britain possesses a larger portion of the new world than those nations who were the original proprietors. And our rulers should see that the tenure of our possessions is our efforts to spread scriptural Christianity.

INDIAN RESEARCHES,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIANS.

WHEN the new world was first discovered by Columbus, it was inhabited by a race of men scattered over its vast extent. These people have been denominated Indians, a term not strictly designative of any particular race of people, but indiscriminately applied to the inhabitants of the east and west, to the Islands of the Pacific, and of other places. Columbus thought his new discoveries were a part of those regions of Asia, comprehended by the general name of India. Finally they were distinguished by the addition of the term *west*. The term West Indies once included the islands still bearing that designation, together with the whole of North and South America. The aboriginal inhabitants of the northern division of the Continent are termed the North American Indians.

This people have, properly speaking, no distinctive appellation in use among themselves. The term they use is Aunishhinaubaag, which signifies the inhabitants of my country, or aborigines of the country; as they always apply it in contradistinction with Shoggenosh, or the white inhabitants.

However, strictly speaking, they are not the aborigines of the country. That term applies to a much more ancient race, and a widely different people to themselves; who have been entirely swept away, and have mysteriously disappeared. Had we records of

the events which must have transpired in those regions, we, undoubtedly, should have had notices of contests, wars, battles, and massacres, such as have no parrallel in any written account. We have perhaps lost many a relation of more thrilling interest than those described in the Illiad, or Enead; many a history more chivalrous than the Assyrian, Egyptian, Grecian, or Roman. But those events are, and no doubt must be, buried in oblivion, until the great day of God brings to light the hidden things of darkness.

However, the researches of antiquarians have brought to light various facts, from which inferences have been fairly deduced, indicating the existence and character of a people, who once, it appears, were as widely spread over this continent as are the present race of inhabitants. That race are distinguished by the name of *Tultecans*, and have been identified with the Cyclopean race. They are supposed to have been of the same race who wandered from Egypt into ancient Greece. By some learned writers, the whole of this people, sometimes denominated the wandering masons, are supposed to be Anakims, Horites or Hivites, and various other nations inhabiting Canaan and adjacent countries, expelled from their homes first by the descendents of Esau, and afterwards by Joshua. The shepherds of Egypt were another branch of them, who, on being expelled Egypt, wandered into Greece, and other parts of the world.

The Tultecans are said to have been much more cultivated and refined than ever the Indians have been. In many parts of the new world, monuments and vestiges of that people are discovered, much resembling the ancient Egyptians. They are as stupendous, tasteful, and wonderful as those of Egypt. Pyramids not inferior to the Egyptian exist in many parts of the Mexican territories and of New Spain. Ruins of towns, with temples, palaces and baths, of boldness in design and skill in execution, have been discovered; sculptured idols, planispheres and zodiacs, of great perfection, showing their skill in astronomy and chronology to have been great; vases, agreeing both in

shape and ornament with the earlier specimens of Egyptian and Etrurian pottery, have been found in their sepulchral excavations. Roads have been found, composed of large square blocks of red stones, like the Roman military roads. Bridges, of an excellent construction and materials, have also been discovered. In short, every discovery which has been made relative to them, demonstrate them to have been a highly cultivated and superior race of men. But the people themselves have been entirely swept away; no remains of them have been discovered in all the length and breadth of the land.*

All the nations of the earth have sprung from one parent stock; but from what immediate branch the North American Indians are derived, is impossible exactly to ascertain.

There is a fancy which has been entertained by various authors, of their having sprung from the tribes of Israel. Much ingenious reasoning has been employed to establish this opinion. This is attempted from various similarities of language, manners, customs, &c. Various writers have engaged on this subject; but James Adair, an Englishman, who resided among the Indians for 40 years, has examined the matter most closely, and has collected a great number of facts bearing on the subject. He supposed that he discovered many points of resemblance between the two people. "He compares them under the following heads:—Divisions into tribes—worship of Jehovah—notions of theocracy—belief in the ministry of angels—language and dialect—manner of counting time—prophets and high priests—festivals, fasts, and daily sacrifices—ablutions and anointings—laws for uncleanness—abstinence from unclean things—marriages, divorces, and punishments for adultery—civil punishments—cities of refuge—purification, and ceremonies preparatory to war—ornaments—manner of curing the sick—burial of the dead—raising seed to a

* For an account of these discoveries see Stephens's Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, &c.

deceased brother—choice of names adapted to circumstances and times—traditions."*

Dr. E. Walsh, an Irish physician, who attended the army in Canada, was a believer in the Jewish origin of the Indians. To examine their manners and customs more minutely, he went to reside for some time at a Shawonese town, near Buffalo Creek. He rejects several of the resemblances of Adair as fanciful, but, from his own observation, confirms several others of them. The following are some of the circumstances he observes:—Their division into tribes, with chiefs, and emblemmatical distinctions, as the eagle, bear, wolf, &c. tribes; their religion, Theism, their government a theocracy; their being addicted to charms, prophecies, and revelations; their celebration of a rite somewhat similar to a passover; their laws of purification, and the separation of women at certain times; their traditions.

To several of these resemblances I could bear my own testimony; some of them are fanciful and far fetched; and perhaps the whole of them are such as might be discerned in most savage tribes, especially in those of oriental relationship. And this theory, warmly as it has been maintained, is falling to the ground.

The Indians think God created their forefathers here, and the white people in other parts of the world. They are probably of Asiatic origin; descendants of some tribe or tribes, cognate with the Tartar or Scythian race. That vast region comprising the northern portions of Europe and Asia was inhabited by immense hordes of men who were similar in their spirit, manners, and customs. Upon the decline of the Roman Empire, different tribes of this wandering race became the overrunners of the civilized parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. And what is singular, it may, perhaps, be judged capable of proof, that they were the overrunners of America too. And what are now deemed the aborigines of America are probably the descendants of the same people. But with this difference, the original

* Dublin University Mag. 1834, p. 72.

stock do not appear to be amalgamated with the present race.

They might enter America by way of Kamschatka. Some tribe, or some families of this wandering people, might migrate to the nearest islands, and although comparatively ignorant of navigation, they might cross the narrow strait, or by passing from one island to another, reach at length the coast of America. Others might afterwards follow. The two continents are so contiguous, that on two islands on the middle of the strait, both continents may be seen. The distance from each to either shore is short of 20 miles. The whole is joined together again during the winter. Similar instances are known of the natives of the South Seas passing in their canoes from island to island for a considerable distance. In such manner did the ancient Danes pass to England in wicker boats, covered with skins. Some of them have a tradition of the reasons for the emigration of their fathers, and the manner of their coming into this country. They say that they traversed a great lake or river, which was in one place narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they experienced great misery: it being always winter, with ice and deep snows. In that place there was abundance of copper. This they suppose to be about 2,500 years ago. This answers to Bherring's Straits; copper is found there.

Chapter II.

THE NUMBER OF THE INDIANS.

What number of Indians might have inhabited the vast regions of the new world at the time when it was first visited by the white voyagers, is absolutely uncertain. Even if the population were very scattered, it must have been very great, considering the wide extent of country they possessed; if indeed, which is probable, a great part of it were not uninhabited. The following is an estimate of the number supposed at present to be contained in North America:—

Within the United States,		330,937, viz:
Within the Indian Territory*	47,733†	
East of the Mississippi	81,904	
West of do. but not within the Indian Territory, . . .	201,300	

Besides the numbers inhabiting the vast uncultivated regions north and west of the Western territories of the United States. According to a moderate estimate, the whole numbers of Indians in North America, exclusive of Mexico, is 1,800,000

In Mexico, ... 2,600,000

Total, 4,400,000

This estimate, it appears, does not include the Indians belonging to the British possessions; which may be estimated as follows:

Mr. M'Taggart says, in the N. W. Territory and Hud. Bay Company, the number is, 939,000

* For a description of the Indian Territory, see chap. 8.

† In 1839, the number was stated to be 95,000. Some other bodies from the United States, must have removed; which, by reducing the number in the United States, would leave the total number the same.

In Upper and Lower Canada, extending to the Company's Territories, perhaps, . 26,000
The numbers in New Brunswick, Nova-Scotia, &c. I have no means of ascertaining. They have been estimated at . . 28,000

To which we may add the above mentioned regions north and west of the Western Territories. Perhaps a total of 5,000,000 would cover the whole amount. And then, there is to be added to this sum the Indians of South America, where they are perhaps more numerous than in the North.

From these statements the reader will at once conclude that this interesting race of men must have been fearfully diminished from what in all probability they were before visited by white men. The cause of this diminution has been matter of much inquiry and conjecture by many philanthropists. It ought to be first considered, that most probably they were not originally so numerous as might be at first imagined, especially in the northern regions, where the first visitants found them more warlike than in the southern. For although the regions in which they wandered were immense, yet the population was thinly scattered. Robertson says, their women seldom had more than two or three children; and, in consequence of their difficulty in raising subsistence, they, in many cases, destroyed their children, and always their old people; and it is doubtless the case, that great numbers of their progeny have become amalgamated, and swallowed up in the white population. There is doubtless much guilt resting upon the heads of wicked, unprincipled men in introducing European vices among them, especially that of drunkenness, in a more refined form. I add this qualification, because it appears, prior to the visits of the white man, the South Americans had the art of extracting intoxicating drinks. And then the vast numbers which were cut off in the West Indian Islands, and in South America, is matter of history. But whatever amount of guilt rests upon white men, the main causes of their paucity of numbers is rather

to be placed in the category of Pagan, than that of Christian guilt. They often suffered much from *famine*. My friend, Mr. Murphy, who was captured by the Indians when a little boy, has given me appalling accounts of their sufferings from this scourge, and of the desolations which in consequence ensued. Their destitutions and habits brought them under the power of various diseases. On this subject the reader will find some remarks in a subsequent part of this work.

Another cause of the decrease of their numbers is their barbarous and depopulating wars. During their pagan and savage state, they are almost perpetually at war. The barbarities, carnage, and destruction of human life, which are practised by them in a state of warfare, are awful beyond description. The detail of these occurrences, does not well accord with "the simple virtues" for which they are so applauded by some individuals; but would well illustrate that state of nature which is depicted in prophetic vision, "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." What a fitness there is in the assertions of scripture to the real condition of man! what a contrariety in the theories of philosophers! By these means, tribes once numerous, powerful, and mighty, have been nearly swept away from the face of the earth. The Wyandots, once one of the most numerous and potent of those tribes, became nearly extinct. Many traditions might be referred to, to this effect. I will mention one, which I have had corroborated by the testimony of both the Wyandots and Ochipwas. It is, in effect, that a length of time back, there were great wars among the Indian tribes, and great carnage and much bloodshed was occasioned; vast numbers were cut off. There are great mounds in certain places, which were raised over heaps of slain, and which now contain their bones. The Wyandots were sometimes associated with the Ochipwas, against the six nations; sometimes singly at war against the six nations, and at other times against the Ochipwas. Hounes, a person who was taken captive by the Wyan-

dots in early life,* made the following statement on this subject. He said that the Wyandots waged almost a constant war with the six nations for about seventy years, but at length the English induced them to make peace. This was displeasing to the majority of the nation, and was a cause of their dividing into parties, and dispersing to different places. Those who remained having become so dissipated by their long wars, were wont to rob and murder each other. To put an end to this barbarous practice, a council of the nation was called, which passed a law, that whoever should rob and kill his brother should be put to death in the following manner. When the culprit was found guilty by a council of the chiefs of the nation, the dead body should be placed on a piece of bark supported by four forked sticks, and in such a position that the flow of putrid matter should concentrate; so that the murderer, being secured beneath it with his mouth open, should be constrained to receive and swallow the drops until he died.

In process of time a great treaty was made, by which the country was apportioned among the various nations, and by which means each nation knew their proper inheritence. This, by preventing aggressions, in some degree, put a stop to those great and general wars which were formerly so destructive. Still, however, smaller disputes often occurred, and, on a smaller scale, wars were frequently carried on. This is a consideration which will, in addition to the other causes mentioned, amply account for the decrease of the Indians.

* See Dr. Bangs' History of Methodist Missions, p 87.

Chapter III.

TRIBES.

The Indians were, perhaps, at first all derived from one stock. This appears extremely probable, from a great similarity of appearance, manners, and customs. In these respects, when you have described any portion of them, you have given a description of them in general. But, no doubt from causes similar to those which have induced the various divisions of other branches of the human race, they have been split off into a great variety of different tribes. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the tribes which have been, and might be enumerated. Many tribes which would have to be included in such a catalogue, are no longer known, at least by such denominations. Many bodies are undoubtedly extinct, but they were either, many of them, the same people under another name, as we see exemplified in the Hurons and Wyandots, which are only two names of one identical body; or a part of a nation broken off, separated from the main body, by a removal to a distance, and passing under another name, assumed from some circumstance; and then, probably, reunited, or swallowed up, in some other body. This is seen in the case of the Seminoles, which broke off from the Wyandot tribe, and went south, by the way of the Wabash, who, as the French traders say, speak the Wyandot language. And undoubtedly the Missisaugahs, Ottawas, Pahtewahtemahs, &c. are branches of the great body of Ochipwas. The Indian Tribes derive their distinguishing names from rivers, lakes, swamps, mountains, &c., and they frequently change their denomination from a removal to another locality. The term Missisaugah, (to whom the Credit Indians belong,)

is probably derived from their residence near the mouth of some river, as the name signifies.

With the exception of the Esquimaux, a branch of natives which seems to be of an entire distinct family from all the other Indian nations, there appears two great classes, distinguished by the generic names of Iroquois, (pronounced Irokees) and Algonquins. (Algonkins.) To the Iroquois, probably belong the northern branches of that family, under two distinct divisions, viz. the confederation of the *five nations*, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagos, Cayugas, and Senecas. These are sometimes called the *six-nations* by adding the Tuscororas. The original boundary of the Territory of these nations did not extend westerly, farther than the Wyandot boundary of Pensylvania. It is also probable, those tribes to the south belong to this class, viz. the Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees, Choctaws, Checasaws, and some other minor distinctions. It is said there are various tribes of the Iroquois family east of the Mississippi. The Wyandot branch of this family consisted of four nations, the Wyandots, Atteowauandarous, Erigas, and the Andates, south of Lake Erie.

The Algonquin family consists of the Crees, Ochipwas, Ottawas, and Pahtamatomies, all living to he north. The Delawares, formerly living in the country bounded south and west by the Hudson river, but now on the river Thames in Upper Canada, and sometimes called Muncies, and Moravians, are nearly allied to this branch. John Jones told me their language is very similar to the Ochipwa. Formerly also, the New England Indians classed with them, among whom laboured Elliot, the Mahews, and D. Brainerd. Elliot's translations were made in one of these dialects. The present Ochipwas, however, do not understand it; and probably one reason is from the want of an orthography at present understood. The Micmacs, and other tribes formerly inhabiting Nova Scotia, New-Brunswick, &c. were of this family. In the Algonquin division are also classed the Menomonies, Meame, (Maumee) and Illinois tribes; also the Sioux, (Soos)

Foxes, Kickapoos, and the Shawnoes, about the Mississippi.

The Iroquois are more cultivated, and superior to the Algonquins, and are farther advanced in agriculture. The award of superiority was generally made to them. That the Hurons have applied themselves more to this art than the Ochipwas, appears from the speech of One Canoe, afterwards referred to. They are consequently less disposed to wander. They have, also, better habitations, and more conveniences. Among the numerous Indians who used annually to visit Amherstburgh, for their presents, I have observed some from the north whom I understood to belong to this family; who, although Pagans, were really fine looking people, and well dressed. They used to bring large quantities of sugar, skins, and other articles, for sale, and were scarcely at all addicted to intoxication. They spent their money in the best cloth they could procure, and in other articles of comfort. The Mohawks, another branch of the same family, pride themselves on their nobility, and look down with some degree of contempt on the other nations. At the general council held at the Credit, a Mohawk Chief, in one of his speeches, did not fail to refer to this point.

The Wyandots, or as their real name is Yendots, otherwise called Hurons, are a tribe which were long distinguished as standing at the head of the great Indian family. The earliest travellers in Canada, first discovered this tribe while ascending the St. Lawrence, at Montreal. Where Montreal now stands, there was a celebrated city inhabited by them. They were a very powerful and great nation until wasted by their wars. Although of the Iroquois genus, yet it appears, they stood aloof from every other tribe, or sometimes associated themselves with the Ochipwas, Pahtewatomies, and Ottawas, against the six nations, and were sometimes at war with the Ochipwas, &c. Hence the people who went by the name of Iroquois, were often engaged in those fierce internal wars, which characterized the Indians of North America. The destruction of the greatest part of their number was effected in

1649. They were then driven to the northern shores of Lake Huron. They were followed thither by their enemy, until the remnant of them were obliged to seek refuge among the Sioux, who resided west of Lake Superior. When the power of the Iroquois was weakened by the French, the Wyandots returned from the Sioux country. They afterwards possessed both sides of the river Detroit, and Lake Huron, as far north west as Mackinaw in Lake Huron; they finally took up their abode on the plains of Sandusky, in Ohio, where they remained until their late removal to the Indian Territory. A few of them took up their residence on a reservation in the Township of Malden, near to Amherstburgh, in Canada, and a small number in Michigan. The Indian reserve at Sandusky contained 147,840 acres of land, or about 19 miles in length, from east to west, and 12 miles in breadth, from north to south. The reserve at Malden, was a tract of land six miles square. After their settlement in the west they had frequent wars with the Ochipwas, and the six nations. They have the history of these movements, handed down by tradition.

The Ochipwas at one time have been numerous and powerful, as already observed; they probably included in one entire class, what are now Ochipwas, Pahtawatamies, and several other tribes. They form a principal part of the Indians of Upper Canada, and of the Hudson Bay Territory, on Lake Superior, and to the south west of the United States.

West of the Rocky Mountains reside a singular tribe of Indians called Flat-Heads. "They differ in appearance (says Mr. Walker*) from any tribe of Indians I have seen; small in size, delicately formed limbs, and the most exact symmetry throughout, except the head. I had always supposed, from their being called "Flat-Heads," that the head was flat on the top; but this is not the case. The protuberance of the forehead is flattened." From the point of the nose to the top of the head forms a perfectly straight line.

* Christian Advocate and Journal, March 1, 1833.

"This is produced by a pressure on the cranium while in infancy. A padding is pressed upon the forehead by cords passed through holes on each side of the cradle." It will be easily supposed that this must be a gradual operation, and it is said the infant is kept in this manner upwards of a year. The countenance of the infant is distorted during the operation, and its little keen black eyes forced out to an unnatural degree. This must be exceedingly injurious to the brain, and, in consequence, to the whole system.

The sketch adjoined will give the reader the best idea of their singular appearance.

How capricious are the ideas of beauty. A flat head is the *beau ideal*, in the *beau monde* across the Rocky Mountains. Other equally arbitrary distinctions predominate among other classes of people, even among the civilized and highly cultivated.

The Flat-Heads are reported to have numerous good qualities. It is said, by travellers who have visited them, that they have fewer vices than any of the tribes in those regions. They are honest, brave, and peaceable. The women become exemplary wives and mothers. There are scarcely any instances of conjugal infidelity existing among them.

Besides the general division of tribes, there are also in each tribe subdivisions, called also tribes. When any particular nation sign a treaty, or an address to the Government, they affix their name, and the name of the

subtribe to which they belong; and although uninstructed and unable to write, yet they affix what is called their tootams, which is a rude figure of an otter, a bear, and a turtle, &c. &c., according to the tribe to which they belong. I have in my possession the autograph of some of these tootams, drawn by chiefs, who signed an address to the Governor of Upper Canada, which they had requested me to write for them.

An example or two are here presented:—

ALEXANDER KAGWATAHBUNNOAWASKUNG.
(One who struggles with the night for daylight.)

An Otter.

JACOB METIGGWAB.
(A bow.)

A Reindeer.

These subtribes are denominated from various animals, fowls, and reptiles. There are in each nation but eight or twelve of those subtribes.

Chapter IV.

LANGUAGE.

In one period of the world's history all mankind spoke one language. We read of a distinct period when the language at that time universally spoken was confounded, and dialects were multiplied. How this was effected, whether suddenly and immediately by the direct interposition of God, or gradually and instrumentally, and by the concurrence of circumstances, has been matter of much speculation, conjecture, and dispute among learned men. Dr. Shuckford argues the latter position.* Be this as it may, it is highly rational and probable to suppose, that several great branches were formed, as Hebrew, Chinese, Slavonic, Teutonic, &c. These great branches, stript of additions and improvements, would all of them have many words similar to each other, and consequently to the Hebrew. Thus it is said that the Welch language has many words very similar to it. From this circumstance it doubtless is that some ingenious men, having observed some similarity between some words in the Indian and the Hebrew languages, have made it an argument for their origin having been Jewish. There have been learned treatises written on the assimilation of languages, in which have been traced some similarity in the roots of words among all nations: and this may easily be accounted for on the above supposition. These great branches of language formed at Babel, would afterwards, from a variety of causes, be again divided and subdivided, as we know has happened in

* Sac. and Prof. Hist. Con. Book 2.

later times. From what main division the Indian languages are derived, our present knowledge will not perhaps warrant us in deciding. It has been attempted to show that a similarity exists between their language and that of the people inhabiting the northern parts of Asia: from whence the same author* supposes them to have had their origin.

There are great varieties of language used among the different tribes of Indians; but although they are seemingly essentially different, yet possibly they may all have had one origin. There are many causes for the mutability of language. The two following, assigned, among others, by Dr. Shuckford, as reasons for the general diversity of language, will apply to the case of the Indians.

"1. The difference of climates will insensibly cause a variation of language, because it will occasion a difference of pronunciation. It is easy to be observed, that there is a pronunciation peculiar to almost every country in the world; and according to the climate, the language will abound in aspirates or lenes, guttural sounds or pectorals, labials or dentals; a circumstance which would make the very same language sound different from itself. The Ephramites, we find, could not pronounce the letter *schin*, as their neighbours did. (Judg. xii. 6.) There is a pronunciation peculiar to almost every province; so that if we were to suppose a number of men of the same nation and language dispersed into different parts of the world; the several climates in which their children would be born, would so affect their pronunciation, as in a few ages to make their language very different from one another."

2. Another "cause of the mutability of language, is the unsettled temper and disposition of mankind. The very minds and manners of men are continually

* The discovery of America and the origin of the North American Indians, by J. Mackintosh, page 43. In the 1st chapter we have shown this opinion of the origin of the people is the most probable: and could we compare the two languages, we should perhaps find as great a similarity as can be expected at this time.

changing; and since they are so, it is not likely that their idioms and words should be fixed and stable. An uniformity of speech depends upon an entire consent of a number of people in their manner of expression; but a lasting consent of a large number of people, is hardly ever to be obtained, or long to be kept up, in any one thing.*

From various reasons, we should be inclined to think, the Indians are all of one origin, and that their languages, howsoever diversified and dissimilar, were originally one.

1. Their manners, customs, observances, traditions, and superstitions, are all similar.

2. Their languages all resemble each other in *construction*.

3. Facts testify to the great changes which have been known to take place in certain languages. For some time the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Canaanitish, Phœnician, &c. did not materially differ; as appears from the circumstance that Abraham could converse with the Chaldeans, Canaanites, and Philistines. No doubt all these languages, together with the Arabic, &c. had all one common root. But it must be evident to any one that this did not long continue so, but they became essentially different and unintelligible to each other. The same language is at one time different to what it is at another time. The Salian verses, composed by Numa, were scarcely understood by the priests in Quintilian's time. The various modern languages of Europe, have, in three or four centuries, differed so much that it is extremely difficult to understand the languages of our forefathers. And some of the divisions of the Ochipwas and Wyandots, who have wandered to a distance from them and have remained separate for some time, have, in a considerable degree, changed their language.

In the present state of the Indian languages we may trace two or three great classes, to some of which all the rest may be found more or less to accord. Thus,

* Shuckford's Connexions, book 2.

similar to the Ochipwa language, is the Ottawa, the Pottowatomie, the Sioux: and the Delaware does not much differ. Also, the six nations resemble each other in language. All these, in each class, must have been at one time the same.

The Ochipwa, and its various dialects, is very extensively spoken. Their language is very expressive, regular and harmonious. It, with the other Indian languages, is also highly figurative. Nevertheless, it contains a great many guttural sounds, which cannot well be expressed in English. The character of their language might perhaps suggest a hint that the Indians have formerly been a far more cultivated people, than the first civilized navigators found them.

The English language expresses the relation which one thing can bear to another by three cases, and by the aid of a few prepositions; the Latins and Greeks had five or six cases for the same purpose. But the Indian language is without prepositions; they express all these relations, howsoever numerous, by some modification of the original root, or by some prefix or affix attached to it. The same may be said of all the varieties of the verb in tense and mood. Some industrious individuals have already collected hundreds, and I have been informed others have collected thousands of different modifications of the verb. An active verb multiplies as often as there are things to act upon. The verb to eat, varies as many times as there are things to eat. The verb to see, varies according to the object of vision,—thus to see a man, and to see a stone, are two different verbs; to see any thing when in the plural, differs according to the persons who are included in the address. In English we say, "we see," without variation. But in Ochipwa, they say *newaubemen* when they include the person addressed; and when the person addressed is not included, they say *gewaubemen*.

To make use of a thing that belongs to him that uses it, or to him to whom we speak, are also two different verbs. I will give an example of a verb, in its different variations. It is taken from a little work by the

Rev. James Evans, Wesleyan Missionary, called "The Speller and Interpreter." "The word I shall here present is *nembaubenandumooenenaunen*; in English, *our laughters of mind*—dividing the word at every distinct sound, whether vowal or consonant:

N,e,m,b,au,b,e,n,a,n,d,u,m,o,o,e,n,e,n,au,n,e,n.

baub
Nem – baub
bau – be d – er – eag – oen
bau – ben – – – – – – g
bau – be – na
bau – be – nan
bau – be – nand
bau – be – nan – du – – esen – mag
bau – be – nan – dum – aun
bau – be – nan – du – mo n – oaud
bau – be – nan – du – moo – n g ug
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oe – d
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oen – – un
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oe – ne
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oe – nen – g
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oe – ne – nau
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oe – ne – naun – g
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oe – ne – nau – ne
bau – be – nan – du – mo – oe – ne – nau – nen – g

Each letter after the root *laub*, conveys a distinct and definite meaning. By adding the letters placed on the right of the page to those lines opposite to which they stand, either singly or unitedly, and where necessary, the pronominal prefix, perfect forms of the verb and other parts of speech will be obtained."

This circumstance renders it uncommonly difficult for a European to attain the language accurately. I have not yet known one who could preach in the language. There are some who attempt it; but on the testimony of sensible Indians, who well understand the English language, they oftentimes give a very different sense to importan truths to what they intended.

It cannot be expected that a barbarous, unwritten language should be so copious as that of a civilized, cultivated people. There are many terms from the arts, sciences, and inventions of men; branches of study, occupation, and of religion, of which they must be necessarily ignorant. Some affirm the Ochipwa language is rich, others say it is poor. Both these affirmations may be true in a certain sense. It may possess sufficient inflexions to express the various relations of things, and affections of beings, and yet may be deficient in expression. A clever Indian exhorter came to me to enquire about a theological term. "I once," said he, "thought our language was rich, but now I see it is very poor." I suppose he had been much puzzled, on several occasions, to find terms. In proof that it is meagre in expression, is the fact that they have seldom two words for one object, or quality. Thus, in reference to a dwelling of various descriptions, we have hut, shanty, cottage, house, mansion, hall, palace, &c. The Indian word *wiggewaum* is used to express them all. Thus, for vessel we have boat, sloop, brig, cutter, frigate, ship, &c. The Indian word *chemaun* is used as applying to all.

Elementary books and translations have already been published, principally in the Ochipwa and Mohawk languages. An Indian young man named *Sahgahjegahbahweh*, alias John Summerfield, made the first attempt to reduce the Ochipwa language to grammatical order. He himself remarks that "it cannot be expected to be otherwise than imperfect, and perhaps, in some respects, erroneous." The great fault is, he has not given us the genius of the Ochipwa, but has implicitly followed the English, and has simply given Indian expressions answering to nouns in *our* numbers and cases; and to verbs in *our* tenses and moods; but has left out of the question *their own* etymology. I have heard of another attempt to compile a grammar. An Indian youth is also compiling a vocabulary. The alphabet has been reduced to twelve characters, and the orthography newly modi-

fied, by the Rev. James Evans, who also has announced his intention to publish the etymology of the language. Some of the intelligent Indians say that Mr. Evans' plan is deficient in one or two sounds. It may, most likely, be amended, but it is pretty certain his *principle* must be adopted if we would successfully express by signs, their words. Mr. Evans has bestowed immense pains, attention, and observation on the subject, and will, I hope, live to see his plan adopted. As a further improvement, he has adopted a syllabic character. A similar plan to this had been previously devised by a Cherokee named George Guess, which marks his astonishing genius and powers of invention. Guess was not able to speak English, but had perceived that marks could be made the symbols of sound. It struck him, that all the *syllables* of the Cherokee language might be thus expressed. He set himself to accomplish it; and after long and close application, he could remember eighty-four syllables, which he represented by various characters, some of which he made like our Roman letters, a very little altered; and others he invented himself. After becoming thoroughly acquainted with his marks or symbols, he commenced writing letters to his unenlightened countrymen, which they could read after a little instruction. It was soon discovered that Indians could talk on paper to their friends 500 miles beyond the Mississippi, which produced an astonishing effect on the whole nation. The tidings spread with such rapidity that enterprising young men travelled from the remote parts of the nation to acquire the art, which they generally mastered in two or three days. Wherever they went afterwards, they were followed by multitudes, to whom they communicated the important art. It appears, there are only ninety syllables in the Cherokee language, although it is considered a very copious one.

This is a pleasing fact, and illustrates what I have elsewhere remarked of the genius, and quickness of invention, of the Indians, and their capabilities in general. Mr. Evans has seized this idea, and is using

the plan in communicating divine and useful human knowledge among the Ochipwas of the north-west, and it might no doubt be usefully extended to all the various languages and dialects spoken on this vast continent.

Some portions of the Scriptures have been translated into the Ochipwa and Mohawk languages; also, into the Cherokee and other southern dialects.

Chapter V.

THEIR GENIUS AND CHARACTER.

Individual nations and tribes have generally been supposed to possess certain distinctive characteristics. Perhaps savage, barbarous, and uncultivated tribes have a common generic character. Yet upon a closer inspection, and a more particular observation, they may be found to differ. The Negro, the Hottentot, the Hindu, and the Indian, will be found to possess characteristics different from each other; and it is therefore a laudable engagement to enquire into and to mark those distinguishing shades, and specific differences, by which they are identified.

The Indians have been the objects of keen prying curiosity. The Phrenologist has visited them to examine his cranium—the metaphysician to ascertain the character of his mental powers—the politician to subserve his own ends—and the travelling book-maker to fill up a few vacant pages of the forthcoming volume, with some amusing theory, or bold conjecture,—and the Christian philanthropist has also made his comparisons on his state and condition, and marked his progress of improvement. All these have expressed their opinion on the Indian character, and have done it from professed observation. They have, perhaps, chanced upon an Indian settlement, and have looked round for an hour or two; and have sat down and given their opinion with all the assurance of long and intimate acquaintance. The public will not wonder to find them incorrect. There is one singular exception; which is that of Sir Francis Bond Head,

late Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. He professes to have visited "every shanty or cottage, being desirous to judge with his own eyes the actual situation of that portion of the Indian population which is undergoing the operation of being civilized." With reluctance I say, to my certain knowledge, this is incorrect. I lived at the Credit at the time when His Excellency paid the only solitary visit of an hour or two to that place. He did go into *some* of the houses, but far from the whole of them; and I have reasons for saying that he entered more dwellings at the Credit than at any other settlement. Some of the villages, which were "undergoing the process of civilization," he never saw at all. It is not then to be wondered, that even he has made many mistakes in his celebrated "Dispatches." Some of these will be noticed in other parts of these remarks.

But, we have had many other visitors who have come "to judge with their own eyes" of the character of the Indians, and for the purpose of reporting to honest John Bull, the result of their judgment. I was much surprised when I first met with the observations of a Rev. Gentleman from England, who visited this country, and came to the Credit station to inspect the state and character of the Indians. This gentleman characterizes the Indians as being excessively stupid. I much wonder that a gentleman of his profession, and of such respectability, should hazard his reputation as a candid man, by giving his opinion on any subject having so little acquaintance with it. But it is certain he has failed in obtaining a correct estimate. There are no doubt many defects in the people concerning whom he writes; but that of stupidity cannot be imputed to them with any degree of fairness, by any person acquainted with them. The Indians, especially the females, manifest shyness in the presence of strangers, which at first view gives them the appearance of awkwardness. This the Rev. Gentleman, for want of more acquaintance with them, might impute to stupidity. I have contemplated numerous specimens in their na-

tive pagan, and in their more civilized condition; and have never met with any thing which could excite a suspicion in my mind of that nature, but quite to the contrary.

I shall attempt to draw up a few characteristics, by which we may see the fallacy of such opinions, and at the same time be enabled to discern their true qualifications.

The passions of the Indians are vigorous and lively. In consequence of their cool, cautious manner, they are not quickly moved; but when moved, furiously agitated, and not quickly calmed. They bend under a sense of wrong, and endure injury with something of apathy; and they have an apparent apathy, and cool phlegmatic indifference, when viewing the sufferings of others; but we must not suppose that they do not possess sympathetic feeling. Were this the case it woud be selfish and unamiable. A casual observer would suppose so; but a closer inspector would conclude otherwise. Their cool and habitual caution have induced habits of this nature. The outward expression is checked, held under restraint, chastened, and controled. The warm feelings of their hearts are pent up; but their affections are not frozen: they are really strong, and fill the whole heart. They are fond of society, and love to associate together either in parties of pleasure or business; and will seldom undertake anything of importance but in company.

If the gentleman referred to could have been present at some scenes which I have been called to witness, he would, I have no doubt, have given a different report. I refer to their expression of strong attachment to their ministers, and to their affecting partings with them, when removing to other spheres of labour. And again, to the solemn transactions at the interment of their friends. Those scenes place them in an amiable point of view; and shew their keen sensibilities, and delicacy of feeling. Here we see sometimes the tumultuous expression of passion: at other times the manifestation of chastened grief.

Dr. Robertson is much mistaken when he asserts they are not capable of the softer and more tender passions. Many a tale might be recorded of touching affection, concerning their constancy of attatchment. And when at all refined, they are as sensible of the attractions of beauty and grace as any other race of men. Indeed their perceptions of the beautiful in nature, hereafter noticed, would indicate this, if all other proof had been wanting.

The Indians possess a great degree of natural sagacity and invention. They are quick and lively in their perceptions; smart and pungent in their replies. They possess real wit without levity. This will appear from several remarks in this work, and from many anecdotes which have been published. I have marked, and have been gratified with this qualification in all my intercourse with them. A preacher who was dronish in either matter or manner would not suit them. A Mohawk, addressing the Rev. Mr. Stinson concerning a change of preachers, said, "Send us a sharp axe, that will cut well." As an instance of their sagacity and quickness, I give the following anecdote:

A Wyandot chief, who was under my care as a member of our society, began to decline in religion. One proof of it was, he had sometimes joined a portion of the Roman Catholic Indians in dancing. The Interpreter made this known to me, and asked my opinion on dancing. It seems he had expostulated with the chief, and had been somewhat nonplussed by his appeal to the Scriptures. "David danced," said he, "and therefore it cannot be wrong to dance." It appears the Interpreter had not a reply at hand, and therefore referred the matter to me; my explanation was, that all we did was to be done to the glory of God—that David danced on a religious account, and therefore glorified God thereby. If then the Chief really means to glorify God, and to promote his own spiritual good by this act, let him dance as long as he will: but if, on the contrary, he by indulging in the practice, only intends to seek his own pleasure, and gratify a

carnal propensity, at the peril of his soul he repeats the act. The Interpreter quickly caught the idea, and seemed pleased to have got a clue to this difficulty of Scripture. Striking instances of vivacity, ingenuity, and tact are afforded by John Sunday's various addresses, especially could we hear him in his own language, which he speaks with copiousness and correctness. His many beautiful similies, and fine and select illustrations of the things of God, by natural objects, are touching and delightful. Many of these are as worthy of being recorded as the poems of Ossian, or the fables of Æsop.

On one occasion I remember standing with Sunday on the platform of the Bible Society at Toronto. After several other observations, he said, "When I was in England, I saw big church, big house, big steamboat, &c. One day I visited a gentleman, and he showed me into his library. I saw big book on a shelf under the table. I take it up and open it. Then I read that the ancient inhabitants of that country used to live in caves, hollow trees, &c. I say, this just like Indian. What, my Christian friends, make this difference? It was the Bible. Then, Mr. chairman, send my poor brothers plenty of Bible, and they will soon have big steamboat, &c., and be happy Christian.' Oh send them Bibles and missionaries."

The Indians, in their wanderings, manifest a relish for, and quickly catch the beauties of nature. If there be a beautiful, picturesque spot, they fix upon it as an encampment. I have often been struck with this when passing some lovely scenery, and have been told that formerly it was an Indian encampment. The places where the bold, the romantic, the pecturesque, the various interspersions of hill and dale, of forest and praire, and the gentle winding stream, with the broad, smooth bay, exist, are sure to have this as an incident in their history, that once the Indian *wiggewaum* was erected there. Perhaps there are few spots so beautiful as the Credit. I have often said, if an English gentleman had such a domain he would make it an earth-

ly paradise. It is this love for the beautiful in nature which induces such a love for excursions, and to encampments for sugar-making and hunting. No wonder they should associate with such Elysiums something of the divine, and imagine some presiding deity; and that they should have a superstitious veneration for such scenes.

In further support of this assertion, we may just direct the reader to their ingenious productions. The uncultivated sons and daughters of the forest show a great deal of skill in any employment to which they direct their attention. The men manufacture a great many articles in wood and bark—They construct canoes both of bark and from the log—bowls, scopes, and a variety of other articles are made for sale. There is scarcely any mechanical art into which they are initiated, but in which they quickly excel. The women make baskets, work-boxes, work-baskets, and ornaments of different kinds; mokasins, and gloves. They are excellent in needlework. These articles are beautifully ornamented and diversified by porcupine quills, beads, &c. There is one great difference between the European and Indian manufacturer. The European articles are, in their process, divided among different departments of workmen, and one minute branch only is the object of the care and study of each department: the individual Indian, on the contrary, completes the whole process. The European procures his materials ready prepared for use: the Indian prepares all his materials from a state of nature. Hence, an Indian woman will cut down the black ash tree—beat it—strip off the slips—thin them to a proper degree, and work her basket according to any dimension or shape. In addition to all this, she will procure certain woods and barks, and make a variety of differently coloured dyes, by which she will diversify the appearance of her neat work. The skins of which they make their mokasins, are prepared by themselves ready for use, and in as great a degree of perfection as an European production.

The Indians have an extensive knowledge of a vast quantity of simples, the natural productions of the country. Their medicine-bags will furnish you a considerable quantity of specimens. There is scarcely a wood, a bark, an herb, or a plant; a root, a moss, or a stone; but they are acquainted with its properties. It may be true that many of the qualities ascribed to them are fanciful; but it is also true that many of them are real; and whether fanciful or real, the facts prove their diligent study and application, as well as their tact in ascertaining the nature and properties of the objects with which they are conversant. Their philosophy might, perhaps, be accounted crude and false; but yet there is a great deal of the true spirit of a philosopher in all this knowledge and information. We must acknowledge, that if we carry out the subject of their knowledge of nature, they are acquainted with scarcely any thing of the principles, relations, and causes of surrounding phenomena, and consequently ascribe them to superstition. Thus, for any wonderful appearance in nature there is generally attached some supernatural being. But in this they do not much differ from even the elegant Greek and Roman. In savage life particularly, it is usual to account for every thing they do not understand to supernatural agency. Their tact in the battle field, or in the civil council, is equally remarkable.

As this is the true character of the children of nature, and of those partly civilized and domesticated; so those also who attend to the cultivation of their mental powers, equally prove themselves to possess good parts, quickness of apprehension, clear judgment, and discrimination. They are seldom passed by their compeers either in the school or in the college. At the examination of the students of the Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, Indian youths have more than once distinguished themselves; and even when they have had more than ordinary competitors, they have acquitted themselves to the entire satisfaction of the auditors. H. S. Steinhaur was second in distinction on one

of those occasions, and obtained the encomiums of a literary clergyman of the Church of England, who witnessed the examination. There are several classibal scholars among the Indian young men. I would mention, among others, H. Steinham, H. Chase, and J. Elliot. The greater part of the young people at our Mission stations, not distinguished by the higher literary attainments, are yet respectable in their acquisitions. The greater part of the Indian youth can read, write, and keep accounts. The hand-writing of many of them is beautiful, and they can read with propriety and grace. There are many truly excellent speakers and preachers. The knowledge of divinity some of them possess has often surprised me. I would mention as specimens Peter Jones, John Sunday, who are regularly ordained ministers. Peter Jacobs, who is now employed in the Hudson's Bay Territory as an assistant missionary, is a clever, active, well-informed man —one who can, with extreme readiness, catch the meaning of an English speaker, and very accurately turn it into Ochipwa.* George Henry is a clever, respectable looking young man, a good speaker, said to be a good divine, a tolerable poet, and an excellent translator. D. Sawyer, who was my interpreter at the Credit, is a good preacher. There are a great many others, as Copway, Taunchy, Herkimer, &c. &c., who fill up useful stations in the church. At the close of this chapter I will furnish a specimen or two of their productions in English; at the same time observing, they would shine much more in their native tongue.

The Indians are a thoughtful, reasoning race of men —so much so, that we are often astonished at the shrewdness of their remarks, and the justness of their conclusions. They will reason well from any given premises, and will quickly perceive the connexion between any two propositions. But we cannot say that their premises are always sound. They are not careful enough always to ascertain this; and, indeed, from

* This was written before P. Jacob's visit to England, where he was ordained a regular missionary.

their associations, and habits formed from their associations, not always capable. Hence, they often come to very erroneous conclusions, and entertain opinions on some subjects not altogether correct. The powers of abstraction and generalisation mark the higher orders of intellect and cultivation; and while their old habits continue, and a more thorough cultivation is bestowed upon them, these results will not be expected to any great extent. But this will not excite great astonishment in those who reflect on the habits, mental power, and ideas of the uncultivated portion of civilised countries.

Although I have characterieed the Indians as a thoughtful people; yet, forethought does not form a part of their character. The Indian who has provisions beside him for a day or two, is contented and happy, although he knows not from whence the next supply is to be obtained; he will begin to look out for more when want presses him, and after his belt has been tightened as close as he can draw it. Having what suits their present convenience in other respects, they do not look far into futurity. Habit has such power and influence, and requires counter habits to counteract them, that even the more civilised Indian, who begins to see the value of property, will be profuse when he has plenty, and will not think of his future necessities. And thus, notwithstanding their firm adherence to a compact, they will not think of a contracted debt until payment is demanded and pressed; and then they will earnestly seek for means of meeting the demand. But as soon as the pressure is over, they will be unconcerned until they are again urged. This has caused some people to impute dishonesty to the professing Indians, and to say you cannot trust them: whereas the fact is, it arises from their characteristic want of forethought.

From this it will appear they are preserved from that cupidity and covetousness, which is the parent of so many evils in civilised society. They will part with a share of their last morsel to those more needy than

themselves, and will manifest surprise when they are denied the same from persons of other habits. They are versatile, and cannot have their attention made to dwell long on one object. They want perseverance and firmness in application to their pursuits. Notwithstanding their versatility, they can carry out any plan, or execute any operation, when directed or stimulated; but seem not to have the power or inclination otherwise of undertaking any great or unusual thing—but coolly and calmly suffer things to go on, which they perceive to militate against them. They are patient under injuries, toil and disappointment, until roused to action: then revenge will be sought at all hazards.

They are remarkable for fortitude under sufferings, peril and pain, when actually laid upon them; yet timid of those in prospect. The various relations recorded of the manner in which prisoners bear the tortures inflicted upon them, warrant this remark. Their patience and fortitude, however, is rather an apathy of the stoical kind, than the genuine feeling of patience. Dr. Walsh relates a circumstance of which he was eye-witness, which will illustrate these remarks. A woman was crossing the Niagara river, a considerable way above the Falls, but was caught in the current, and hurried on to the awful cataract. Finding all her efforts unavailing, and that she was rushing to inevitable death, she made no outcry, or gesture of fear or impatience; but laying down her paddles, she stood up and looked quietly about her; then taking a bottle of spirits from the bottom of the canoe, she applied it to her head till she drank every drop; she then wrapped herself in her blanket, took up a pipe, and continued calmly smoking till she shot over the Falls, and disappeared for ever.

Revenge for injuries, and retaliation for wrongs, are favourite objects with them. Many have been the scenes of desolation resulting from the carrying out of these principles. These remarks apply more especially to those not brought under the power of vital Christianity. Those tribes who live bordering on Lake

Superior, are generally in a state of hostility, arising from those circumstances. If a man has had a relative cut off by any tribe, he will never rest until he has had revenge. He will seek and watch an opportunity; he will lay in ambush near the residence of the offending tribe. When an unprotected female, or old decripid person, happens to stroll near him, he rises up and wreaks his vengeance upon the individual, and bears away the scalp in triumph. This frequently leads to retaliation, and often results in horridly barbarous wars between the two tribes.

Caution is a striking feature in the Indian character. In a state of nature, they are perpetually exposed to the onsets and attacks of their enemies, who use stratagems, and lay in ambush, to come upon each other unawares. This produces a constant excitement of fear. From this circumstance they are driven to a perpetual watchfulness and carefulness in all their movements; and this may have been the main cause of inducing this temperament of mind—which is not merely a habit, a second nature, but more properly and really natural. They do not decide suddenly on any thing: they must have the deliberations of a council before any decisions are come to. This habit, or temperament, appears in their whole manner.

The bravery of the Indians has been the subject of frequent remark. But this must be principally confined to those who are living in an entire state of nature, and it must then be reduced, with some noble exceptions, to savage ferocity. By the preceding remarks it will be seen they need in general some exciting circumstances. Who has not heard of Tecumseh, Brant, and many others, distinguished in warfare. The following character of these men, principally drawn from a memoir of E. Walsh, M.D.,* will not, I trust, prove unacceptable to the reader.

Brandt, many of whose surviving relatives I have known, is well known in Europe as the destroyer of

* Dublin University Magazine for 1804, p. 76.

Wyoming, and handed down to the horror of posterity, by Campbell, in his poem of Gertrude. He was a Mohawk warrior, and obtained his name from a Dutch fostor father, who took care of the young savage in his infancy. The late Marquis of Hastings, when Lord Moira, seeing him in America, admired his courage and address, became his patron, and brought him over to London. Here he was prevailed on to accompany him to a masquerade in his native costume, painted, plumed, and armed as a real warrior; with one half of his face stained black, and the other red. One of the company, habited as a Grand Turk, doubting if it was not a mere masquerade dress, touched the top of his nose, to ascertain if he really wore a mask. Of all things, an American Indian cannot bear personal freedom. Brandt took fire at the supposed insult, uttered his terrific war-whoop, and brandishing his tomahawk, would have cloven and scalped the head of the Grand Turk, had not Lord Moira interposed, and explained the mistake. The company, however, took fright, and the Indian warrior was left to himself, stalking up and down the room in solitary magnificence. On his return to America he was much noticed, and for a time highly respected. He was employed on Indian affairs, was accused by his tribe of official peculation, and called to account. On this occasion, he requested the interference of his friend, Dr. Walsh, who exerted himself in his favour. He possessed some large estates, and lived in great repute. But he was proud and imperious, unbendable in his disposition, and of the most impetuous and ungovernable passions, and giving himself up to the common propensity of the Indians in general, ardent spirits; when intoxicated, was excited to a species of madness. On one occasion a violent quarrel ensued with his eldest son, who was so exasperated that he attacked his father. They rolled on the floor, till the father, drawing his knife, stabbed his son to the heart. After this circumstance he became truly miserable, and died shortly afterwards of incessant intoxication. The relatives of Brandt are mostly

persons of superior talents, but some of whom are unhappily addicted to that propensity which proved his ruin, and which bids fair to operate fatally to themselves. Brandt's life has been published in an extensive form.—The village of Brantford, on the Grand River, in Upper Canada, derives its name from him.

Tecumseh, was a Shawonese warrier. He possessed all the energetic qualities, and none of the vices of Brandt. He was a fine noble figure; many of the Indians I have seen are remarkable in this particular. Tecumseh's name and deeds as a warrier still live in the new world, and subscriptions are now being made for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory. A township in Canada, and another in Michigan, bear his name. In the late American war, when hostilities commenced on the Canadian frontiers, he took up the hatchet and commanded the Indian allies on our side. He had the address to make his way through several of the United States, and bring off with him many Indian recruits; but the whole force he could muster did not exceed 650 men. The American General Hull crossed the strait at Amerstburgh, and erected the American standard, evidently with a view to make a permanent settlement in Canada; but he attempted in vain to bring over our Provincials and Indians—not one joined him.* Tecumseh with his band of warriors broke up for Lake Michigan, and surprised all the American parties along the lake. He burst upon them like another Judas Macabeus, bringing terror and deso-

* When I was stationed at Amherstburgh, Warrow, a young Wyandot Chief, brought me a bundle of papers and letters to read over at my leasure, that I might ascertain whether there were any thing of importance among them or not. On inspection I found a great deal of correspondence to the Indians from the Officers and agents of General Hull, inviting them to eo-operate with him in his designs, and trying to instigate them to muster their forces and to take certain positions; to meet and join certain detatchments in certain directions. It does not appear, however, as stated a ove, that they succeeded with the Wyandots; but that tribe ook up the tomahawk for the British, and were in several enga ements.

lation. He co-operated with General Brock at the battle of Kappohanno, and forced Hull to recross the strait. He was pursued by Tecumseh, who attacked the American camp before Detroit, and obliged their general to surrender that important fortress. Tecumseh fell in the field of battle, but not till the united bravery of these gallant men had saved Upper Canada. With mingled emotions of admiration and regret, I have stood upon the spot where he fell,—a spot as yet undistinguished by any mark in honour of the illustrious individual.

Tecumseh was not only a warrior, but an orator, a sachem, and a prophet. And he was no less a politician. The vigour of his physical powers was only surpassed by the energy of his mind. He conceived a practical plan of collecting the various tribes to the West of the Lakes, and founding a confederate red republic. But I question, if he had lived to attempt it, whether even his genius and ability could have succeeded. Subsequent attempts have been made to gather the Indians together in one district or tract of country, but as I have been informed, their own clannish spirit and jealousies would always prevent the scheme from working well.

Their wars, in a totally uncivilized state, are marked by cruelty and stratagem, rather than by the essentials of true bravery. Their native wars are predatory.

Cruelty marks savage life in general. The Indian, in his pagan state, and in remote situations, is not admitted to the rank of manhood until he can exhibit the scalp of his enemy. This is generally obtained by stratagem. The youth will issue from his native hut, steal to the abode of an antagonist-tribe, will watch for an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and will, perhaps, fall upon some unprotected and defenceless female, who has issued from her habitation and wandered to a short distance in pursuit of some domestic object of her calling. Thus we have the awful fact elicited that an Indian cannot even be a man until he has embrued his hands in the blood of his fellow crea-

ture. The remark of the prophet is thus amply confirmed, "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

With all the ferocity and cruelty of the Indian, he is still distinguished for friendship. His adherence to a compact—his faithfulnsss to a promise or engagement, are celebrated as very remarkable. This stamps a true nobility on the Indian chracter.

Dr. Walsh, in drawing some general characteristics, remarks, "It is not presuming too much to suppose that if the country had not been visited by Europeans, they would have emulated, in some degree, the Greek republics. It is true, they had no lettets, but neither could Homer or his heroes read or write. The Iroquees joined the eloquence of the Athenians to the courage, frugality, fortitude, and equality of the Spartans. They had no gorgeous temples built with hands, but the sky was their temple, and the Great Spirit was their God. They fared as well as the kings of Sparta, who eat their black broth at the same board with their fellow-citizens in a building not better than a Mohawk council house. They lived in thatched cabins, but so did Phocian and Socrates in the midst of the magnificence of Athens." "An unlettered race, their laws and customs, their feats in arms, their speeches, their wars, their treaties, have been preserved in their own belts of *wampum*, a sealed book to all the world but themselves. No Homer, no Ossian has transmitted to posterity, in traditional *rhapsodies*, their heroes, battles, and adventures."

The Indians are much subject to peculiar and violent excitement in religion, when it is first introduced to their attention, and when they experience it in its genuineness and power. All the powers of nature seem for a time suspended, and they are frequently carried away from the spot stiff and apparently lifeless. This is rather appalling to some spectators.

I should be far from becoming the apologist for mere rant and extravagance; but I must offer a few words by way of explanation. The individual who contem-

plates the real work of God with a mind imbued with sanctified philosophy, will perceive that at the commencement of a remarkable work among any people, especially when moral and spiritual death has prevailed, there is generally something peculiar in the mode of their being affected with a sense of their destitution of religion, and of their danger from lying under the wrath and curse of the Almighty. Thus, in the early ministry of the Rev. Messrs. Wesley and Whitfield, (no enthusiasts themselves,) and in the early revivals in America, there were extraordinary circumstances of this nature. Undoubtedly the wisdom of God is manifested in this arrangement. It is suited to the state of the minds of the majority of the people. At those times deadly unbelief and rank infidelity had prevailed; there was a darkness which might be felt; and the apathy of moral death, which pervaded all ranks in the several communities. Something extraordinary was wanted as an antidote to this infidelity and apathy. The supernatural power of the gospel, applied with energy by the Holy Spirit, was a proper circumstance to awaken their attention, and to arouse their energies. When those extraordinary occurrences first transpired, persons of such character were astounded, all human reasoning was overwhelmed, and many were constrained to acknowledge a Divine interference.

All this may be applied to the Indians. It is a sort of miracle for men to be affected by Divine power. Something like a miracle seems needed to turn the attention of an ignorant, barbarous people to God. It stands in the place of arguments, which they could not appreciate for want of established and acknowledged axioms as premises. They feel the force of it. They are conscious of something supernatural in the Christian religion far above all the power of their conjurors, and stand appalled. As long as the magicians of Egypt could perform something like a bungling imitation of the miracles of Moses, he could produce no conviction; but as soon as he went beyond their

power to do so, they were constrained to say to Pharaoh, "This is the finger of God." Under the ministry of the early Methodists, some of the most philosophical and infidel were the subjects of those affections; and it had a marvellous effect upon beholders. And at the introduction of Christianity among the Indians, some of their conjurors have been among the first to be touched with the Divine power; and it has had the same effect upon the generality in their tribes.

Those peculiarities generally cease after such a work has progressed for a time, i. e. when the wisdom of God sees no further occasion of employing them. Thus, after a time, the miracles of the early Christians ceased. After a time also the work in the present revival of religion, called Methodism, went on in the ordinary manner of conviction and conversion; and it is remarkable that such symptoms among the Indians as were referred to, cease after Christianity has fairly gained a footing among them—when, by cultivation in knowledge and advancement in piety, there is a data on which to erect an intellectual battery.

And it is easy, not only to assign reasons for the existence of these facts, but also to account for them. There are several persons, not only among the Indians, but also among the white people—among civilized as well as among barbarous men—who have related circumstances in their conversion of a very extraordinary character. Some of those persons have supposed that they have distinctly seen the Saviour as hanging upon the cross; and others, as in glory, as before the throne, with the glorious scars of his body. A pious female once asked me if I had ever heard of a case of any person who had seen the Saviour with his bodily eyes? and then related to me her own case. She said, when she was labouring under deep and painful convictions of her sinful and lost state, and was seeking a sense of pardoning mercy, one day, while engaged in her domestic employment, she saw the Saviour hanging upon the cross, and immediately felt assured of her interest

in his blood, even the forgiveness of her sins. Others have supposed that they have distinctly heard a voice speaking to them in the language of some portion of Scripture, or in other words. All this, I believe, will admit of illustration. The theory of perception is as follows: The outward senses are acted upon by some outward object; this produces an altered state of the nerve called a sensation. This sensation is conveyed to the brain, and produces a perception of the object. In this manner, the soul is, through the medium of the senses, made acquainted with outward things. It is clearly shown by philosophers, that the nerve may be brought, by various causes, into such an altered state, without being acted upon by external objects. Also, that the brain itself, without the process of sensation, from various causes, may be so affected, as is usual in the act of perception, when an outward sensation is conveyed to it; and in either case, the subject of it supposes he hears or sees the external object, and for the obvious reason, that precisely the same effect is produced upon his brain as is produced by the process of sensation. He has, therefore, as firm a conviction that he really does hear and see, as he can have when that is actually the case. These things have often been realized by highly nervous persons, by persons who are insane, and by persons of strong imagination. Hence, some worldly-wise philosophers suppose they can sufficiently account for all those impressions on philosophical principles, and endeavour to explode the idea of all divine and supernatural interference and influence. But, in a number of cases, is it not to be supposed that such impressions do not proceed from disordered action of the intellect? Sincere Christians believe that the Holy Spirit has access to, and does really influence, the souls of men. And if he so work upon the mind as to produce the same altered state of the brain as is precisely produced by the process of perception, may not such individuals justly suppose they see an outward object, or hear an outward voice? And yet this is not the vagary of a

disordered imagination, but a real operation of the Holy Spirit, and the method he chooses to employ in giving such individuals an assurance of their part in the atoning blood.

I ought to apologize for the length of this disquisition. Let it not be thought I am enthusiastic, or an advocate for miracles in these latter days. I am only attempting to assign reasons for the existence of *facts*. Such appearances *do* present themselves to our observation. I am well convinced they are not feigned, or assumed by designing men, but that they are real, and without hypocrisy; and, in reviewing the character of the Indians, I thought it right to notice this characteristic among others, and to endeavour to set it in its true light.

In personal appearance, the Indians are straight and erect, well proportioned, and noble in their bearing, some of them remarkably so. They are copper-coloured; which, however, by a different mode of living, and by attention to cleanliness, becomes of a lighter hue; yea, not much darker than that of many persons of European origin. Their face is round, their cheek bones high, forehead small, lips thick, and noses generally broad, with wide nostrils: their eyes small and black, or of a chestnut colour: their hair black, thick, strong, and uncurled. Their women wear it long, and tie it with a string or ribbon near to the head. The men crop theirs close on the forehead. They have little or no beards on their face. They have small feet. They are quick of sight and hearing, and swift of foot.

The dress, among those who have had no intercourse with Europeans, has no great distinction between male and female. They wear no coverihg on the head. Those who have had a little intercourse with civilized people wear a handkerchief tied, or wrapped round their heads. I have seen some of the Pagans, when assembled for presents, with any thing they could pick up from the white people, hats or caps of all sizes, shapes, textures, colours, and com-

positions,—some of them very grotesque in appearance. Many of the remote Pagans go barefooted, or, at best, with mockasins, made of deer-skin, which are soon soaked through with wet. In addition to this, they have what are called leggings, or a piece of cloth stitched on on one side, which covers from the thigh downwards to the foot. These articles, with a shirt, blanket, &c., complete their clothing. The men wear a red sash round their waists.

The Indians, however, on our most cultivated mission stations, in general, dress like the white people; only they are fond of the mockasins and the sash. Some of the females wear leggings. They go without caps, or bonnets, or any covering on their heads—wear short gowns, which reach only to the knees, with the other parts of their dress below; they throw a blanket over their heads, and hold it round their waist. At other times, you will see them with a handsome black beaver hat, with large brim, but never with a bonnet, and a neat length of blue cloth as a shawl. Some few nearer approach to the European costume.

Many parts of their best dresses are very much ornamented with beads and porcupine quills, i. e. at the bottom of the leggings and gown, and round the waists.

The Indians are, in general, passionately fond of ornaments. Among the Pagans, the most ragged and filthy will have large stripes of silver round their hats, when they happen to have them, and round their arms and wrists, and pending from their ears and noses. They wear also rings and trinkets on their fingers and other parts of their bodies. The wild Pagans paint their faces and different parts of their bodies various colours. Taste is an arbitrary thing, depending upon custom and habit, and not subject to any general fixed rule!

I now give, as before intimated, a specimen in prose and verse, of the talent of the native Ochipwas. The first is an article written by a young man, with whom I am personally and well acquainted, and delivered at an exhibition of the students of the Oneida con-

ference-seminary, whose name has been already mentioned. The second, by an Ochipwa young man, who was formerly an apprentice to the printing business in the Guardian Office in Toronto. He was subsequently sent to the Upper Canada Academy, where he evinced talents of a superior order.

"MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

"The missionary efforts are the most successful of all the benevolent enterprises that have been put into operation for the spread of Christianity and civilization in the world. When the night of barbarism and superstition covered the whole face of the continent of America, the poor and degraded inhabitant made the sun and the moon, the objects of his adoration. True, he had heard his forefathers speak of the Great Spirit, who presided over all, and created all, and required the adoration of all. But he knew not how to fulfil this requirement; and, though he never bowed himself before an idol, nor offered himself as a sacrafice to appease the anger of his gods, yet he never heard the Divine revelation of God's holy word till, in the course of events, another race of men, from an unknown land appeared on his native coasts, bearing to him, as has been truly said, "the seeds of life and death." Many efforts were made by pious and Christian people for the preservation of the Indian race; but in vain, till they were disappearing from the limits of civilized society. At length the voice of humanity prevailed in every heart of philanthropy, and now, at the present day, a unanimous chord of sentiment is vibrating in the Christian and civilized world, to meliorate the condition of the human race. Already has community enlisted its combined efforts in favour of the missionary cause. Already have men turned their attention to the dark places of the earth, and even to the distant islands of the sea, there to plant the standard of Christianity, the Gospel of the Great Redeemer; to those regions where ignorance and idolatry are still swaying their brutalizing influences over the mind of

man; to Asia, where the demon of idolatry exults in the misery of the wretched inhabitant, where its despotic tyranny has rent from the human heart all that is endearing in life, and has taught the mother to tear away from her bosom her infant, and offer it to contending alligators and the widow to ascend the funeral pile of her husband; and to Africa, which appears the blackest in the catalogue of human misery, where the people are still bowing themselves down in the most revolting idolatry, and wasting away, as though a mighty pestilence were making its dreadful ravages and depopulating her sultry shores—where the people of other lands are capturing, with cruel hand, her defenceless sons, and consigning them to the chains of slavery.

The great object of this benevolent enterprise is the general dispersion of Christianity, and the purification of the whole world from the abominations of idolatry, ignorance, and barbarity. It is not love of power or dominion that induces the missionary to cross the mighty deep, and proclaim the everlasting truth to those barbarian shores, and to penetrate the wilderness of the west, to preach the name of Christ to those who are sitting in darkness, and who are fast hastening to destruction. Notwithstanding all that is dear at home, and the difficulties and dangers he may have to encounter, yet he has gone forth in the name of his heavenly master who commanded to go forth into all the world and preach the Gospel to all nations.

How pleasing and glorious has been the effect of this holy cause in those parts where the missionary has employed his labors! Idolatry and superstition are vanishing like the shades of night before the splendour of the rising sun. Where darkness so lately reigned, the light of truth is shining, and thousands of the redeemed are sending forth their praises to their great Deliverer. Thus far it has prospered. It will go on from prosperity to prosperity, for it is the work, and it is the hand of the Almighty. It will go on till the night of barbarism shall be dispelled from the face of

the earth, and the pure and benign principles of Christianity every where prevail—"Then the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." We may indeed indulge the pleasing hope that the period is fast approaching when all nations shall know their God—when the red man of the forest shall raise his song of praise, and the whole continent of America resound with the praises of God, and re-echo from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, the name of the Redeemer.

SHAWAHNEKIZHEK
alias
H. STEINHAUR."

HEBREW MELODY.

BY WILLIAM WILSON.

"We sat down on the banks of dark Babylon's streams,
And we wept, as we thought of our Zion in dreams;
And our harps, that so oft to sweet echoes were strung,
On the willows' soft branches now silently hung.

"For our foes that had led us ingloriously forth,
With the laugh of derision, required of us mirth;
And in accents of scorn they thus taunted our wrongs—
"Come, sing ye to us one of Zion's proud songs.

"Ah! how shall we sing in our lone fettered band,
The song of the Lord in a far stranger land?
Ah! how shall we sing those enrapturing strains,
That once we have sung in loved Judea's plains?

"Oh daughter of Zion! thou chosen of God,
Whose marbles so hallowed we often have trod,
Let the right of our hand its deep cunning forget,
If we chide for thy memory one tearful regret.

"Far away from our homes shall our footsteps be bent,
Far away shall be heard our wild song of lament;
For the glow of our hearts as an eagle is crush'd,
And the joy of our bosoms in silence is hush'd.

"Oh! never again 'neath those halcyon skies,
In the halls of our sires, shall our orisons rise;
For lo! where the bright beam of gladness once shone,
Hath dark desolation ereeted his throne.

"Remember, O Lord, the proud Edomite train,
Who mocked in their madness thy sons that were slain,
And round the dread ruin exultingly stood,
While the courts of thy temple were drenching in blood."

Some of their eminent orators ought to be mentioned here, with specimens of their productions. I did not think, however, I could more gratify the reader than by presenting, from the Quebec Mercury, the following observations on Indian eloquence. It will, at the same time, illustrate their character in many other particulars, and thus serve to corroborate several remarks already made:

"A few suns more, and the Indian will live only in history. A few centuries, and that history will be coloured with the mellow romantic light in which time robes the past, and contrasted with the then present wealth and splendour of America, may seem so impossible, as to elicit from the historian a philosophic doubt of its authenticity. The period may arrive when the same uncertainty which hangs over the heroic days of every people, may attend its records, and the stirring deeds of the battle field and council fire may be regarded as attractive fictions, or, at the best, as beautiful exaggerations.

"This is but in the nature of things. Actions always love their reality and distinctness in the prospective of ages: time is their charnel house; and no memorials are to be lost or forgotten, as soon as those of conquered nations. Of the Angles and Saxons little more than a name has survived, and the Indian may meet no better fate. Even though our own history is enveloped in theirs, it is somewhat to be feared, that, from neglect, the valuable cover will be suffered to decay, and

care bestowed only on the precious contents. 'Be it so,' exclaim some; 'what pleasure or profit is to be derived from the remembrance of such things? Let the wild legend be forgotten; they are but exhibitions of a savage life, teeming with disgusting excess and brutal passion. They pourtray man in no interesting light; for with every redeeming trait there rises on some a revolving characteristic in horrid contrast. Was he grateful? so was his revenge bloody and eternal. Was he brave? so was he treacherous. Was he generous? so was he crafty and cruel.'

"But a more philosophical mind would say, 'No! he presents a part of the panorama of humanity, and his extermination is an embodiment of a great principle —the same retreat of the children of the wilderness before the wave of civilization; hence arises a deep interest in his fortune, which should induce us to preserve, carefully and faithfully, the most trifling records of his greatnes and degredation. At a time when barbarous nations elsewhere had lost their primitive purity, we find him the only true child of nature—the best specimen of man in his native simplicity. We should remember him as a study of human nature—as an instance of a strange mixture of good and evil passions. We perceive in him fine emotions of feelings and delicacy, and unrestrained systematic cruelty, grandeur of spirit, and hypocritical cunning, genuine courage and findish treachery. He was like some beautiful spar, part of which is regular, clear, and sparkling, while a portion impregnated with clay, is dark and forbidding.

"But above all, as being an engrossing subject to an American, as coming to us the only relic of the literature of the aborigines, and the most perfect emblem of their character, their glory, and their intellect, we should dearly cherish the remains of their oratory. In those we see developed the motives which animated their actions, and the light and shadows of their very soul. The iron encasement of apparent apathy, in which the savage had fortified himself, impenetrable

at ordinary moments, is laid aside in the council room. The genius of eloquence burst the swathing bands of custom, and the Indian stands forth accessible, natural, and legible. We commune with him, listen to his complaints; understand, appreciate, and even feel his injuries.

"As Indian eloquence is a key to their character, so is it a noble monument of their literature. Oratory seldom finds a more auspicious field. A wild people, and region of thought, forebade feebleness; uncultivated, but intelligent and sensitive, a purity of idea, chastely combined with energy of expression, ready fluency and imagery now exquisitely delicate, now soaring to the sublime, all united to rival the efforts of any ancient or modern orator.

"What can be imagined more impressive, than a warrior rising in the council room to address those who bore the same scarred marks of their title to fame and the chieftainship? The dignified stature, the easy repose of limbs—the graceful gesture, the dark speaking eye, excite equal admiration and expectation. We would anticipate eloquence from an Indian. He has animating remembrances—a poverty of language, which exacts rich and apposite metaphorical allusions, even for ordinary conversation—a mind which, like his body, has never been trammelled and mechanised by the formalities of society, and passions which, from the very outward restraint imposed upon them, burnt more fiercely within. There is a mine of truth in the reply of Red Jacket, when called a warrior. 'A *warrior!* said he; 'I am an *orator* —I was *born* an orator.'

"There are not many speeches remaining on record, but even in this small number there is such a rich, yet varied vein of all the characteristics of true eloquence, that we even rise from their perusal with regret that so few have been preserved. No where can be found a poetic thought clothed in more captivating simplicity of expression, than in the answer of Tecumseh to Governor Harrison, in the conference at Vincennes. It contains a high moral rebuke, and a sarcasm heightened in

effect by an evident consciousness of loftiness above the reach of insult. At the close of his address, he found that no chair had been placed for him, a neglect which Governor Harrison ordered to be remedied as soon as discovered. Suspecting, perhaps, that it was more an affront than a mistake, with an air of dignity elevated almost to haughtiness, he declined the seat proffered, with the words, 'your father requests you to take a chair,' and answered, as he calmly disposed himself on the ground, 'My father? The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother. *I will repose upon her bosom*?

"As they excelled in the beautiful, so also they possessed a nice sense of the ridiculous. There is a clever strain of irony, united with the sharpest taunt, in the speech of Garangula to De la Barre, the Governor of Canada, when that crafty Frenchman met his tribe in council, for the purpose of obtaining peace, and reparation for past injuries. The European, a faithful believer in the maxim that 'Enquerrez ou la peau du lion ne peut suffire il y faut coudre un lopin de celle du regnard,' attempted to overawe the savage by threats, which he well knew he had no power to execute. Garangula, who also was well aware of the weakness, replied, 'Yonondia, you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or the lakes had so overflowed their banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, surely you must have dreamed so, and *curiosity* of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Hear, Yonondia: our *women* had taken their clubs, our *children* and *old* men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our *warriors* had not disarmed them, and kept them back when your messengers came to our castle.' We cannot give a better idea of the effect of their harangues upon their own people, and at the same time a finer instance of their gratefulness when skilfully touched, than in the address to the *Wallah Wallahs* by their young chief, the *Morning Star*. In consequence of the death of several of their

tribe, killed in one of their predatory excursions against the whites, they had collected in a large body for the purpose of assailing them. The stern, uncompromising hostility with which they were animated, may be imagined from the words they chanted on approaching to the attack: 'Rest, brothers, rest! You will be avenged! The tears of your widows will cease to flow, when they behold the blood of your murderers, and on seeing their scalps; your children shall sing and leap with joy. Rest, brothers, in peace! Rest, we shall have blood!' The last strains of the death song had died away. The gleaming eye, burning with the desire of revenge,—the countenance, fierce even through an Indian's cloak,—the levelled gun and poised arrow forbade promise of peace, and their superior force as little hope of success-ful resistence. At this moment of awful excitement, a mounted troop burst in between them, and its leader addressed his kindred: 'Friends and relations! Three snows have only passed over our heads since we were a poor, miserable people. Our enemies were numerous and powerful; we were few and weak. Our hearts were as the hearts of children. We could not fight like warriors, and were driven like deer about the plain. When the thunder rolled, and the rains poured, we had no place save the rocks whereon we could lay our heads. Is such the case now? No. We have regained possession of the land of our fathers, in which they and their fathers' fathers lie buried; *our hearts are great within us, and we are now a nation.* Who has produced this change? The white man! And are we to treat him with ingratitude? *The warrior, with the strong arm and great heart, will never rob a friend!*' The result was wonderful. There was a complete revulsion of feeling. The angry waves were quieted, and the savage, forgetting his enmity, smoked the calumet with those whom the eloquence of Morning Star alone had saved from his scalping knife.

"Fearlessness and success in battle were the highest titles to honour, and an accusation of cowardice was a deadly insult. A reproach of this kind to a celebrated

chief received a chivalric reply. Kognethagecton, or, as he was more generally called, White Eyes, at the time his nation was solicited to join in the war against the Americans, in our struggle for liberty, exerted his influence against hostile measures. His answer to the Senecas, who were in the British interest, and who, irritated by his obstinate adherence to peace, attempted to humble him by reference to an old story of the Delawares being a conquered people, is a manly and dignified assertion of independence. It reminds one of the noble motto of the Frenchman—'Je n'estime un autre plus grand que moi lors que j'ai mon epée.' 'I know well,' said he, 'that you consider us a conquered nation —as women—as your inferiors. You have, say you, shortened our legs, and put petticoats on us. You say you have given us a hoe and a corn pounder, and told us to plant and pound for you—you men—you warriors.* But look at me—am I not full grown? And have I not a warrior's dress? Aye! *I am a man*—and these are the arms of a man—and all that country is mine!' What a dauntless vindication of manhood, and what a nice perception of Indian character, is this appeal to their love of courage, and their admiration for fine form, vigorous limbs, complete arms, and a proud demeanour! How effective and emphatic the conclusion, 'all that country is mine!' exclaimed in a toue of mingled defiance and pride, and accompanied with a wave of the hand over the rich country bordering on the Alleghany.

"This bold speech quelled for a time all opposition, but the desire to engage against the Americans became so vehement, that, as a last resort, he proposed to the tribe to wait ten days before commencing hostilities. Even this was about to be denied him, and the term traitor beginning to be whispered around, when he rose in council and began an animated expostulation against their conduct. He depicted its inevitable consequences, the sure advance of the white man and the ruin of his nation; and then, in a generous manner, disclaimed any

* This they used to consider women's employment.

interest or feeling separate from those friends, and added, 'But if you *will* go out in this war, you shall not go without *me*. I have taken peace measures, it is true, with a view of saving my tribe from destruction. But if you think me in the wrong—*if you give more credit to runaway vagabonds than to your own friends—to a man—to a warrior—to a Delaware*; if you insist upon fighting the Americans, go! and I will go with you. *And I will not go like the bear hunter, who sets his dogs upon the animal, to be beaten about with his paws, while he keeps himself at a safe distance.* No! I will lead you on. I will place myself in the front. I will fall with the first of you. You can do as you choose; but as for *me*, I will not survive my nation. I will not live to bewail the miserable destruction of a brave people, who deserved, as you do, a better fate!'

"The allusion to their greater confidence in foreigners than in their own kindred, is a fine specimen of censure, wonderfully strengthened by a beautiful climateric arrangement. Commencing with a friend—and who so grateful as an Indian?—it passes to a man—and who so vain of his birthright as an Indian? then to a warrior—and who more glorious to the savage than the man of battles?—and lastly, to a Delaware—a word which rings through the heart of his hearers, starts into life a host of proud associations; and, while it deepens their contempt for the stranger, imparts a grandeur to the orator,—in whom the friend, the man, the warrior, the Delaware, are personified.

"The spirit of the conclusion added to its force. It was the out-bursting of that firm determination never to forsake their customs and laws—that brotherhood of feeling which have ever inspired the action of the aborigines—a spirit which time has strengthened, insult hardened to obstinacy, and oppression rendered almost hereditary. It bespeaks a bold soul, resolved to die with the loss of its country's liberties.

"We pass by the effect of this speech, by merely stating that it was successful, to notice a letter much

of the same character as the close of the last, sent to General Clinch by the chief who is now setting our troops at defiance in Florida.* 'You have arms,' says he, 'and so have we; you have powder and lead, and so have we; you have men, and so have we; your men will fight, and so will ours, *till the last drop of the Seminole's blood has moistened the dust of his hunting ground.*' This needs no comment. Intrepidity is their character.

"View these evidences of attachment to the customs of their fathers, and of heroic resolution to leave their bones in the forests where they were born, and which were their inheritance; and then revert to their unavailing, hopeless resistence against the march of civilization; and, though we know it is the rightful, natural course of things, yet it is a hard heart which does not feel for their fate. Turn to Red Jacket's graphic description of the fraud which purloined their territory, and shame mingles somewhat with our pity. 'Brothers! at the treaties held at the purchase of our lands, the white men, with *sweet voices* and *smiling faces*, told us they *loved* us, and they would not cheat us, but that the king's children on the other side of the lake would cheat us. These things puzzle our heads, and we believe that the Indians must take care of themselves, and not trust either in your people or in the king's children. Brothers! our seats were once large, and yours very small. You have now become a great people, and we have *scarcely a place left to spread our blankets.*' True, and soon their graves will be all they shall retain of their own ample hunting grounds. Their strength is wasted, their countless warriors dead, their forests laid low, and their burial places upturned by the ploughshare. There was a time when the war cry of a Pawhattan, a Delaware, and an Abenaquis struck terror to the heart of a pale face; but now the Seminole is singing his last song.

"Some of the speeches of Shenandoah, a cele-

*The reader will perceive that an American was the author of this article. The Floridan war is here alluded to.

brated Oneida chief, contain the truest touches of natural eloquence. He lived to a great age; and in his last oration in council, he opened with the following sentence: 'Brothers! I am an aged hemlock. The winds of an hundred winters have whistled through my branches, and I am dead at the top.' Every reader who has seen a tall hemlock, with a dry and leafless top surmounting its dark green foliage, will feel the force of the simile. 'I am dead at the top.' His memory, and all the vigorous powers of youth, had departed for ever.

"Not less felicitious was the close of a speech made by Pushmataha, a venerable chief of a western tribe, at a council held, we believe, in Washington, many years since. In alluding to his extreme age, and to the probability that he might not even survive the journey back again to his tribe, he said: 'My children will walk through the forest, and the great spirit will whistle in the tree tops, and the flowers will spring up in the trails'—but Pushmataha will hear not—he will see the flowers no more. He will be gone. His people will know that he is dead. The news will come to their ears, *as the sound of the fall of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods.*'

"The most powerful tribes have been destroyed; and as Sadekenatie expressed it, 'strike at the root, and when the trunk shall be cut down, the branches shall fall of course.' The trunk has fallen, the branches are slowly withering, shortly the question, *who is there to mourn for Logan?* may be made of the whole race, and find not a sympathizing reply.

"Their actions may outlive, but their oratory we think must survive their fate. It contains many attributes of true eloquence. With a language too barren, and minds too free for the rules of rhetoric, they still attained the power of touching the feeling, and a sublimity of style which rival the highest productions of their more cultivated enemies. Expression apt and

* An Indian path or track.

pointed—language strong and figurative—comparison rich and bold—descriptions correct and picturesque,—and gesture energetic and graceful, were the most striking peculiarities of their oratory. The latter orations, accurate mirrors of their character; their bravery, immoveable stoicism, and a native grandeur, heightened as they are in expressiveness by the melancholy accompaniment of approaching extermination, will be as enduring as the swanlike music of Attica and Roman eloquence, which was the funeral son of the liberties of those republics."

I am convinced of the truth and propriety of these remarks, as I have had numerous illustrations of every one of these points of their eloquence and action frequently presented to my own observation: and it would be easy to select passages of equal point and force from the addresses which they are in the habit of still delivering. I have been repeatedly charmed with such occurrences. The Indians are remarkably fond of a figurative style, and they select their figures from the boldest and most striking appearances of nature. John Sunday, a young Wyandot exhorter; and several others, when speaking in their native languages, are good specimens of this excellency. When they refer to the diminution of their numbers they feel every emotion of their souls awakened, and give expression to them in bold and striking figures. In a letter which the Stockbridge Indians addressed to the New York Baptist Association, the following graphic language was employed.

"Wise men and brothers,—We beg your attention to the voice of your Indian brethren, commonly called the Stockbridge Indians, having our fire place at the front door of the different tribes of Indians: we desire to speak to your ears.

"In the first place, we will remind you, that we believe it was the will of the Great Spirit, that your forefathers were brought over the great waters to this island for a certain good purpose. Our forefathers

then appeared like tall trees, but were under the dark clouds, yet they contended well in them.

"Brothers, with sorrowful hearts we now desire you to look back a little; and view the ruins of our mighty trees; you can scarcely find where they have fallen; scarcely find any stumps or roots remaining; but if you look down near your feet, you will see the remnent of your brethren, like small bushes, who now looking up speak to you, for you are become very great; you reach to the clouds, you can see all over the island, but we can scarcely reach to your ancles."

There are semilar instances of this mode of speaking in several parts of this volume.

Chapter VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS; SUPERSTITIONS, OPINIONS AND WORSHIP; AND TRADITIONS.

Manners and Customs.—No community, whether barbarous or civilized, could subsist in a state of lawless anarchy; and we do not find such a state of society is ever attempted. The exercise of a sovereign control is universally established amongst men. Laws and rules for the management of human conduct are universally promulged, and as universally recognized. The form, however, which human government assumes, is widely diversified. The aristocratic obtains among men in the earlier stages of society; afterwards it becomes mingled with the democratic by associating the popular authority with the supreme ruler, or nobles. The most simple form of government is the patriarchal, or the government of a father or patriarch over his children and household, without being responsible to any superior authority; as that of Adam, Noah, and Abraham. Some patriarchs became governors of several kindred families, or a tribe, and are called chiefs. Thus Jacob appears to have had sovereign power over all the families of his sons, although each of them might possess a subordinate sway in his respective family. They had the absolute power of life and death, of liberty or bondage, or any inferior punishment in their own hands. This is the government of the Tartar and Arab tribes to the present day. The *Indian government* in some respects resembles it, in others it differs from it. They are broken into a few kindred families united in one association. At least this appears to have been the origin of their different tribes, even viewing their great branches; and now these great branches are divided and subdivided into separate communities. But the exercise of the controling power is not placed absolutely in the hands of any one individual.

The Indians are governed by a chief or by chiefs. These chiefs are sometimes hereditary, but more commonly chosen by the council. It does not at all follow that a man is to be a chief because his father was one, for he may be, and frequently is, set aside on account of a variety of impediments. Even the son of a chief, if he succeeds his father, cannot do so except he is sanctioned by the council. There is one who is the head chief, to whom great deference is paid;—one of the chiefs is called the war chief and in their barbarous state he had the appointment of all military officers, and the principle management of all matters in reference to war. The officers were bound to yield implicit obedience to him, and he was held accountable to the nation for the results of the campaign. The chief is not absolute; his commands may be resisted. He cannot either make war or peace or transact any business without the concurrence of his council. The council consists of all in the tribe who are initiated into the state of manhood. Others may attend their meetings but do not speak or have any voice in deciding affairs. Of course it requires a majority of voices in the enactment of any new law. Nothing is legal without it pass a council. The executive power is his; and he is seldom disobeyed when he exercises the power. He has two young men who are termed messengers, whom he sends to execute his commands, and to be the bearer of his messages to other tribes, or to transact any other business. A chief may be deposed by the voice of a council. A council is frequently called together. One at a time rises, and makes a speech, to which all pay attention, generally with their heads in a reclining posture. All have a right to express their opinion, and in consequence it is a very tedious process, and the councils generally sit for many hours together. I recollect on one occasion when many Pagans were collected together on one of my stations for the purpose of receiving their presents, I accompanied the Rev. J. Evans, who wished to speak to the chiefs of a tribe residing in the

neighbourhood of his mission, to ascertain whether they were willing to receive a missionary. The old chief invited two or three of his people who were present, to go with him to a little distance, where they sat down together in consultation. After a little time spent in deliberation, he cried out to us, "You may come." And then communicated the results of their deliberation.

Besides these councils, which belong to their particular tribes, they have councils held between two or more tribes, for the settlement of business concerning each, or general councils for a whole department of the country. In these councils none attend but chiefs, or other persons deputed from the several tribes. A council of this nature was assembled at the Credit, during my residence there, some of the sittings of which I attended. There were present Pagans and Christians, Roman Catholics and Protestants, members of the Church of England, Methodists, and Moravians, Ochipwas, Hurons, Six Nations, and Delawares. Col. Jarvis, C. S. I. A., attended. As soon as all things were properly adjusted the *pipe of peace* was prepared and handed round by James Chechok, the messenger of the Credit tribe, first to Col. Jarvis, and then in rotation to the rest. The head of the *pipe of peace* was of silver, in the form of a tomahawk, or nearly in the form of a plasterer's hammer, used in lathing. The hammer end was the head of the pipe.; the shank was the shaft of the tomahawk, which was hollow, with a tip and hoops of silver, and a bunch of ribbons of different colours tied to the end, after the emblematical manner of the *wampum*. The messenger held it in his hand to the mouth of each, and a single puff or two each despatched the business. The *pipe of peace* was an usual ceremony in their councils, when more tribes than one were present. After this coremony was ended, various chiefs arose with dignity and state, advanced to Mr. J., shook hands, and addressed him in a speech expressive of their pleasure to meet their great father there, and their brothers from different parts

of the province; also, of the gladness and gratitude they felt for the protecting and fostering care of the British Government towards them. Afterwards they touched upon the points which they principally wished to introduce. Joseph Sawyer, the head chief at the Credit, stated to the Indian Superintendant the business they wished to bring before the council. Some of the particulars had a reference to affairs with the government, and others between themselves as tribes; for instance, to renew an ancient treaty with the Mohawks, and the other tribes of the Six Nations. I could not but admire the manner in which the old chief did this. He artfully began with the most trivial and unimportant things, rising in a climatrical manner to those which he imagined would be most difficult to be granted. At the end of every important sentence in the various speeches, the speakers paused, and a response was seconded by all the rest to it: and especially this was practised at the end of a speech.

The conjuror, powow, or prophet, appears to have had great influence and authority. The superstition of the Indians induced them to believe that they possessed supernatural influence, and the power of predicting future events and the knowledge of the past. He is the physician and priest of the tribe.

Their Indian names are derived from circumstances or from some objects in nature, some signifying *a swan, a deer, an elk, a bright light, the sun breaking through a cloud, dispersing light.* Thus Kahkewaqaonaby (Peter Jones) signifies *an eagle.* Shahwundais (John Sunday,) *thunder and lightning*, which is a grand name among the Indians. The name which the Credit Indians gave to the writer of these pages is Wahsayahnahquat, signifying *a light or a clear sky:* and Mrs. Slight was named Ahnongguoqua, signifying *a female star.* This was the custom of the patriarchs, and also of all the ancients. Thus William Rufus, or *the red,* from the colour of his hair: Henry Beauclerk—*the learned;* John Lackland—from his inheriting no territory: Richard Earl of Pembroke,

surnamed *the strongbow*. The Lombards, from the original name of Langobards, from the peculiar length and fashion of their beards. And most likely most of our surnames are derived from similar circumstances. But there are peculiarities respecting the Indian names we do not find elsewhere. The Hebrews and others had their names given them by their parents, or particular friends; whereas the Indians make it a public matter; and a person, whose proper office it is, transacts this business. On a certain set day the parents of the recently born infant, made a feast; part of what was provided was offered in sacrifice; the officiating person offered up a prayer, in the course of which he pronounced the name of the infant. They seldom make new names, but choose the name of some celebrated ancestor or of some noted warrior. Sometimes they change their names as they grow up, or on the occasion of some memorable transaction.

The Christians, of course, discontinue the sacrifice. The chief generally gives the name to the child. Many of these names, although very expressive, and even elegant, in Indian, present a humoursome appearance to the English, when rendered into our language: thus we have Split-log (the old Wyandot chief at Malden,) Between-the-logs, Big-canoe, One-canoe, Grey-eyes, Bloody-eyes, &c. But they are not much more singular than many of our surnames, which have been much smoothed and softened by the omission of syllables and letters, but which, in their original state, were odd in appearance and signification.

The civilized European has reason to be grateful for the mode which he possesses of communicating his ideas to others at a distance. If he wishes to give a copy of his thoughts to a friend remote from him, he sits down and dips his pen in ink, and, by a variety of arbitrary marks and artificial signs drawn upon his sheet, converses with him. The savage, though not acquainted with this convenient method, has, by necessity, been led to invent such modes of communication as, less perfectly, it is true, yet satisfactorily, serve

his purpose. The Indian method of intercourse with those not present with him, is by strings of *wampum*. *Wampum* is an Iroquois word, signifying a muscle. A number of these muscles, cut and polished, and strung together, about five or six feet in length, is called "a string of *wampum*." Now, however, they are generally formed of beads, of different colours, strung on and tied with ribbon, which is also of different colours. Sometimes, also, among the pagans, a piece or two of tobacco and other articles are added. All those things are emblematical, and convey a deep meaning to the Indians. Red denotes war, sorrow, &c.; white, peace, friendship, or any good. Black intimates danger, suspicion, or fear. If they wish to convey a warning or caution, they send a string of black *wampum*. If war be declared, the *wampum* of red and black intermixed is sent. When a messenger is sent on any business, he delivers his *wampum* and makes a speech, and sometimes conforms parts of his discourse by delivering strings of *wampum*. Any acts of their councils, or any transactions with the Europeans, or any particular circumstance or wish, is conveyed by a string of *wampum*. The agreements, or treaties, into which they enter, one tribe with another, are ratified by belts of *wampum*, which formerly consisted of four or six of those strings of shells, but now are wrought with beads on a belt or broad piece of cloth. These belts of *wampum*, thus wrought with beads, contain the figures of various beasts or reptiles, and other marks. Anciently these were engraven on pieces of bark. In the same manner they formerly made an historical record of transactions, achievements, and victories. These are kept in custody by some great and distinguished chief, and are carefully preserved in a chest made for that purpose. They refer to them as public records. At certain seasons they meet to study their meaning, and to be reminded of the obligation subsisting. So they did at the great council held at the Creek mentioned above, the belts being in the custody of Yellow-head. If an Indian

puts a string of *wampum* into the hand of another, and says, "I am your friend," he will carefully preserve it; and if at some future day necessity should demand, he will present the *wampum* to the donor, and say, "You gave me this, and said you was my friend; I am in need, therefore afford me help."

The following account of a general council, given to the Rev. G. Marsden, by Peter Jacobs, in 1834, will illustrate the use of *wampum*, and will equally illustrate the fact that the Christian religion will be spread by those methods:—

"When I was in Canada," said Mr. M., "I heard that a meeting of a very singular nature had been held in the month of July last. The council of the Indian chiefs was held at the Narrows, by Lake Simcoe. There were present Christian Indians from Credit mission, Grape Island mission, Rice Lake mission, Sahgeeng mission, and Mud Lake mission. The Pagan Indian chiefs were from various tribes, scattered abroad between that place and the Rocky Mountains, some of whom must have travelled from fifteen hundred to nearly two thousand miles. The names of the Christian chiefs were Joseph Sawyer, John Crane, George Pahtash, John Crane, jun., George Yellowhead, Thomas Shilling, Joseph Nainengkeshkengk, and John Big-canoe, with two Christian Indians who are not chiefs. There were six Pagan chiefs. The council was opened with singing and prayer by one of the Christian chiefs. After prayer, the first Pagan chief who rose to address the meeting was called Shengwangkoonse,* which signifies a young pine tree. He held in his hand a string of white *wampum*, which colour signified his present object, viz. searching after a clean, white heart. He enquired first of the Christian chiefs, 'Are you truly more happy now in your hearts than when you had our father's religion? If you are so, I wish you to tell me. You see me this day, with this string of white *wampum*, come to enquire whether

* Now a Christian. See account of Yellowhead's *wampum*, in a subsequent part of this chapter.

you are now more happy in the white man's religion than you were before.' He then said, 'I had a child, an only child, whom I loved much. This child was taken sick. I took all the munnetoogk (meaning his gods) out of the mahsukemood, (his bag,*) and placed them around the child, to see if they could cure it. I told them to leave none of their power behind, but to bring all their power with them; but the child died. I then gathered them up for the last time, and I said, Kewabenenim, I throw you away. I then began to think, what shall I do without a God? I remember John Sunday speaking about a great God; and I thought that I would come to this country, to see who knew about John Sunday's God? I have heard of many stars shining over my head (meaning the different denominations of Christians): I wish very much that some of you would give me information which is the true star. Just before I left home I received a string of black and white *wampum* and a tomahawk, the blade of which was painted red. When I considered that although my arms were very long†, and my body very large‡, should I enter into this war, I should be the means of spilling much blood. I determined to decline it; and therefore made this answer: "I am now unable to render you any assistance in this warfare, having just commenced to seek after a Great Spirit, and feeling very poor in my heart." He then delivered the string of white *wampum* which he held in his hand to Joseph Sawyer, the head chief present, as a token of peace and union between the tribe of Sawyer and Shengwong-koonse.

"The chief, Joseph Sawyer, then arose to reply. He said, 'I can inform you that since I got this good religion in my heart, I have had more true happiness in one day, than I ever enjoyed before in all my life. I wish you to look for yourself, which star is best.

* His medicine bag, which is subsequently described.
† Denoting he had possession of a very large country.
‡ A large body signifies that he had many people in his tribe.

You see this village built since we got this religion; you see this school-house; and the change from drunkenness so sobriety. And could you visit our village at the Credit-river, you would see a great many good houses, a chapel, a school-house, a work-shop, a saw-mill, and many other improvements.' After Joseph Sawyer, the other Christian chiefs spoke equally in favour of the Christian religion. Before the council closed, all the Pagan chiefs said, "Send us teachers and missionaries, and we will worship as you worship." They further said "Be sure to send us books, missionaries, and teachers next year, and our people will listen to them.' "

In the year 1838, Kahkewaquonaby, being to visit England, was deputed by the tribe of Indians at the River Credit to present a *wampum* to Her Majesty, Victoria the Queen. It consisted of white and red beads, in certain proportions strung on red ribbon. The white signified the happiness they felt on being under the sway of Her Majesty;—the red, that notwithstanding, they felt considerable sorrow and pain at heart on account of their not possessing a deed for their lands, or any possitive right in them, or security in the possession of them.

In 1838, Chief Mesquahkeence, or Yellowhead, head chief of Lake Simcoe, sent a *wampum* to the Pagans on the American side of Lake Superior, together with a speech. The *wampum* consisted of seven strings of white, and one of coloured beads, with nearly two yards of red ribbon, and two pieces of tobacco. The red ribbon, instead of signifying war, was explained to signify that the Son of God came into our world and shed his blood for sinners. The white beads signified that there was peace proclaimed on earth and good will to men by the blood of the cross.

The mode of conveying a *wampum* is to forward it from one tribe to another. Yellowhead sent it to Shongwongkoonse, a chief on the Canadian side of the St. Mary's river; Shongwongkoonse sent it to the other village at Kewawenon. From Kewawenon

it was sent on to a pagan settlement near that place. It was handed to a chief in council by a Christian class-leader, with a speech. This circumstance gave rise to a variety of communications, speeches, and letters. Yellowhead handed the whole of those documents to me, with a request that I would write him a copy to forward to Muncey Town, that they might in their turn forward the instrument to the other Indian tribes in Canada. From this original, thus put into my hands, I made extracts of the principal parts for my own use, which I doubt not will be entertaining to the reader; and at the same time afford him information concerning the manner in which God's providence and grace co-opperate in the spread of the Gospel.

The Sabbath following the reception of the *wampum* and speech, the chief to whom it was handed sent a canoe to the Christian village, to inform them that he was ready to give an answer to the *wampum* he had accepted, and called a council for that purpose. The Christian went to his settlement and found 30 or 40 men seated around two fires, in a large birch bark *wiggewaum*. The chief opened the council in a speech, in answer to that of the Canada chief. Other speakers followed. This speech has been sent to Chief Yellowhead, and will be found in the sequel. It was favorable to the reception of Christianity.

A few days after this council, three men, two of whom were sub-chiefs, and men of considerable influence, openly renounced their heathenism, and joined themselves to the Church of Christ as seekers of of salvation; also two women of their relations. The schoolmaster at the mission station, at the request of the chief, wrote the speech of the Canada chief, together with his reply, in the form of a circular, to all the Ochipwa chiefs in the United States; and which, with the *wampum* then accepted by the chief, was forwarded on to every band of the tribe. The effect of this may be great beyond all calculation; and perhaps only the great day of God will fully explain it.

The following is the reply of the chiefs at Kewawenon to Yellowhead, before referred to:—

"My Chief who sits at Lake Simcoe,

"I rise to give you my answer to the *wampum* which you sent us. Listen well to what I say. We hear and understand you. We will receive your words, and embrace this holy religion. There are but few of us here. The most of our old men are dead, but we who are left with our wives and children, will embrace the religion which you recommend. I send you my *wampum*,* which tells you that I now turn Christian. You will see my *wampum* (which is my words) is *white*, which shows that I have embraced the *pure religion*. My *wampum* has *no end*, which signifies we will *never cease* serving the Great Spirit, nor *change* our religion again; and also that there shall be *no end* to our brotherly love to you for your kindness in remembering us. You may take hold of the end where the ribbon is, and we will hold the other end, which signifies that we shall all be brothers and know each other. We know of no other way to become happy and procure a blessing for ourselves and children, but the way the Great Spirit tells us in his holy word. Once we were in darkness and knew not the Great Spirit; but now we are coming to the light, as you have. We thank you for informing us of your happiness in religion, and we also desire to find and enjoy the same.

"I speak this for *all our people here*, at the mission village at Kewawenon, and to all your people in Canada.

"Tell all the chiefs and people what we say, and what we will do; that is, to turn Christians. We expect you will write to us, and let us know whether you have received our words or not. We all shake hands with you, and your women and children, and want you to pray for us.

"DAVID KING, *alias* QUE-WE-ZHAN-SHISH."

"Mesquahkeence, (Sub-Chief at Kewawenon.)
Kewawenon Mission, February 4, 1838."

* This *wampum* Chief Yellowhead brought with him when he came to the Credit, and handed to me along with the other documents.

REPLY OF THE HEAD CHIEF.

"My dear Chief,

"When I first heard your speech, I did not fully understand it; but I afterwards enquired more about it, and then I understood it, and was very glad to hear it. I thank you with all my heart for your kindness in sending us the *wampum*, and your kind speech with it; and I have sent it on West to the other chiefs. My young chief gave his answer first, because he understood it better than I did. His answer is good, and I will now join with him. So you may take his words for my answer, and the answer of us all.

"I shake hands with you all in my heart, and all the other chiefs in Canada, and with all your people.

"NA-ZHE-KA-PE-NA-SE,
Kewawenon Chief."

"Misqua-Kence."

Here follows a letter of acknowledgment to the chief resident on the Canadian side of the Saute de St. Maries, whose tribe had received the Gospel from a minister of the Church of England:—

"Kewawenon Mission, February 4, 1838.

"My Chief Shengwok,

"I have received the *wampum* from the Mesquah-keence which you sent, and I thank you for sending it on without delay. I have sent it on West to all the chiefs. I have given my answer to Mesquah-keence, which you will see, and which I wish you to send on to him without delay. If you wish to send him any word about us, you can send it.

"I shake hands with you in my heart, &c.,

"NA-ZHE-KA-PE-NA-SE,
Kewawenon Chief.

"Shungwok,
"Per R. H. Chubb."

Shungwok writes to Yellowhead as follows :—

"My dear Brother Mesquah-keence,

"I came in this morning to a brother's house, where they are teaching the way to Heaven, that are of the same denomination as you are. Last summer we saw each other's faces,—Nekahnis, or Netahwis, Mesquah-keence, (i. e. my brother or cousin,* Yellowhead.) When we handed our pipes to each other to smoke, we talked about religion; and now I am holding my ears to the speakers, to hear what those men from the interior say. I feel very glad indeed in my heart for what you have done to help the good men, or the missionaries, that our Indian friends may see and taste the goodness of our Saviour, the Almighty. May the Almighty bless the poor Indians; and I shall now close my letter, my Chief Ne-ta-wis-mesquah-keense. I shake hands with you, and all your boys and women, and children; and I want you to tell all the chiefs: I name them as far as I know about them.

John Sunday,	John Ash-sance,
Khe-che-ah-ne-beesh,	Peter Jones,
Me-squah-keence,	Joseph Sawyer.

"And now I rise to speak in truth to say, that the Almighty has done great deal good to our Indian friends. May God bless you all, and may he send the good news far in the interior. Amen.

"Ken-ah-nis-shung-wok-koonse."

When their signature is required to any document of any kind, in connexion with their names, they affix what is called their *tootams*, having the same juxtaposition as the seal of an English transaction. The *tootam* is a rude sketch of some fish, fowl, or animal,

* The Indians consider it rude to call a man by his proper name in common discourse. They always give him the quality he has with respect to the speaker; but when there is between them no relation or affinity, they use the term of brother or uncle, nephew or cousin, according to each other's age, or the feeling they possess towards the person they address.

which is designative of the tribe to which the individual belongs, or expressive of the name, he as an individual, bears. I have seen several specimens of this signature. The petition which was sent to the Queen accompanying the *wampum* had them.

The following is the fac simile of one which I induced the individuals (*Saugeengs*) whose names are attached to it to deleniate after they had done the same on a petition to the Governor which I had just drawn up for them.

MARRIAGE.—There is no analogy between the Indians and the followers of Robert Owen on the subject of marriage. The practices of this notorious society, is a refinement above a state of nature, as well as above ordinary degrees of civilization. The Indians recognize the state of matrimony. Poligamy is not very common, yet it sometimes occurs. There have been living at the Credit two women, the widows of one man who died before they embraced Christianity; they both, with the son of one of them, lived together in one house. They do not consider the marriage contract binding for life. If they feel an inclination to part, and agree to a separation, the woman returns to her relations, and the children accompany her. But separations seldom occur after they have children.

A man, in the choice of his wife, is not influenced by considerations of beauty or elegance. One that can cut and carry most wood, and that can perform most labour in their little plantations of corn, being the most desirable. The wife is the slave of the husband. I believe this arose from their circumstances, and from their habits; for, as I have elsewhere observed, the Indian is susceptible of ideas of beauty, for they mani-

fest it in their admiration of beautiful objects in nature; also, of the tender sensibilities of the passion of love, for their warm friendships and strong attachments to their friends and their children demonstrate it. And since Christianity has altered their condition, in many cases beauty has its charms, and love exerts its power.

Parents often, without the consent of the young people, make treaties of marriage, just as it happens to suit their convenience or promote their interests. They will provide a husband for a girl when they think she continues too long unmarried. There is, therefore, not much congugal and social happiness to be looked for. The female was never looked upon as the equal of the male, but always kept at a respectful distance, and showed obsequious compliance to his will. There have been, however, exceptions to all this: the social passions have had their exercise; and then the female being beloved, has been honoured. And Chistianity has made a marked difference in all these respects. Woman begins to take her proper rank, and domestic happiness is more thoroughly realized.

When the parties choose for themselves, they transact the affairs of their courtship through the medium of their friends. The young man engages a friend, generally a married female, to communicate his wishes to the young woman, and she returns her message through the same medium. If she accepts his proposal, he sends her a present.

They are remarkably modest in their courtship, and in the ceremony of marriage. I have had great difficulty in some cases to conduct the ceremony, from not being able to induce the parties to speak. —It is customary, in some cases, for the female not to speak to her husband for a month after their marriage; and sometimes not to cohabit with him for the same space of time. There have been many cases of concubinage: white men, previously to the conversion of the Indians, having lived with Indian women: but I believe it has arisen from the im-

perfect notions the Indians then had of the nature of the marriage contract. This is the general view of the matter, for I do not wish to be understood to assert that there was no licentiousness existing—facts would contradict the assertion.

Dancing is much the fashion among the Indians. Dances are practised on almost all occasions, at feasts, and at religious ceremonies. The war-dance is performed before the commencement of hostilities. I was once a witness of this ceremony at Amherstburgh. It was performed by the Pagan Indians, who had visited that place for their presents, to gratify the inhabitants.

RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS.—The Indians acknowledge one supreme God, which the Ochipwas term Keshamunedoo, Great God, or Keche menomunedoo, great good God, the Mohawks, Niyoh; the Wyandots, Hamendishu. This great Being they think does not concern himself about human affairs, but that there are other inferior beings appointed to preside over and uphold all things in the world. These they call munedoos, which signifies a great spirit, a term not used for the soul of man, which term is ochechaug. They worship the munedoos. They suppose all objects have a presiding spirit, as mountains, falls of water—as Niagara river, the sun, moon, &c. In many instances, as has been the case in the origin of all idolatry, they do not distinguish between the object, and the presiding spirit; and hence the object itself is adored and accounted a munedoo. In short, every thing mysterious, every thing to them unaccountable, is reckoned divine.

——"Their untutored mind
Sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind."

They think every thing is animated by a spirit: the juice of every thing is accounted a spirit, and they offer sacrifice to these spirits that they may be favourable to them. In this they adore that energy which God bestowed on

nature when he endowed each species of animal or vegetable with a principle of life; and substitute it for the creative energy of the Almighty Being. The thunder is accounted a god, or a great bad being of which they are afraid. When it strikes the ground they think it is his spear or arrow striking for serpents, which is his meat. They therefore venerate the serpents as his enemy.—They are of opinion that the thunder is a great bird, the lightning is the flashing of his eyes; the report, the noise made by his mouth. It is only seen in those parts when in the spring it goes to the southward, and in the fall when it returns. They say the thunder hatches young ones on a high mountain in the north. There is a story which is firmly believed by the Indians. Three men, it is said, were determined to find out the thunder's nest. They travelled to a high mountain; it was very high, inasmuch as it took them three days to get to the top of it. When they reached the top, they found the thunder's nest, and the little young thunders sitting; each about the size of a man. One of the men proceeded to pluck off some of the feathers, but being afraid he offered a sacrifice by way of satisfaction. Another of the men being wicked, was rude to the young thunders, and put the point of his arrow into the eye of one of them. When it winked with its eyelids, it split his arrow asunder. This was all the power the young one possessed. The other men expostulated with the wicked, rash man; and told him the old thunder would be angry with him for it. But he did not regard, and still in sport put other of his arrows into his eyes; and again the young thunder split them asunder. By and bye they set off down the mountain: also the old thunder came home. As they were descending from the mountain, the cloud came, and the thunder with it, and he killed the profane Indian.

They believe in a great man of the mountains, who occasionally descends from his elevation to feed on mankind. They imagine that the commotions of the earth are occasioned by a man, or some supernatural being, placed in the bowels thereof somewhere about

Lake Superior. They worship the dead, or burn a sacrifice as a charity to feed them.

They believe in a great wicked spirit, whom they call Majemunnedoo, or the devil. They worship him that he may do them no harm. They believe in witches. —They suppose their powwows are greater than witches. Of the powers they suppose their conjurors to possess, more will be said hereafter.

It often occurs that persons rise up, who pretend to be prophets, and who profess to receive divine communications. Several of those persons have pretended to receive revelations contrary to Christianity and have warned the people against believing the missionaries. They are ignorant of every thing which respects correct ideas of life and immortality. They believe in the immortality of the soul, but have no idea of the resurrection of the body. In this they are on a par with the rest of the heathen world, whether ancient or modern. They have a notion of a heaven and a hell. They think, that after they die they go to the sunrising; there, there is plenty of deer, &c., and that there they will feast, dance, and enjoy themselves.

> "And think, admitted to that equal sky,
> Their faithful dog shall bear them company."

They think, before they come there, there is a great river interposing, and a pole by which they have to cross. All do not get across; the lazy, the uncharitable, and those who would not engage in war, drop in and are carried away by the current they know not where.—They think the Indian's god is very different from the God of the white people; and that their religion is adapted to them as much as the religion of the white people is suited to them. Their prophets, in their opposition to the Christian religion, make much use of this idea. For this purpose, they put in circulation a story of the following kind: An Indian embraced the Christian religion; and in course of time he died. He went to and knocked at the door of the Indian's paradise. The presiding spirit asked "Who is there?" He

answered, "an Indian." He opened the door; but perceiving he was a Christian, he refused him admittance, and told him he might go to the Christian's heaven, for he could not enter there. The poor Indian found his way to the Christian's paradise and knocked at the door. The same question was put, and he answered "A Christian." But when the door-keeper had opened the door, and perceived he was an Indian—he told him, he could not be admitted there. The poor Indian knew not what to do, and had to wander up and down without a resting place."

They have public assemblies for doing honour and paying homage to the Deity once every year, about the month of May. They select a large pine pole; they paint it in alternate stripes of red and black; they hang upon it tobacco, ribbons, and sometimes a white dog, when they can spare one, (for they use them for food.) Then they erect the pole. At the same time a feast is made, on which occasion the chief, or the head of the family, if it be a family sacrifice, delivers a long speech to the Great Spirit. They express their thankfulness for all his benefits conferred upon them and sometimes touch the pole in token of gratitude. The young people are exhorted to be benevolent, and never to be lazy, but to be good hunters, and then their families will never want: but if they are idle, none of their neighbours will associate with them, for such conduct is considered as shameful. They have private sacrifices during the year. When they are crossing the waters with their canoes they throw into the water tobacco or birds which have their throats cut, to render the gods of the waters propitious to them. In honour of the sun, and sometimes also of the inferior spirits, they throw into the fire a part of every thing they use, and which they acknowledge to hold from them.

The following communication, sent me by H. B. Stinehqeur, *alias* Shahwahnegezhik, is on the subject of their sacrifices, and the instructions they give on the occasion to their youth.

"It was the custom of my grandfather, at certain seasons of the year, previous to his feasts which he an-

customs. But it is, in my humble opinion, though the prejudice which has ever existed since the white man placed his foot on the shores of America, that this part of their custom has been omitted. However, I may venture to say that there were some modes of instruction, though without the materials now in use for educating the young. Yet the memory of the learner served him as well, for he remembered all he heard. These things, though fabulous as they may appear, if they should be brought to the light, and taken in their moral sense, I think would not at all disgrace the most refined state of civilized society in this enlightened age."

They make feasts and offer sacrifices for the sick, that they may appease the wrath of the Deity, and that the sick may be restored to health.

The Indians have a sort of veneration for the robin. (*obeche.*) They say it was once a boy, who for the neglect of his religious duties of fasting and abstinence, was changed into that form.

They perform rites and ceremonies at the interment of their friends, to render the *munedoo* propitious. A circumstance occurred under my own observation relative to this subject, which is related in my journal as follows. "I went to the Indian village to bury a child. The parents of this child having previously lost three children, the whole of their offspring, Mrs. Splitlog, (the wife of the old chief,) to whom the mother was related, and some others, proposed some rites and ceremonies within and over the grave, to prevent the death of any other children they might have. One of our members, a pious man, perceiving they were about to transact something of the kind, named it tot he interpreter, and requested him to ask my opinion. I told them, as to the proposed ceremony, they must not think it had any virtue in it: that God was the great Being who had life and death in his hands, and could dispose of them just as seemed good to him: and that our whole trust ought to be in him for every blessing, and all the protection we needed.

nually made to the four gods of the four winds,* to assemble his children together to impart unto them the knowledge he had, and which was then thought necessary and requisite for any one to have. It was on one of those occasions that he related the following story of his dream.

"When I was young, my parents required that I should abstain myself from food for a certain length of time, and I accordingly obeyed. When I had done so, and in my sleep at night, I saw a man whose appearance was unnatural to my sight. From whence he come, and where he went I know not. He addressed me thus: 'My son, I know what you have done in order to know how to be prosperous in this life.† I will tell you one thing that will happen at the end of all. There is a day coming when the earth on which you dwell shall be no more. You shall hear the crowing of the cock, whose voice shall be heard all over the earth, and it (the earth) shall tremble. Those that have been good in this life, shall not be afraid when that day comes, nor tremble when they hear the great sign. Every one at that day shall receive his fate. In vain will any one turn to the rocks, for every thing shall be burned, and water shall also be burned. Those that have been good in this life, and the brave warriors, shall possess a flourishing country where there is plenty of game, and every other thing: but the murderer, the indolent, and all sorts of wicked men shall be excluded from that happy country.' This is, as nearly as I can remember, the story of my grandfather.

"Although it has been urged as a fact that no form or system of educating the young among the aborigenes of this country has been discovered by those who have deligently enquired into their manners and

* It was then a belief common among the Indians that a god possessed each of the four winds.

† The Indians thought if they had propitious dreams when they performed this part of their custom, that it was the sign they should be prosperous, and live long on the earth.

This was sufficient to satisfy the parents of the child, and all our members; but Mrs. Spilling thought they ought to have their own way, especially, as she said, they had in old times repeatedly tried the experiment, and had found it to be successful, and as it was the result of experience they ought to try it again. But upon my making a few more remarks, and observing if they persisted in resorting to such methods, I could have nothing to do with the funeral, as I could not mix up myself with Heathen ceremonies, she desisted, and we went on with the funeral service. There being several present, who do not attend our preaching, being Romanists, I took the opportunity of making some remarks, in my address, which I judged would be useful, and the interpreter told me he believed they felt the force of the truth."

WITCHCRAFT.—The Indians pretend to trace the *origin* of witchcraft, conjurors, and medicines, to inspiration. They say they were taught it by a man from above. There was occurring at one time, a great deal of sickness and death: the people mourned and wept very much. One man had lost all his friends, and grieved excessively. The man from the air came to him, and asked why he mourned. He stated the occasion to him. The mysterious visitant replied, this is your own fault. I once before told the Indians, how to use the medicines, and not to kill one another as they were in the practice of doing—only to revenge murder &c. Then he instructed him in the use of the herbs, stones, &c. and how to apply them by witchcraft. The Indians sincerely believe there is power in these medicines, and that their conjurors are supernaturally endowed. Even the converted Indians believe the devil helped them in these processes. Some of them have acknowledged that before their conversion they possessed the power of witchcraft, which, however, now they have lost. An anecdote which was

related to me at Muncey Town, an Ochipwa settlement, by the Rev. Ezra Adams, then Wesleyan missionary at that place, will tend to illustrate the feelings of the Indians on this subject. One of the means adopted by Mr. A. for their benefit is, what he calls an *enquiry meeting*. At these meetings questions are allowed to be put to the missionary by the Indians concerning any doubt they may have on their minds; or for any information they may wish concerning any Christian duty, or priviledge; or concerning any dilemma they may be in of any kind whatsoever. At one of those meetings Soult, afterwards a zealous and useful Christian and class-leader, and who had been a conjuror, observed, that on his conversion to Christianity, he had destroyed all his medicines out of his mashkemood (medicine bag,) excepting one, the virtue of which was to keep off bullets in the time of war. The missionary replied: in the first place there was no virtue in the medicine referred to; and that if even there were he ought to renounce all other dependence, and trust solely in the living God who alone can create and destroy. On this answer being returned, he desired permission to speak. This being readily granted, he delivered a warm oration. During the delivery, he made so many gestures, lifting up one hand as high as he could, and holding the other down to the ground, and again lifting up both together to their utmost stretch, that the missionary was afraid he might possibly be angry at the decision he had given. When he had concluded, the interpreter gave the sense in English. He said that for some time he had been half-hearted: he had been disposed to hold the world in one hand, and God in the other: but he perceived this would not do; and now he was resolved to take hold of God with both hands. He concluded by exhorting all present to give themselves entirely to God.

I have seen and examined several of those medicine bags, and will here give a short description of one. It is made of an otter's or a beaver's skin, sowed up, and somewhat ornamented with porcupine quills, or

other ornamental matters. Its contents are a variety of herbs, barks, roots,—powdered,—shells, stones, and other articles, which are called medicines, all carefully wrapped up and duly arranged. These form his dispensary out of which he administers to the sick, and sometimes with good effect, for the Indians really are skilled in the knowledge of their qualities. In a separate department are deposited a few varied figures, which are their gods, or representatives of their deities or *munedoos*. Among these is a snake cut out of wood, inclosed in a real snake's skin, a small shell belonging to some kind of shell-fish, or a little bone. The otter's skin is generally inclosed in a bag of larger dimensions, made of bark finely split by being first boiled, then separated into fine fibres and twisted like thread. This is woven into a kind of cloth, and made up into a kind of bag; in this bag, among other things, as well as the otter's skin, is contained a little canoe, about four inches long. In time of emergency, if the owner wants to cross a river or a lake, he says he gets into it. Either he is reduced to a size equal to it, or the canoe is magnified proportionable to his size. The conjuror professes to use the contents of his *mashkimoud* in various ways. He takes the snake in his hand, and moves it quickly about, and sends it out of his hand with a commission to hunt after something. He has also a bird's skin, generally that of a screech-owl, which he sends to seek out his enemy, or any one who has offended the conjuror. Sometimes the owl is sent to make a noise to frighten away the game of his enemy, that he may starve. If in ten or fifteen days the man to whom he is opposed finds he cannot get any game, he suspects he is bewitched. He watches the owl which is searching round his camp, and shoots it, immediately putting it into the ashes of the fire. If he can accomplish this, the conjuror, finding his owl does not return to him, begins to think he is caught, and, in the course of five or six weeks, he himself, as he gets rather smartly burnt, the bewitched man is satisfied. But if the bewitched man

cannot get the owl, then in the first drunken spree they have together, he takes the opportunity of giving the conjuror a good beating, and having had his revenge he is satisfied. The small shell is then said to return to the conjuror. But if the injured person suspects he is bewitched, he sends for another conjuror to effect his cure. The second conjuror extracts the shell and keeps it. The conjuror has another bird's skin, which he puts about his neck in time of battle, so that if too closely pursued by his enemy, he may fly away as a bird.

There are four gradations in the office of conjuror: 1. Wahbanoo; 2. Meta; 3 Chesekee-wineneh; 4. Tebekee-wineneh. In addition to these, there are female conjurors, who perform precisely the same feats as the males.

The Wahbanoo has the power to extinguish fire. This is done by chewing a root, and spitting the extract into his hands; and then he has power to scrape the coals together and smother them. The *Meta* is the man who uses the bone or shell in killing, and the bird's skins. He possesses a knowledge of the herbs, roots, &c., which furnish his medicine bag, and the art of healing. If they want to bring a distant person to them, it is said the *Meta* can do it, if only he can get a bit of the person's hair or a shred of his garment. Suppose he wants to get a young woman to come to him. He has two images tied together, and some love powder. He puts the hair, or the piece of garment, to it; and no matter where she is, or where else she would go, she must come to him and follow him whithersoever he wanders, or else she would go crazy. W. Herkimer, native missionary, has assured me of the truth of this. If he wants to bring another person, he puts in another kind of powder. The Indian women are in the habit of providing a love powder, which if a person wears, the opposite sex grow enamoured of her. I remember, while missionary at the Credit, at one of our leaders' meetings, a woman was accused of the crime of carrying love powder in her pocket.

The Chesekee-wineneh, has the power of revealing secrets. I shall describe his operations in the words of an eye witness, as he related it to me. Peter Jacobs says, "When I was about ten or twelve years of age, the body of Indians to whom I belongod had been drinking, and had got very *keweesquabe*. My sister, when in this state hid a keg of whiskey and some beads. When they were becoming a little sober, they felt as though they wanted a little more; but she could not remember where she had put it. They were all much concerned, and proposed to the *Chesekee-wineneh* to find out the secret. He consented, and resorted to the usual method adopted on such occasions. This is as follows. "They construct a little *wiggewaum*; make it very strong by driving about eight poles, six feet long, as far as three feet in the ground; and bend them with two hoops in the shape of a canoe. Then they usually enclose it with birch bark. The conjurer then enters and begins to sing, and presently the little spirits come. The *wiggewaum* begins to whirl about as by some great force. As soon as they enter we can distinctly hear them speak to one another. The spirits enquire whether there are any questions to be asked. The person on the outside puts the question they wish. In this case some one asked after the keg of whiskey. It was replied, 'You must go to a certain direction (describing it by the course of the sun) and you will come to an old man lying down, and a young man standing over him, with one leg on either side. He stands upon the whiskey.' An old man on the outside said 'Now boys, do you understand?' And then he explained. The old man, he said, was an old tree fallen down; and the young man, was a young tree growing with its roots over the trunk of the old one. I, with five or six other boys, ran in the direction described in the search of a tree in such a situation: and sure enough we found one precisely so. We set to work in searching under the roots; and certainly there we found the keg and beads." The same person related to me ano-

ther instance which fell under his own observation. "Soon after our conversion to Christianity," says he, "a party of our people went a hunting to the head waters of the river which runs through Belleville. I was desired to take the religious oversight of them. We met with a party of pagans, who had heard of our embracing Christianity. They questioned whether we had done well in taking that step, and thought the old religion was best. However, they resolved to consult the *Chesekee-wineneh*. Accordingly preparations were made. The question was put. 'Is the religion which Mr. Case and P. Jones preach the best religion?' The answer was contrary to what I expected. I thought they would speak in favour of the pagan superstitions. But the answer was, 'The Christian religion is the best, and that is the religion the Great Spirit wishes her children to have.'*

I have heard of another instance of a *Chesekee-wineneh* obtaining an answer in favour of the Christian religion:—Several native missionaries were at a place where there were some pagans. One of these conjurors was jealous of them, and resorted to his usual method of collecting his spirits, and had appointed a person outside to ask the question respecting the Christian religion, hoping to obtain an answer against the new religion, and to check the progress of the Gospel. The answer returned was similar to the above. But the conjuror, it seems, possessed more of the spirit of enmity to God than even the devil himself; for when he could not obtain an answer to his mind, he was so enraged that he drove all the little spirits out, saying, "Be gone!" and instantly jumped out of the Chesakon. Thomas Magee, one of the exhortors on the Credit mission, was present on this occasion, and he attests the truth of the above statement. It is usual to resort to these men on various occasions.

* This seems something like the case of the Pythoness at Philippi, who cried after the Apostle and his companions, saying, "These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation." Acts xvi. 17.

In time of war, to learn where the enemy is, at what instance, &c. If any thing be lost, to obtain information respecting it.

The office of the last of these grades of conjurors, viz. the *Tebekee-eneneh*, is in some respects salutary. He has the power to extract the bone, &c. sent into the body by the *Meta*, as above described.

In stating these particulars, I give no opinion—I hazard no hypothesis: I give the simple facts as they have been related to me, and leave the reader to form his own opinion as best suits his own inclination. The Indians, both before and after their conversion, believe in their reality; and perhaps we ought to remark that, allowing for ignorance and superstition, still that supernatural influence, yea diabolical, cannot be well rejected without rejecting inspiration and Christianity. While Bayle, and men of his school, exerted their learning in opposition to the belief of the Heathen oracles, similar things have been credited of them, by writers who cannot be suspected of weakness of mind. Most of the fathers of the church supposed that the devil issued oracles. Vossius thought the same. Bishop Sherlock, in his discourses concerning the Use and Intent of Prophecy, expresses his opinion, that it is impious to disbelieve the heathen oracles, and to deny them to have been given out by the devil. Dr. Leland says it may be proved that oracles were silenced about, or soon after, the time of our Saviour's advent. Mr. Watson says, "they were probably imitations, first, of the answers given to the holy patriarchs from the divine presence or Shechinah, and secondly, of the responses to the Jewish High Priest from the mercy seat; for all paganism is a parody of the true religion."*

The Indians have many *traditions*. In many of them there may be traced some reference to some scripture narration. They have a story which plainly alludes to the Deluge. There is much of the marvel-

* Watson's Biblical and Theological Dict., Art. Oracle.

lous in this story, and much dark confusion; but at least it may refer to the destruction of the earth, and to the cause of it—the lawless conduct of men. These traditions are orally handed down from one generation to another; and become no doubt darker and more confused each succeeding generation. There are old men who are well versed in all this traditionary lore, who will have assembled around them a number of young people, to whom they relate these stories, like the old bards who used to relate the traditions and history of past ages. At the end of each story the boys give him a bit of tobacco, or some other trifle, and ask him for another tale; one of the auditors of one of those chroniclers related many of these legends to me.

They mention an imaginary being called Nanibuzhu, of whom many marvellous things are told. This personage is not introduced to us in any formal manner. There is nothing said as to what order of beings he belongs, or any thing of his descent or relationship, after the manner of Pagan mythology. But yet the relation may be classed with Ovid's metamorphoses. The story to which I allude is one of them, which I selected from among several others.

Nanabuzhu observed several lions which used to come to a rock to sun themselves, and among the rest a white one. He thought his skin would make him a nice tobacco pouch; and he greatly desired to catch him for that purpose. He failed of accomplishing his object. One morning he thought he would go to the rock before they came, and change himself into a black stump, and then the lions would not suspect him, and he might shoot the white one. Accordingly the lions came. One of them saw the stump, "Ah," says he, "I never saw that stump before. Is not that Nanabuzhu?" Another said, "I think it is." "You fool," says a third, "it is a pine stump." "However," said they, "let us go and shake it, and see if it will move, and we shall find it out! They went: three of them laid hold of him, and used all their efforts to

move him: they had nearly shaken him, but Nanabuzhu contrived to be firm. The lions laid down, and by and bye fell asleep, when Nanabuzhu shot the white one. His arrow stuck fast, but he did not kill him; and they all plunged into the river. Nanabuzhu was very sorry that he failed in getting the lion, and was walking solitarily in the woods, when he met with a very old woman. She was loaded with bass bark. Nanabuzhu accosted her thus, "Granny, what are you going to do with the bark?" "Oh," said she, "you cannot think what trouble we are in; for Nanabuzhu has shot one of our chiefs; and I am going to boil this bark, and make it into a cord and fasten it at the far ends of the world, east and west, north and south, and then we shall set some men at the centre where the lines cross, that when Nanabuzhu is walking carefully, and hits upon the line we shall know what quarter of the world he is in; then they will go and kill him." The old woman told him she had been greatly honoured in being commissioned to attend upon the chief, and that she had already with her some roots she had gathered, and which she was about to boil in her kettle, and put upon her dish, which she had in her house, to administer to the chief for his recovery. Nanabuzhu, upon learning where she lived, tomahawked and skinned her, and put her skin and clothes upon himself, and the bark upon his back; and walking like an old woman, went in search of her house. He soon found it, and found the kettle and dish she had mentioned; boiled the roots, and put them on the dish, and went to the chief's house. Many people were gathered together, all in confusion: but when they saw, as they thought, the old woman coming, they filed to the right and to the left and let her pass. Nanabuzhu administered the medicines; but seeing the arrow which he had shot sticking in his side, he pulled it out, and made another thrust with it and killed him; then made his escape. They consulted what they must do to destroy Nanabuzhu, and concluded they had better drown him, as they

had power to raise the water. They accordingly made the water rise, and it soon overflowed the plains. Nanabuzhu ran to the mountains: the waters still rose; and he began to think what he must do. He contrived to get a few logs together for a raft. He saw various animals swimming around; and thought if he could but get a little earth, he could soon make another world. He first spoke to the beaver, and told him he was going to make a world for him and for himself; and if he could but dive to the bottom of the waters and bring him up a little earth he would accomplish it. The beaver dived, and after a time came up, but could not reach the bottom. He then tried the musk-rat. The musk-rat dived down, and staid a long time; and at last came up dead: Nanabuzhu took hold of him, and examined him, and perceived a little earth on his paws, and also on his mouth. He carefully took it in his hand: then shook the rat, and resuscitated him, and put him aside. He put the earth on the water, and blowed upon it to enlarge it. Then he put a little mouse upon it; and by its running round repeatedly, it extended. He next put the musk-rat upon it, and then the martin, to effect the same purpose: at the same time he guarded the young production with a stick to keep off the larger animals, that they might not sink it. By and bye, it was large enough, and he went on himself, and took all the animals upon it. And this is the earth on which we live.

I have given this story as it was related to me. It is, I confess, sufficiently absurd, but it illustrates some of their manners, and shows the features of their minds. I have thought if it does not allude to some traditions of the general deluge, it may refer to some of their transactions with that aboriginal race, of whom I have before spoken, and point to those scenes of carnage and destruction they inflicted upon them; and, perhaps, to some great inundation which either they themselves contrived to swallow up a great number of them, or to some natural occurrence which brought great desolation upon them.

The construction of the country suggests the idea that such occurrences may have taken place. There may have been some vast bodies of water, such as the present lakes, which may have covered even the higher parts of the country.

The American continent is thought to have been more recently formed than that of the old world. Perhaps it was never so densely populated as the other divisions of the globe. All my reflections on this subject have induced me to form this opinion. And if so, it tends to establish the belief of its more recent formation. In the distribution of the different portions of the earth among the sons of Noah, we find no mention made of America, or any land which might be supposed to refer to it. In those charts which delineate their possessions, they are placed with exactness over the old continent; and there is no difficulty in giving each his lot without at all sailing across the ocean. The new world seems to have been kept in reserve, perhaps for centuries after, covered with water, to be gradually drained off for a superabundant population, or for the spirit of enterprize whenever it might arise. First, it would seem those wanderers, called Tultecans by some means found their way hither either from the eastern coasts of Asia, or from the western coasts of Africa; more probably from the latter to south America, or to the southern parts of North America. Next it would appear that families of the Tartar race found their way, first to the northern parts of North America, and slowly amidst bloody wars forced their way southward, until in some unknown manner the original race have either entirely disappeared or become amalgamated. Afterwards it was destined to afford a retreat for the swarming millions of Europe. These vast bodies of water, by some convulsion of nature, may have found vent, inundated the plains below, after they had become formed, and may have gradually drained themselves into the sea, with the exception of some of those great swamps which exist in many places. The

lakes thus drained off, would possess the appearance of vast prairies. And what is remarkable, geologists are of opinion that many of the existing prairies actually afford every evidence that they have really been at one time the beds of lakes or seas. Personal observation has also suggested the same thought to my own mind. The same thing might take place again. The following remarks will abundantly verify this idea, and at the same time illustrate what may have taken place in past time.

The level of Lake Superior is six hundred feet above the ocean. If it could burst its barriers, it would consequently inundate and overwhelm the vast plains of the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, or the Hudson, and leave a new and vast valley, or plain, interspersed with lakes and mountains. The islands in the lakes would form mountains, and the deepest soundings in the lake, which are upwards of fifty feet below the level of the Atlantic Ocean, would form various lakes of that depth. It is supposed that the lakes were at one time much higher than they are at the present day, as the appearance of the shores and highlands demonstrate, and that the Huron, Michigan, and Superior have found vent by some of those channels. The country along the course of the St. Lawrence is evidently alluvial. There are vast masses of stone in a detached state, which could not have come there but by means of this kind. An earthquake might remove these barriers, and make a passage for the mighty, overwhelming, and destructive torrent, and consequently may have effected a similar change in times past.

What mighty changes in this country an event of this kind would make! What desolation it would spread! And perhaps the tradition I have related may refer to some occurrence of this kind. Nanabuzhu may refer to some survivor of a desolation of this nature, who living more in the upper country, where the Indians are supposed to have entered, and about which spots may have engaged in wars with the Tultecans, and may have witnessed the desolation of that people; and

hence the story may have had its origin. This is only conjectural, and as such it must stand.

A curious tradition prevails among the Flat-head Indians concerning beavers. From their sagacity, they are induced to believe they are a fallen race of Indians, who have been condemned by the Great Spirit, on account of their great wickedness, to their present form of the brute creation. At some future period, they also declare, that these fallen creatures will be restored to their former state. Does not this appear like the rude remains of a tradition of the fall and the recovery of man? The sons of Noah, in their migrations, would carry these facts and promises, which in course of time might have been partly lost, and the remains much adulterated.

Chapter VI.

THE WRONGS OF THE INDIANS, REAL OR SUPPOSED.

Much has been said on the subject of the wrongs of the Indians; and a handle has been made of it by disaffected men to disturb the quiet and repose of those who would fear God and honour the King. That much wrong has been done to the Indians, especially in the earlier days of the settlers, by traders, and by subordinate officers of the British Government, I am disposed to allow, because I have had such evidence of it as I cannot call in question. The conduct of the Spaniards and Portuguese forms a dark chapter in the history of the world. I also admit that schemes have been devised in later years by which their interests would have been much jeopardised. But I am by no means disposed to join in the loud cry which has been raised on this subject. I believe, notwithstanding the cupidity and the theorising schemes of some individuals, that the British Government intend to do them justice, and strongly desire their welfare. One of the principal charges of wrong done to them is in driving them from their lands. I admit they have, on this score, endured hardships truly great; and for which, when properly considered, I would by no means be backward to condemn. But this subject looks far worse, when viewed in a cursory manner, than the case stands in reality. Hence it is generally argued, "What should we think if any people stronger than we are, were to drive us from our houses and lands, from the graves of our fathers," &c. But here there is no strict analogy. Various considerations may be taken into the account. 1. As to their proprietorship. Barely roaming over a tract of country one hundred times larger than necessary for their wants, does not consti-

tute a people proprietors. "The earth hath he (God) given to the children of men." He made the world for a proposed end, i. e. for the use and subsistence of his creatures. It is capable of cultivation to such a degree that it may afford subsistence to a hundred times the number of people it could in its natural state. Here was a vast continent nearly altogether uncultivated, and therefore not answering the design of the great Creator in its production. The inhabitants had not the art or the means of making it productive; neither were they sufficiently numerous, had they been disposed, and had they possessed the ability to have done so. The older portions of the world needed expansion; therefore the emigration to some other region, we may suppose, as an abstract question, was the will of God. Indians have formerly had, when land was not of much value, tracts assigned them by the English government, ten times larger than they could occupy. 2. Land was of scarcely any value to them but for the purposes of fuel and hunting, and a few roods on which to grow a little corn. Property is to be considered valuable according as it furnishes the means for the necessaries and comforts of life. To a savage, large tracts of hunting ground are viewed in this light. But notwithstanding this, he often suffers from want. If you give him an equivalent, you do him no injustice. Hence the perfect equity of contracts with a savage people for large tracts of land they do not want, for a remuneration small in itself, but to them great, because equivalent to the good *they* could derive from such a tract. 3. The migratory habits of the Indians are well known; they, therefore, do not feel so much at removing as persons more accustomed to settled life do. Yea, it is *generally* at their own wish and desire. 4. The Indians, in their worst state of accommodation, are *far* better off than in their wild state, with a tract of hundreds of miles. In that state they were truly in an awfully destitute condition. Before their conversion, and consequent civilization, the Credit Indians were roaming about the country, living

on precarious resources, and sometimes reduced to the necessity of subsisting on mere carrion. My friend, Mr. Murphy, who, when a boy, was taken captive by a tribe of Indians, gave me a fearful description of their destitution. He stated, that for some seasons of the year, they have had to live for months together on a mere weed. On the north shore of Lake Superior, men will kill their wives for food; and some instances have occurred of women having killed their husbands for a like purpose. An old woman and her daughter lived together. The husband of the young woman was taken sick and died. The old woman asked her daughter for the child to eat. She consented; however, she was afterwards very sorry and wept. The old woman's anger was excited, and she tomahawked her daughter, and ate her. Afterwards, she dug up the body of the young woman's husband and ate it. She then made an attempt to kill her own son, a boy of about twelve years of age. She took the gun to shoot him. He begged she would not shoot him. However, he made his escape to another body of Indians. The old woman often expressed a desire to feed on children. She would look at them while running about, and say, "Fine fat lads." All this is authenticated by P. Jacobs, who saw some of the relatives of the old woman, from whom he heard the story.

It is not an object of much wonder, that the white inhabitants in the immediate neighbourhoods of immense uncultivated tracts of land, and who have long experienced the barrier it presents to improvements, should lament to see it, and should ardently wish it were otherwise.

But it will be obvious to every one who thinks on the subject that, 1. It is absolutely unjust to harrass the Indians from one part to another. 2. To remove them from any spot against their wish, and without their consent. 3. To contract for any tract of land without allotting them a sufficient portion for their use, on the same scale as the white man: viz. his present ability to cultivate the whole is not to be con-

sidered as the criterion, for neither has the white man such a capability at his first settlement—and some should be left in reserve for his family. 4. They ought to have a fair remuneration for all they possess, if parted with, and according to its relative value. Land is more valuable in a cultivated country than in one nearly wild. The Indians who parted with their land in Maldon ought to have had a greater compensation than those at Saugeeng, and so ought those at the Credit, should they part with theirs. It is the labour of the settler which has imparted a value to the soil. Thousands of acres in the far back wilderness would not be worth owning until it is opened up and settled by degrees, because it could not be made available for the purposes of life. But a small part of this labour has been performed by the Indian; but he ought to find an interest in that he has performed, and some interest also in the change of things which the providence of God has brought about.

In full consideration of all the concessions I have been disposed to make, as above stated, still I think the Indians, on many occasions, have been injured and oppressed. I rejoice to say that in His Excellency Sir John Colborne (now Lord Seaton) the Indians had a firm and sincere friend. His Lordship was always anxious to promote their temporal and spiritual good by every means in his power. The same testimony I most willingly bear concerning His Excellency Sir George Arthur. But although I cannot believe these distinguished individuals would do anything to injure those people, or that the British Government would sanction any unjust encroachments; yet at other times contracts have been made with them of a most singular character. Some of those have been made in favour of individuals, who have by these means acquired large and fertile tracts of land: and some in favour of the Government. All that immense and rich portion of the country from Niagara to the Western District was ceded to the Government, with the exception of a few

specified reserves, for the trifling sum of about £300, to be paid in goods. In my intercourse with the Wyandots of Maldon, who were one of the contracting tribes, I was shown a copy of the original document signed by the British officers, and by the Indian chiefs. Several of the reserves themselves have since been ceded by the tribes located on them without the reserve of a single foot for their own use. Some transactions which took place during the administration of His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head were of a very painful nature. His celebrated "Despatches" which were printed by order of the House of Assembly, contain statements utterly at variance with fact. His project was to remove the Indians to the Manatolin Islands. He professes to sympathize with them deeply; and to wish to ameliorate their condition. He announces several discoveries he has made of the character and condition of the people, which he hoped would sanction the step, and reconcile all the humane to his scheme. The statements which he makes, it will be necessary to examine. Some of them here; others will more properly belong to another department of these Researches.

Sir F. says, "During my inspection tour of the province, I also visited (with one or two trifling exceptions) the whole of the Indian settlements in Upper Canada; and in doing so, made it my duty to enter every shanty or cottage, being desirous to judge, with my own eyes, of the actual situation of that portion of the Indian population which is undergoing the operation of being civilized." I have elsewhere remarked upon the misstatement here made, of visiting, "with *one* or *two trifling* exceptions, the whole of the Indian settlements," and "entering every shanty or cottage." I believe, and I have good means of knowing, he never entered the one-tenth part of the Indian habitations. But from hence he argues his knowledge of the Indian character, and makes it the "data" of all his observations. I cheerfully ascribe to Sir F. great abilities, and quick discernment, but I contend, were he ever so de-

sirious of acquiring accurate information, he had not sufficient *data* to come to a just conclusion. Besides this, he came to the consideration with his opinions formed, and with his scheme floating in his mind, to which he caused every thing to bend.

From the accurate knowledge which Sir F. fancied he had formed of the Indian character, he speaks lightly of their improvements, and abilities to become farmers, which I shall consider more particularly in another place; and with the same comprehensive glance he perceives the barren rocks of the thousand islands of Lake Huron, were exactly suited to them, and which, in his benevolence, he caused to be ceded for their occupation. And how does this gentleman, after a personal inspection, speak of those islands? "Although," says he, "formed of granite, they are covered with various trees growing in the interstices of the rocks, and with several descriptions of berries, upon which the Indians feed; the surrounding waters abound in fish." Such spots he considers quite a paradise for Indians, and therefore speaks of it as a place "possessing the double property of being admirably adapted to *them*," (inasmuch as it affords fishing, hunting, bird-shooting and fruit,) and yet in no way adapted to the white population." Again when addressing the Indians in council,—"I consider from their (the thousand islands) facilities they might be made a most desirable place of residence for many Indians who wish to be civilized, as well as to be totally separated from the whites; and I now tell you that your Great Father will withdraw his claim to these islands, and allow them to be applied for that purpose." He further states, "this locality being admirably adapted for supporting them, but not for white men." An absurdity appears on the face of this scheme. If those islands are not suited to the civilized whites, how can they be suited to the Indians approaching to that character, and how are they calculated to promote their civilization? Does

his Excellency design the Indians to continue to live on berries, and never to advance to the condition of the white men?

The Indians should certainly be as good judges what is suited to their state, as the white man is to his. And how did they regard this matter? Were they delighted and intoxicated with the idea of such a wide range; excellent fishing, and hunting; and the luxury of feeding on *berries*? I speak advisedly when I say, it produced universal *disgust*, *murmuring* and *discontent*. But I will speak more particularly of the people with whom I at that time resided, (the Credit Indians.) The Credit being near to Toronto, I consequently soon received copies of the *Dispatches*. I met with the Indians in council, to consider the matter. The Rev. J. Stinson, the excellent and indefatigable superintendent of the Indian Missions, and sincere friend of the Indians, being at that time on a Missionary tour, I took the earliest opportunity of sending him a copy of the documents, with a letter, from which I will insert a few extracts:

"DEAR BROTHER,—You will receive a copy of certain documents on Indian affairs, which I send you, thinking, perhaps, you might not, if you at all receive them, receive them so early, from any other quarter.

"It becomes my duty, at the request of the Indians, *in council assembled*, to write to you in reference to these matters. You will readily perceive that various of the statements made are incorrect; and above all, that it is not the wish of the Indians to remove. The object they have in view in wishing me to write to you is to request you to take the whole matter into your *re*-consideration, and to adopt such measures as may serve them in their present circumstances.

"If you will pardon me, I would suggest the propriety of a memorial being drawn up and signed by all the missionaries, stating our opinion of the civil, domestic, and religious advantages they have received in consequence of our attempts to civilize and christianize them. In this I *know* we could be corroborated by

hundreds of their white neighbours.—And 2ndly. a petition to be drawn up, copies to be written out, and one sent to each of the mission stations for the signature of the Indians, expressive of the views of the Indians relative to the proposed change. Chief Sawyer testifies that they are far more happy, in every respect, since the missionaries came among them, than they were before. 'Now,' says he, 'we raise our own corn, potatoes, wheat, &c.; we have cattle, and many comforts, and conveniences. But if we go to Manee-toolin, we could not live; soon we should be extinct as a people; we could raise no potatoes, corn, pork, or beef; nothing would grow by putting the seed on the smooth rock. We could get very few of the birds the Governor speaks of, and there are no deer to be had. We have been bred among the white people, and our children cannot live without bread, and other things, to which they are now accustomed.'

"The Indians have the greatest reluctance to leave their lands.—They wish to express the *high esteem* they entertain for their late Father Sir John Colborne.

"I have heard that the Indians in the States are leaguing together to rid themselves of the oppression under which they groan; and are determined to a man to gain their object, or die. They had sent deputations over to Saugeeng, in order to negociate settlements in Canada. But on finding that the Governor had got their lands, they said that the English were as bad as the Americans, and that they would carry on a war of extermination. They advise the Indians in Canada, if they cannot join them, to be still. Some of their messengers have been here."

I am, &c.

BENJAMIN SLIGHT.

"To the Rev. J. Stinson, Gen. Superintendent," &c.

Mr. Stinson afterwards sent circulars to all the missionaries, containing questions, to which he desired answers drawn from facts. The answers returned by every missionary were highly satisfactory, and were a

complete refutation of the unfounded charges which were preferred.

The contracts which Sir F. made with the Indians for various tracts of land require notice here, as the subject specially belongs to this chapter, the *wrongs of the Indians.* His Excellency all along flatters the Colonial Office with the idea that on the part of the Indians it was a willing, voluntary act. But it is notorious this is incorrect. The entire opposite is the truth. He informs the Colonial Secretary, that he had made a contract "with the Moravian Indians for the surrender of about six miles square of black rich land, situated on the banks of the Thames River, for an annuity of £150." Poor Tecumseh, (whose remains repose within the compass,) was it for this he fought, and bled, and expired! However, as I am unacquainted with the circumstance under which this *surrender* was made, I pass it by. Perhaps the £150 per annum may be more beneficial to them than a vast tract of spare land which they could not cultivate. But neither could they themselves sell it; and why was not that done for them with their receiving a fair proportion of the advantages. "The Saugeeng Indians also voluntarily surrendered to me a million and a half of acres of the very richest land in Upper Canada." This surrender was made, I believe, without any recompense whatever. And as to the act having been *voluntarily* performed, I feel myself obliged to contradict the assertion. True it is, they signed the treaty, but very reluctantly. They were influenced by fear of offending His Excellency. Their principal chief (*Wahwahnosh*) was unacquainted with the act of the rest; and he resisted the measure to the utmost of his ability, after he became acquainted with it; and further, the whole of them are disgusted with the transaction.

We have also an account of the surrender of lands in Malden, belonging to the Wyandots or Hurons. The following is His Excellency's account of the transaction: "On proceeding to Amherstburgh, I as-

sembled the Hurons, who occupy in that neighbourhood a hunting-ground of rich land, of six miles square, two thirds of which they surrendered to me, on condition that one of the said two thirds should be sold, and the proceeds thereof invested for their benefit." This transaction arose out of circumstances with which I am well acquainted, having transpired at the time when I was stationed at Amherstburgh, when I regularly preached to them the glad tidings of salvation. I always lamented that the Wyandots possessed thousands of acres of some of the richest lands in the whole province, more than they could ever possibly use themselves, and always advised them to agree to the sale of such a portion as remained after a proper quantity had been set apart for themselves. The white inhabitants, as was very natural to suppose they would, felt this a heavy encumbrance on the improvement of the surrounding country, and complained accordingly. Sir John Colborne (now Lord Seaton) was then Lieutenant Governor. The matter having been referred to him, he advised them as a father. It is with high satisfaction I can say that the whole conduct of this truly excellent nobleman, appears to have proceeded from principle, and was strictly upright. He endeavoured to promote the welfare of the Indians. The Indians there were partly Roman Catholics, and partly Methodists. The Methodists, of which party was Chief Brown, with Warrow, a Roman Catholic Chief, were disposed to act in accordance with his Lordship's advice. But Splitlog, a Roman Catholic Chief, who it is said acted in accordance with the wishes of the Priest, refused to comply, and prevailed upon the greatest part of the Roman Catholics to oppose the overture. After every effort had proved itself to be unavailable, a few of the white inhabitants formed a scheme, which in the end proved successful. There were a few, Pagan Ojibways (about twelve in number,) living on the Reserve. They had at their head a poor drunken, dissolute young man as a chief; whom they engaged in their scheme.

It was briefly as follows. They invented the theory that the Reserve belonged jointly to the Hurons, Ochipwas, Pahtahwatomies, and Otowas. They concocted a petition to the Governor, then Sir. F. B. Head, signed by this poor intemperate young man, in his name and in the name of the other two nations, in which they asserted the above fiction, and that three fourths of the proprietors were willing to sell out their portions entirely; and as the Hurons were unwilling to do so, praying there might be a division made of the lands in that proportion. To all this was added every opprobirous thing against the Wyandots that could be scraped together. The poor Indians were distressed, and knew not what to do, or where to find a friend. They thought at first that I, as their minister, would not like to engage in warfare against those white people. But knowing not where else to gain any help, they requested my assistance. Although it was no pleasant task to perform, yet I considered I was in duty bound to render them all the aid in my power. I accordingly met them in council, to obtain all the information on the subject I could, and embodied their whole case in a petition to His Excellency. As it will cast light on the transaction, and at the same time furnish some interesting circumstances respecting this people, I shall insert the principal part of it.

To our Great Father, Sir F. B. Head.

FATHER,—We, the undersigned, chiefs and warriors of the Wyandot Indians, residing in the township of Malden, beg leave to address you on the subject of the lands reserved for our nation, which have lately, though we conceive unreasonably, become a litigated matter.

Father, we have been made acquainted with the fact, that a memorial has been presented to you respecting claims purporting to be made by three other tribes of Indians; but, we possess such confidence in you, that we believe you would never suffer such a question to be settled without first hearing what we had to say in our own behalf.

And, Father, we *first* beg leave to make you aware of a conviction of our minds, that the petition presented to you, signed by an Ochipwa chief, and purporting to be signed by him also on behalf of two other chiefs, never had the sanction of the other two; and that we apprehend they are totally ignorant of the affair; and that, in fact, we have a strong presumption that the petition has originated with two or three individuals, not belonging to any Indian tribe whatever. We believe they have been provoked to take this step in consequence of the opposition made to the sale of our spare lands by Split-log, our war-chief. These individuals have been justly aggrieved by our spare lands lying useless; and when the above-mentioned individual opposed their sale, they supposed, could they make up a claim from the other tribes, a contract might easily be entered into with them; for, as they had nothing to lose in the affair, any thing gained would be acceptable. But we, who are connected with a large majority of the nation, and who have included in our number the only two hereditary chiefs belonging to us, are, and have for a long time been, disposed to enter into such a contract.

Father, we secondly wish to remind you that the memorial alluded to aims at entirely invalidating our claim to a right in these lands, but with a *seeming generosity* proposes to allow us a *fourth* part thereof. This seeming generosity of theirs carries a presumptive hint of the entire unfairness of their claim; for, if they could have made their claim good to the whole, we take it for granted, they would not have conceded a part.

Father, we beg leave to support this assertion. This we shall do—1. From the *petition itself*. It rests its demand upon a certain Treaty—in which, it appears, a large tract of land, of which part belonged to the nations in question, and part to ours, was, by one deed, ceded to our fathers the British. The petition from our opponents states that this Treaty was signed by our chiefs as well as by the chiefs of the other three tribes.

Now, if they had no property in the lands, why get them to sign the Treaty, as a contracting party? Why not transfer it without their concurrence? for it seems the business was retarded until their concurrence could be obtained.

Our opponents say, the other chiefs barely allowed us to live on this land; they likewise affirm, though not in the petition, that we were a conquered people, and that the lands were theirs by right of conquest. Although our nation was much wasted and diminished by the long wars we carried on with the six nations, (with whom the Ochipwas were associated,) yet these lands were never so far wrested from us as to cause us to lose the possession of them.* And hence, when the Treaty before referred to was made, our agents, in the making and signing of it, had gone beyond the instructions delivered to them. They had agreed to sell the whole tract; but a chief of ours, named Scaahmot, (or the Black Chief,) declared he would not consent to it. Addressing the chiefs of the other nations, he said, "I and my people differ from yours. When you are hungry you take your gun, and procure some game; or you launch your canoe and catch fish. I and my people have been accustomed to plant corn; and I must and will have a little land for that purpose." To carry all on amicably this was agreed upon. On that occasion it was that the speech, so often referred to, was delivered by Machuawa, declaring his concurrence in the measure.†

In this arrangement the other three nations, as

* I believe the wars referred to were prior to their settlement on those lands—a circumstance I at that time overlooked.

† The Wyandots, on Scaahmots' interference, resisted the cession of the whole of the large tract of land from Niagara westward. When he claimed a reserve for their own purposes, on delivery of Machuawa's speech, it was agreed to. That speech was quoted by the opponents of the Wyandots, and made to bear the sense of his granting them the privilege of residing there. Whereas, Machuawa's meaning evidently was,—As Scaahmot refuses to sign without a reserve being made, let his request be granted—we will consent to it.

well as the British Government, concurred; and it was clearly understood by all parties, that this should be considered the Wyandot Reserve. This was not granting a *privilege*, to prove which it has however often been quoted; but only entering into an arrangement that the Treaty might be effected. The petition states that the Ochipwas have resided on the Reserve from that time to this, formerly in large numbers, until our Father the late Governor removed them: some to St. Clair, and some to Muncy. We do not deny this. They had been accustomed to make their own fires there before the arrangement just mentioned, and our chiefs were not willing to hinder them from so doing, so long as they conducted themselves peaceably. And the late Governor removed them at length, because they began to contend about the proprietorship of a certain island, called Fighting Island; and because he was well convinced that this land was properly ours, of which we shall say more shortly. The Governor said to them, "You have plenty of other lands; the Wyandots have only these; therefore leave them in possession of *their* own, and take possession of *your* own.

Now, because such a Treaty was made by the four nations all together, for lands belonging to each nation, and signed by all the four parties, they pretend to say that they have a right to three fourths of this Reserve. But on the grounds of this very Treaty we contend they have no right to t uch them. They have had lands, either then or since, assigned them in the same ceded country. Either the Reserve we occupy is altogether ours; or if they claim a right to three fourths of this, then we also claim a right in one fourth of the lands reserved in that portion of the province for them. We care not which of these methods are adopted. We are confident these things, deliberately considered, will establish our claim, that the land was originally ours, and that it was not taken from us by conquest.

But, 2. We wish to establish still more irrefragably our original right in the land; although we are not aware that this is doubted by the other tribes of Indians themselves. They rest their claim solely on the plea that it was conquered from us; but this plea is offered without any proof; and what we have to say of our original right, will also tend to answer that plea.

1. An *ancient tradition*, derived from an old white man named Hounes, captured by the Hurons when a boy, and who lived among us until considerably above a hundred years of age. It appears on his testimony, derived it seems from his own knowledge, and from what he had learned from others, that the whole country on both sides of the Detroit River, as far north east as Mackinaw, belonged to the Hurons. Indeed the Hurons appear to have been powerful and numerous about Quebec, until, by the chances of war with the Iroquois, they were driven to these shores. It must have been about from a hundred to a hundred and twenty years since Hounes was taken by the Hurons.

2. Lake Huron derives its name from the circumstance of our nation having once resided on its shores.

3. There are many people about Sandwich who possess leases from our nation, and we gave the French Catholics the land on which to build their church in the Township of Sandwich. The land here mentioned, which is held by lease, was, we believe, first given by our tribe to Mr. Walker; and by him leased to the individuals referred to. And others in the neighborhood of Amhersthurgh obtained lands of our people. The latter are the lands referred to in the Treaty, called "the Indian officer's land."

4. The other tribes of Indians have, we believe, at several times acknowledged our right, especially our original right.

5. The Treaty especially mentions the Reserve of the Indians; and although it does not mention for what tribe it was reserved yet in the minutes of the council, in the speech of *Egoich-e-ouac*, and in that of Major Patrick Murray, it is said distinctly to be for, and that it shall be for the Hurons. Only that speech mentions it being granted by the other nations, whereas we have proved that it was only acquiesced in; and it is clear Major P. refers to the adjustment then made when our chief demanded a reserve. There the term granted means yielding to our demand.

6. Our late Father, Sir John Colborne, expressed himself fully convinced of the justice of our claim, and assured us he would support it. A letter on this subject was sent to us through the medium of George Ironsides, Esquire, Indian Agent at Amherstburgh. It was occasioned by a claim which was made by our opponents to Fighting Island. Our Father, Sir John Colborne, then made that decision, and advised us to dispose of our spare lands.

All this has actually led to a Treaty between ourselves and the Government; and that, in faith of this, and in the high confidence we have ever reposed in the honour of our Fathers the British Governors, we have already proceeded to take steps which have involved some of us in considerable expenses. And it has been done on the faith of a Treaty with a British Governor, for which he had the sanction of our Great Father the King of the British Dominions; we supposed in doing so we should be perfectly safe, and we do yet rely upon your fatherly concurrence and sanction.

And still, Father, we beg leave to say, that we are happy in the protection of the fatherly care of the British Government. We have observed with pleasure how mindful they have been to appropriate a home to every branch of the various Indian tribes, who have put themselves under their protection; and we see this is the only spot of land the Wyandots, or Hurons, have had re-

served for them in the whole Province, while the Ochipwas, especially, have several; and we cannot for a moment conceive that you will now leave us homeless and friendless. We entertain confidence in you, that you will be as mindful of us as our former Fathers have been of our brothers belonging to other tribes.

Father, we beg leave to say that notwithstanding all our opponents have insinuated to the contrary, that we entertain a sincere attachment and loyalty to the British Government. It is true, that the greatest part of the Wyandots are now subject to another state; but when they first built their *wiggewaums* there, that country also belonged to the British Government. We can prove that we have been engaged in various actions and enterprizes, in behalf of our Great Father the King. And now, in times of peace, when it is no longer necessary to brandish the tomahawk in defence of his authority, we constantly join in prayers for the happiness of our Great Father the King, and all who govern under him; and for the prosperity of the whole realm. And we believe he will not abandon us, a part of his Indian children.

Signed by the chiefs and warriors.
Witness: BENJAMIN SLIGHT.

Another of their *wrongs* is their non-admittance to the rank of citizens. I am favourable to such an admittance under due regulations. But I do not consider the Indians, as a body, qualified for such responsibility. The majority of the oldest settled tribes may be; but the majority in some others, in my judgment, are not. In the subsequent chapter I have stated my views of a plan to facilitate such an object. The Indians would not judge so calmly as to qualify them to act as *jurors*. I have stated my opinion of their characteristics of mind to be sagacity, quickness and justness of conclusion, where their premises are right; but I know from observation, that they would often fail of seizing fact in any case before them; they would be carried away with prejudice and warmth of feeling. One of

the respected Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Rev. John Beecham, in his Essay on Colonization, laments their non-admission to these rights. But let it be remembered, that the clear and strong judgment of that distinguished gentleman cannot be brought to bear on this question. He has only seen two or three specimens of the cultivated Indians; and had he seen and marked the daily procedures of the mass, no doubt he would have concluded otherwise. Mr. B. remarks, "They are not eligible even to sit upon a coroner's inquest, held upon the body of one of their countrymen. A case in point occurred so late as last September (1838), at the village of Christian Indians on the River Credit. An Indian died a few days after he had received some blows from a Frenchman, and the coroner was in consequence sent for; but he was unable to allow any of the Indians to be put upon the jury." I was present at that inquest: the coroner allowing me to be there as a spectator. I can testify that the kindest consideration was paid by the respectable and well informed gentleman, the coroner, to every thing that was advanced; and every degree of pains was taken to come at the truth. The unfortunate deceased was the most worthless and abandoned drunkard in the village, who could not be brought into an attendance of the means of grace. Nothing could be elicited to prove that the blows of the Frenchman had caused his death. Intemperance was his foe; he had become incessantly intoxicated, and had lain out in the wet all night. The medical gentleman who was paid to attend on the Indians, opened the body; and in a conversation I had with him afterwards, I learnt that there were no marks whatever of injury from an external cause—that disease had commenced from intemperance, and inflammation, caused by exposure, had hurried him away.

As to *civil rights*.—Were every householder to be admitted to town meetings, they would, as I have known in other cases, be easily swayed by intriguing men, to the injury of the community. And although

they do not vote for township regulations, yet the taxes imposed for the sustentation of improvements are not levied upon them. The case of the coloured people is alleged as in point, who are eligible to purchase lands with a government title. But it should be remembered, the coloured people can hold no lands but such as they themselves purchase. I am not aware, but the Indians themselves might do so also. It is not the case that the Government entrusts the coloured people with lands, as a gift. Were the Indians entrusted indiscriminately with individual deeds of their lands, not many weeks would pass before the majority of them in Canada would be stript of every foot of it, and be thrown in a state of destitution on the charity of the community. I should heartily rejoice to see the Indians in possession of free titles, and of all the civil rights of citizens, were they equal to the responsibility; as the following chapter will testify. But I should fear this being granted without due precaution.

Chapter VIII.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE IMPROVEMENT OF THE INDIANS.

It will probably be granted, from a consideration of the foregoing observations, that already the Indians have in reality been much improved. But that they are susceptible of still farther, and much greater improvements, will be readily admitted by their best friends. Various plans to effect so desirable a project have been suggested. I will enumerate a few of those plans.

The plan of the Government of the United States merits some attention. That Government has set apart a large tract of country exclusively for the Indians, forever, and to remove thither all the Indians of the United States. Previous to 1839, 95,050 had actually removed to that tract. It is situated west of the State of Missouri, and the Territory of the Arkansas; of an average width from east to west of 200 miles, and of the length from north to south of about 600 miles. The tract is rather high and level. The soil is in general fertile. It is watered by numerous rivers, creeks, and rivulets. The atmosphere is said to be salubrious. It contains much mineral coal, and salt water, some lead, and some iron ore.

The tribes are to remain distinct, each occupying its own portion of the Territory, within certain definite boundaries. Each tribe to govern itself according to its own customs. The *Choctaws* have adopted

a written constitution: which provides for a Legislative Council, consisting of three principal chiefs, elected by the people for the term of four years; and thirty councillors, to be chosen annually by the people. Many excellent laws have been enacted, which are well executed. The introduction of ardent spirits is severely prohibited, and intemperance is now little known among the *Choctaws*. The *Cherokees* are still further advanced in civilization. Their Legislative consists of Upper and Lower Houses, each of which has a President and a Secretary; they meet annually in autumn; and, by order of the principal chiefs, may be convened at any other time. Each district has two Judges, and two Sheriffs. The *Creeks*, likewise, have a General Council, written laws, Judges, Sheriffs, and other officers. The other tribes are less civilized, but they have all some forms of internal government, and they will be constantly stimulated to further improvement by the three principal tribes. There are Agents from the United States, who exercise a supervisory power.

It is proposed to adopt a form of goverment for the whole territory, in which all the tribes shall be united by a civil compact. The measure is desired by many of the tribes; and many of the natives are considered capable of filling responsible offices in the Government. It has been thought to admit them into the Union as a state.

The Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks, have adopted the habits of civilized men. They are agriculturists, manufacturers, mechanics, merchants, &c. They own a great quantity of horses, horned cattle, hogs, sheep; also, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry, as well as necessaries for carrying on trades. They have grist-mills, saw-mills, &c.

They have made great progress in education. They have several printing presses, and periodical and other works are constantly issuing in their own several tongues, and various articles from their own pens.

There are missions established in connexion with the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist Missionary Soci-

eties, and the Gospel has made considerable progress in that Territory.

This plan may be thought to be excellent, and indeed it *has* its excellencies. But it is objectionable in several particulars. 1. There must be some degree of injustice in establishing them in a country already occupied by others. It is the country of the Osage, Sioux, (pron. *Sooz.*) Pawnees, Comanches, Paneahs, Arropohoes, Assinaboins, Reccarees, Yauktons, Omahaws, Black-feet, Ottoes, Crow-Indians, Sacs, Foxes, Iowas. 2. They propose to give them only acre for acre. The country they are to leave being cultivated, and possessing many advantages; and the one they are to proceed to being wild. 3. Neither the quality of the land, the appearance of the country, or its facilities, are so good as represented. 4. The Indians themselves are much opposed to it. The Seminoles and Creeks have resisted, and have carried on a war, in which great havock has been made amongst them. The Wyandots of Ohio and Michigan sent agents to inspect the country, and found it unsuitable to them; and therefore decided not to remove, if possible to avoid it. However, since I have learnt, from having been further pressed by the Government, they have consented. 5. They will, perhaps, become hostile to each other. At least there is a danger of this, from so many tribes being associated together on one Territory. The various Tribes, in their Pagan state, are exceedingly jealous of each other. Aggressions are frequently committed, and this has led to their numerous and desolating wars. And even in their more civilized state, they do not entirely lose the feeling. When I and others mentioned a similar plan, though on a smaller scale, respecting the settlement of all the Canadian Indians on the Saugeeng Tract, I was informed by the Indians themselves, this might prove fatal to its harmonious result. This, however, might be obviated. The Six Nations have been settled together on the Grand River, and have been tolerably social with each other. 6. I do not think it a desideratum to separate the Indians from the whites. I am of opinion, in

which, also, a great many sensible people with whom I have conversed, agree with me, that it would be essentially advantageous to do away all distinctions and peculiarities from among the Indians. They are marked as a peculiar people in their dress, especially the females—also in their manners and customs. If all such peculiarities were laid aside, they would much easier mix up with the rest of society, and probably become amalgamated. I am aware the bare introduction of this term is liable to give large offence in certain quarters. But, notwithstanding this, I must avow that my decided conviction is, that this will eventually be the case, and also that it would be an advantageous circumstance. Such has been the case in past ages. The present inhabitants of Europe, aye, and the Americans too, are an amalgamation of the Northern hordes of barbarians who once overrun the continent, with the ancient inhabitants of the countries. In all our Indian settlements there is a mixture of the races, and the process is now going on, not by illicit intercourse, but by lawful matrimony. I could point out various respectable families as instances.

His Excellency Sir F. B. Head, late Governor of Upper Canada, proposed a scheme of taking all the Canadian Indians from their various settlements, and of fixing them on the rocks of Lake Huron. I have already had occasion to notice his Despatches when speaking of the wrongs of the Indians; and shall have further opportunity when I come to discuss the advantages which have been conferred upon them by Christianity. All I have to do with them here is to show that this scheme for their improvement, is rather a scheme to retard that improvement, and to militate against their interest. The object of it, I have no doubt, was to secure their lands—of which some tribes, I confess, made too little use. But the object should have been to enspirit them to more diligence, and to facilitate them in the attainment of a higher tone and character.

I have sometimes turned my attention to this subject; and think something more might be done for bettering their condition than has ever yet been at-

tempted. I will here introduce an extract from the answer I forwarded to the Government questions before referred to. Part of Query 24 is, "Can you offer any suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the Indians?" The answer is,—"I am of opinion that all distinctive characteristics in dress, manners, &c. ought to be done away. The migratory habits of some tribes, their fondness for hunting and making excursions, militate against their improvement: as all these things hinder that attention—that steady application to agricultural pursuits—so strictly necessary to proficiency, and prevent their children attending at the school. The more they are encouraged in agricultural pursuits, they will become the more settled: inasmuch as those pursuits require their constant attention, their attention will be engrossed thereby—and the gradual experience of its benefits will be constantly adding a zest to their application. I have known some Indians at the Credit, who have prospered by farming, almost entirely lay aside hunting. Their lack of *individual* property in their own lands, is a great bar to their improvement. They have not that inducement to clear lands, raise buildings, &c. they otherwise would have; because, (as has been too frequently the case) they might be taken from them. Perhaps a plan similar to the following might be advantageous to the Indians, in promoting their improvement.

I. All those tribes not judged sufficiently advanced in civilization, (as may be the case with those living remote from the most thickly settled parts of the country,) to remain under the immediate care of the Government, in a manner similar to the present usage; but with proper steps being adopted to promote their civilization by schools, and encouragement being given to agricultural pursuits.

II. When a tribe is supposed to be advancing to a sufficient capability of acting individually for themselves, let all the privileges of the white people be thrown open to them for competition, under the following regulations:

1. This capability to be recognised on their own petition. This petition, however, should be confirmed by the testimony of such persons living among them, or around them, who may be supposed to be capable of judging concerning the matter. The ability of acquiring such a memorial would be the cause of the petition being presented.

2. If the Government decided in their favour, then the plan advisable to be pursued would be, to appoint a Board of Commissioners in each tribe. This Board to have as their province the consideration of all individual cases in that tribe who claimed their privileges; and to report upon each, and to recommend each individual thought worthy to the proper Government officer, to grant to him a deed of his land in fee simple. The individual to put in his claim to the Board, and to support his qualification by the evidence of respectable individuals.

3. The Board of Commissioners to consist of the lawful Chiefs of that tribe, and one or two other principal persons in the tribe, elected by themselves in council; and one more than an equal number of white persons, acquainted with the tribe, to be appointed by Government. The white members to elect one of their own number to be President of the Board.

Persons might be found who would sit at such a Board once a month without a salary.

N.B. That this Board always sit at the council-house of the village, and not at any tavern. This regulation is necessary to avoid bringing the Indians under temptation to intemperance.

4. That the deed so granted shall make the land as much their own, as the land of any white proprietor belongs to himself; with only this proviso, that for *forty* years ensuing the proprietors shall not be enabled to sell, or otherwise be deprived of it, without the consent of the Board of Commissioners; but that this Board shall have the power of granting any such person the privilege of disposing of his lot, if the reasons for his wishing to do so be satisfactory: suppose, for instance, any such person should wish to enter into

trade, to build a mill, or to engage in any other project, requiring capital.

An individual proprietory in their land is necessary to promote their industry and enterprize; and I cannot see that any thing else stands effectually as a barrier to their advancement."

This plan, when minutely inspected, would be found to secure their privileges, when necessary to be granted. The number of well disposed Indians, and other persons desirous of promoting their prosperity, who would be on the Board, would always secure a thorough and candid consideration of their case. It will also be found to embody every check against designing men swindling them out of their property. Provided the Indians might be duped and influenced, there would be a majority of white persons to turn the scale, and there would always be in the number some judicious and well disposed Indians to co-operate with them.

The following paragraph, concerning the distribution of presents, annuities, and proceeds of the sales of spare lands, follows the one above quoted:

"They should be so distributed to them, as to promote their permanent advantage and elevation in society. If a Board of Commissioners (as above stated) were appointed, they might be distributed to them under their management. The objects to which they might be applied are,—promoting the education of their children; procuring for them the knowledge of trades; settling them in business; or providing for any pressing want of the parent or children. I think, however, the parents should not have the proceeds taken from them without their consent; and an equal distribution to every adult individual ought to be made with a due reference to widows and orphans. When an individual acquires the *full controul* of his own lands, then he might have paid to him, without any farther controul, his proper share of interest, or even principal itself—that he might, as in the case of the white man, promote his own interests in life."

Another mean of accelerating their improvement would be, to establish schools for the instruction of the children and youth. Already we have schools on every mission station, which have done much good; but the thing to which I now refer is, to establish schools of a superior order. Manual labour schools would be excellently adapted to their circumstances. The Rev. and Venerable W. Case, the ardent patron of Indian learning and improvement, and the father of the Canadian Wesleyan Indian Missions, has for some time had a school of this nature under his management, under the direction and patronage of the Wesleyan Missionary Society—which has been productive of much good. But there is still a desideratum. There should be a high school, or college, for Indian students exclusively, under able masters and professors, to promote their education in the higher branches of literature and science: to which the most promising of the youths from the common schools might be transferred, to fit them for professions, and the higher walks of life, which many of them, I am persuaded, might adorn. Such a college might be located on some central Reserve. A portion of those annuities to which I have referred, from each tribe, might, under the direction of the Government Agent, be appropriated to its support. Perhaps, a portion of their money could not be better, and to themselves more advantageously, expended. Those who engage in training the Indian, should understand something of his character. A great degree of coercion would not succeed. He must be brought forward by firmness, but that firmness must be mildly exercised. Encouragement will do more than kindness.

By methods of this nature, the Indian would be gradually and permanently advanced in the scale of civil society; his migratory habits, and fondness for roaming, would be cured; and an interesting class of our fellow men rescued from degradation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE IMPROVEMENTS EFFECTED BY THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

AT various periods of time, there have been attempts made to introduce Christianity among the Indians, with more or less success. The namess of Elliot, Mahew, and Brainerd stand distinguished among their benefactors. The perusal of the biography of these worthy and apostolic men cannot fail to afford pleasure to a pious mind. From these I will give only a few particulars.

In New England, soon after its settlement, efforts were made to promulgate the Gospel among the aborigines of the country. In 1646, the general Court of Massachusetts passed an Act, to encourage these measures. On the recommendation of that Act, the ministers assembled to consult on the best means for their conversion; and Mr John Elliot, afterwards, from his labours and success, called the Apostle of the Indians, was chosen to undertake the first Mission. Many were converted. The Indians built towns, and adopted a form of civil government recommended by him. He completed a translation of the Bible in the Indian language in 1663, which was published. There were two editions issued from the press. Towards meeting the expenses of those editions, and of the missions generally, the Hon. R. Boyle gave £500. The venerable Elliot died in 1690, at the age of 86.

In the year 1650 the Rev. Thomas Mahew commenced his labours on the island of Martha's Vineyard. The whole island gradually embraced Christianity; and, after some time, adopted the English manners and customs in the management of their various occupations. In 1792, there were within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts fourteen towns of praying Indians, numbering 1100 individuals; and in New England, a total of about 3997. After the death of Thomas, his father, the Governor of Martha's Vineyard, from deep concern for the Indians' welfare, and seeing no probability of a regular minister to succeed his son, applied himself to the acquirement of the Indian language, and preached to them with success. He laboured among them until the 93d year of his age. His grandson, Mr. John Mahew, was associated with him—who laboured among them about sixteen years, and died in 1689. The Rev. Experience Mahew, the son of John, succeeded him in the work, and continued in it about thirty-two years.

In 1712, an unsuccessful mission was commenced among the Mohawks, by the Rev. Mr. Andrews. In 1736, ninety years after Elliot, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley went on a mission to Georgia, with a view of evangelizing the Cherokee Indians. In 1744, eight years after the Wesleys, the pious, devoted, and successful David Brainerd was ordained a Missionary. His labours and fruit are well known. Subsequently, Christianity was nearly destroyed from among them. The revolutionary war, together with wars among themselves, and the vice of intoxication, their besetting sin, acted unfavourably to their prosperity.

In 1744, the same year as Brainerd commenced his mission, the Moravians sent Missionaries to the North American Indians in the colonies—which exist to the present day. In later years, other bodies of Christians have sent missionaries to various tribes of Indians, in different parts of the United States and Canada. But I shall principally confine my remarks to the operations of the Methodists.

In 1816, the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States commenced their first Indian Mission among the Wyandots of Sandusky, in the state of Ohio. The honoured instrument employed by God in effecting this great, good work was John Stewart, a man of colour. Having himself experienced true religion, he felt deeply impressed that it was his duty to call sinners to repentance. His mind was directed towards the north-west. He set out accordingly, and travelled through the untracked wilderness until he arrived at Pipetown, on Sandusky river, the residence of a tribe of the Delaware Indians. After having continued there a few days, he proceeded further toward Upper Sandusky, to a settlement of the Wyandots, and found a person named Jonathan Pointer, also a coloured man, taken captive by the Indians in his youth, and who spoke their language with facility. Jonathan acted as his interpreter. Stewart laboured on, and was rendered a blessing: many were converted. The Rev. James B. Finley visited them in 1819, and in 1821 was appointed their missionary; and in 1824, the number of the members of the church was 260. Some other missions were subsequently formed and carried on by the Methodists in the United States among the Creeks, Cherokees, Pahtawatomies, Oneidas, Shawnees, and other tribes. These labours have been attended with great and growing effects. The Rev. Messrs. Lee and others, have still more recently crossed the Rocky Mountains, and, with fair prospects, have commenced a mission in the Oregon territory.

A mission in connexion with the Church of England at the Red River settlement, was originated in 1820 at the suggestion of the Rev. John West, chaplain of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. West observes, "There are a great many willows to be cut down, and roots to remove, as an Indian chief said to me, when he welcomed me to the country, before the path will be clear to walk in. The axe, however, is laid to the root of the tree, in the establishment of schools, as the means of instruction, and of diffusing Christian know-

ledge in the moral wilderness; and we may triumph in the hope that numbers will arise to enjoy what they are capable of feeling—the endearment of social life, as well as of moral and of religious elevation." In a subsequent letter he remarks, "I must confess that I am anxious to see the first little Christian church and steeple of wood rising among the wilds, and to hear the sound of the first sabbath bell which has tolled here since the creation." This was afterwards accomplished, and he observes, "From the beginning of March till about the middle of June, the congregation consisted, on an average, of from 100 to 130 persons, and a school of generally 40 or 50 scholars, including some Indian women married to Europeans.

The Methodist Missions among the Indians of Upper Canada were first regularly established by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The first attempt was made among the Mohawks and the Six Nations, settled on the Grand River, at whose head was Colonel Brandt. In the year 1822, the Rev. Alvin Torry was appointed to the work, and the Reverend and Venerable W. Case soon joined him. I have heard Mr. Case state that he was present at the conversion, among the Methodists, of the first Indian in Upper Canada. Mr. Case has lived to see the work assume such a degree of extent and stability, he could never have previously anticipated; and is still zealously and usefully employed in promoting their temporal and spiritual welfare. What an honour to be a father in Christ to a distinct church, and race of people! An honour in competition for which a king might cast away his crown, and a monarch descend from his throne!

In 1823, many of the Mohawks embraced religion. Peter Jones, an Ochipwa, at that time residing there, was converted soon afterwards. Some Ochipwas, who usually lived about the shores of Lake Ontario, between Toronto and Hamilton, and on the banks of various rivers falling into it, occasionally visiting the Grand River, were also converted, in the year 1825.

Among these were Joseph Sawyer, the old chief of the Credit Indians, his son David, and several others; who have been faithful members of the church. These afterwards with their tribe settled on the River Credit, where a Missionary was settled with them, and amongst whom the work of religion spread.

In 1824, the Rev. James B. Finley came over to the Wyandot Reserve in the Township of Malden, near Amherstburgh—preached a few times, and joined some of the natives in society. They continued together, receiving occasional visits from the preachers who happened to come in their way; when, in 1834, the writer of these remarks was appointed, in connexion with the neighborhood, their regular Missionary. The writer found, with the exception of two or three, that they had but little experimental religion among them, but most of them improved in this respect, and several died in the faith.

The missions at the Credit, and at Muncey-town, were commenced in 1825. Muncey-town is on the River Thames, about 24 miles from the town of London, and the Reserve is settled by Delawares and Ochipwas.

In March, 1825, the Indians about Belville, afterwards settled at Grape Island, and now at Alderville on Rice Lake, were visited by Mr Case, assisted by P. Jones and W. Beaver, as interpreters. John Sunday, now a Missionary at Rice Lake, and Peter Jacobs, now a Missionary in the Hudson Bay Territory, were among the early converts, who since that time have rendered themselves very useful. Their talents are very superior, and they are very efficient speakers, especially when they address their own people in their native language.

The Lake Simcoe Mission was commenced in 1827. In 1828 a mission was commenced on the borders of Rice Lake, Mud Lake and Schoogog Lake. The Cold Water and Saugeeng missions were also established soon after the last date.

The Saugeengs, like most of their brethren, were utterly wild and Pagan. They led a wandering life, being acquainted with neither letters, agriculture, nor the arts of civilized life. They first heard the name of Jesus Christ, from Thomas Magee and John Thomas, two native speakers, in 1828. When P. Jones visited them in 1829, they requested a school for their children; after this they became so desirous to learn that they enquired of all strangers, if they would teach them. Thomas Big-Canoe said, "I have been to the River Credit, and have learned some of the white man's marks." These he sketched as well as he was able on the bark for the children to learn. A school-teacher, with a native speaker, were sent to them. Afterwards Mr. T. Hurlburt was appointed teacher, who was subsequently ordained their missionary. In 1838, Wm. Herkimer and John Elliot, both natives, were appointed, one as assistant missionary, and the other as school-teacher, for which office he was well qualified, having studied at a seminary of high respectability in the United States. Now the Indians at that station can read and write; attend to the cultivation of their land; and, more than all, have embraced, experienced, and bring forth the fruits of Christianity.

In 1832, a mission was established at St. Clair. His Excellency Sir John Colborne being anxious to promote their temporal and spiritual interests, applied to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London for a missionary for that place. The Rev. Thomas Turner was appointed. His Excellency assisted them in clearing their land, and in the erection of habitations. Mr. Turner laboured two years among them with great faithfulness and zeal; and was the instrument of preparing the way of the Gospel. Their habits of intoxication were a great impediment. The Rev. James Evans succeeded Mr. Turner, and after some time, the seed sown by his predecessor and himself, sprung up, and many were converted. The work of conversion went on under his successors, the Rev. J. Douse and

the Rev. W. Scott. This is now one of the most important and efficient missions in Canada. In the year 1842, under the superintendance of Mr. Scott, some of the excellent exhorters and prayer-leaders of that station visited a tribe of Pagan Indians in Michigan 50 miles from St. Clair, who had expressed a desire to hear the Gospel. By the labours of these useful men, they were so far convinced of the truth, as to renounce their idols and medicine bags, and commenced earnestly to seek the Lord: and sent an earnest request that the missionary would visit them. Mr. S. attended to that request, instructed them in the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion, and preached the first sermon they had ever heard, from 1st Timothy. ii. 5, 6. After continuing several days, explaining Christian duties, experience, and privileges; and praying with and for them; he received into the church about 50 adults and 33 children. Mr. S. laid their case before the Michigan Conference, which resulted in the establishment of a Mission and a school, and the appointment of a clever native teacher, as missionary and superintendent of the school. This occurrence, it is thought, will lead to the conversion of other tribes situated in those parts.

In the year 1839, under the patronage of the Hon. the Hudson Bay Company, a mission was commenced in their Territories: a vast tract of country, over which there are roving a large body of Indians. The Rev. Jas. Evans had made a tour very extensively in that region two years previously, in order to ascertain what openings for the establishment of a mission would be presented, and received much encouragement from the officers of the Hon. Company; and which finally resulted in their application to the Committee in London for missionaries. In consequence of this application, the Rev. Messrs. James Evans, T. Hurlburt, and P. Jacobs, were appointed as missionaries, and Mr. H. Steinhaur as schoolmaster and interpreter; together with three young men from England. The Rev. Messrs W. Mason, G. Barnley, and R. F. Rundle,

from England, were appointed to the important charge. The missionaries from England arrived in 1840. God has blessed the effort with success. A few are truly converted to God, and many are enlightened, and enquiring the way to Zion. I will give a few extracts from letters sent by the missionaries.

The Rev. T. Hurlburt, under date of "Pic, North shore of Lake Superior, Jan. 6th, 1840," writes, "The prospects for missionary operations throughout the whole of this extensive region are very good. The way is smoothed and prepared, so that the missionary need not undergo any special hardships; and a very extensive desire prevails for hearing the Gospel, so that the work of instruction may be immediately entered upon, without the tedious process of combatting deep-rooted prejudices. I have the names of *thirty places*, where, I am informed upon good authority, missions might be immediately commenced. The huge mountains of danger, suffering, and privation, as seen through the mists of distance, all vanish upon near approach; the Hudson Bay Company affording every assistance that could be devised.

"Let it not be thought that this wilderness affords no resources of enjoyment—there are many. Here we find many things that are new—some beautiful, and others grand and sublime. With a mind properly constituted, there are inexhaustible stores of enjoyment and profit. Were I a geologist, I might run mad, and break my neck under some crag or precipice. A philologist here could open a rich vein, and speculate upon the formation and change of language, now affected by accidental circumstances, and by country and climate. Among other things might be mentioned, besides, that which most of all must interest the missionary—the seeing a whole people shaking off the slumbers of thousands of years, and casting their idols to the moles and bats."

Peter Jacobs, after expressing his confidence in the God of Joshua, who caused the walls of Jericho to fall down, gives some extracts from his journal:

"1839, Sept. 15.—Sunday morning, after breakfast, I and the Interpreter of this place, went up to the Lake to see some of these Indians that were camped there; and when we got there we went into a large tent to sit down; and after a few minutes they gave us some rice to eat. After this I gave the chief some tobacco, and when they began to smoke their pipe, I began to talk with them as I sat down, and told them how God made men and women at first, and told them to be very good and keep his words whatever he said to them; but they did not keep his words good, they disobeyed his words, and by so doing they sinned, &c. &c. Then God promised them his Son, that should die for them, &c. From these two persons all the nations of this world spring; and thus there is but one God that made all men, and all things of this world. And after a long time we people get so very wicked that God destroyed all of them by water, and only saved Noah and his family; and from these again sprung all the families of the earth. And after a long time God gave a law by Moses to the children of Israel, and this law is now written in this book, which I have in my hand now, called the Holy Bible. This is what has made the white man so wise and good, and powerful and rich. But God did more than this for the people of this world, for he gave them his only Son to teach them the right way to serve God, and he teach them the way to heaven. When all break his law and must die forever, then He die on the cross in man's stead for all men, and say, that 'Whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life,' &c. And that if you the chief, and your young men would serve God in the way that his Son had told us to serve him, you may all be wise and good and happy like the good white man. You will be happy in this life, but much more happy in the world to come, &c. &c. After I had got done, the chief said, 'I believe all you say about this God to be such as you spoke of him; and it is the same God that I and my family and and all my young men have been serving for this few

years. And I am very glad to hear you speak of this God, for I know that there is no other God on earth or in all the world, but the God that you serve—the God of heaven. I am determined to serve the same God, (in his way,) but I must not speak much of this God today, for my camp is not very clean to speak much of this clean God. But if you wish to see the way I worship this great God, you can come, (on the 18th of this month.) I have to say that it is believed by all the Indians that this man will be the first one that will embrace the Christian religion. What I have seen and heard of this man, I should call him half a Christian, for he knows the nature of the true God better than good many of the other Indians, and he also thinks that the dead do go to heaven, (the good.)'

Wednesday the 18th, he describes the worship the chief refers to above. The temple was 60 feet long, and 30 feet wide, made of bark, all painted of many colours. There were about 80 men and women present, and they had eight drums and other music; and when they drum and sing, all the men and women dance. Before they begin, the Medai, or conjurers, deliver speeches, about the true God, or other gods. Afterwards they feast all day. The chief said, "I will at this time take the drum, to drum, to sing, or to pray; but I begin to look at one side; I see the missionaries are come to tell us of another way of worshiping the Great Spirit. I therefore will tell you, my brothers, that I know not but this will be the last time of joining with you in this way of worshipping, for I think a great deal of what they say to me; but I do not say I am become a Christian, but only I think about it."

Mr. Evans was stationed at Norway-house; but not having arrived from Canada, whither, after his tour, he had returned for his family, Mr. Rundle, who was stationed at Edmonton, near the Rocky Mountains, officiated for him until his arrival. There have been communications from Mr. R. published, from which I extract a few particulars:

"Sunday, Jan. 14.—I addressed the Indians for the first time through the medium of an interpreter. Great was the attention they manifested, whilst I unfolded to them the plan of redeeming love. About 100 Indians and half-casts were present. After the service, I baptised a native infant which was sick, and whose father told me, that he was very desirious of being instructed in the Christian religion. In the evening I went with the Interpreter across the river, to meet the Indians in their own village. I believe nearly every grown-up person in the place was present; and I think their attention exceeded that in the afternoon. I spoke to them more fully on the nature of salvation; and never shall I forget the events of that evening.—After service three adult candidates presented themselves for baptism. But as I wished them to be farther instructed in the things of God, I declined complying with their request for a season.

"June 28.—Three adults presented themselves for baptism; but as I wished first to examine them privately, and to make them better acquainted with the nature and the design of this sacrament, I deferred its administration until some future period.

"July 2.—I met today with some Indians belonging to Nelson River, one of the stations belonging to this district. They were delighted at the thoughts of my visiting them. But how can I visit them? Cumberland attracts one way, and Nelson River the other. 'The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few.'

"16.—Today, an old Indian, named Wirch-e-ern, about seventy five-years of age, called on me, to be instructed in the Christian religion. I found on conversing with him, that he had been wrought upon by the Spirit of God, the *first* time I visited the village."

17.—He relates the particulars of a very interesting meeting. The people were very much affected. One woman in particular wept. She said that her distress had been so great of late, as to prevent her

taking rest by night, unless when her fancy brought before her view a Bible, on which she rested her eyes, and so soothed her tempest-tossed spirit. She soon afterwards found mercy, and was baptised by the name of Flora Wesley.

"Sunday, 19th.—What a memorable day has this been! Surely the Lord is with me! This morning I preached at the Fort, on "the new and living way." In the afternoon and evening, I held Indian services, and particularly addressed the seekers of salvation. In the evening we had a most interesting service. I thought several present were affected; and I invited those that were so to come forward, in order that I might give them some advice. Immediately eight persons came near me; and their expressions of penitential sorrow reminded me forcibly of bygone days in England. Shortly after, the number of penitents was increased to twelve. I talked with them about the great love and power of Christ, and exhorted them all to come to Him to be saved. Surely the wilderness is blossoming like the rose!

"21st.—The penitents this evening presented a most interesting group. Little did I imagine, whilst crossing the Atlantic in April last, that I should be called upon to address a group of penitents in the 'wilderness of the far west,' before the termination of July.

"24th.—Among the penitents tonight, I observed an old man of about seventy-five; another man about forty; and a young man about twelve. Thus the Gospel triumphs.

"August 9th.—This mission is increasing in interest. The Indians now come from a distance to hear the word of life.

"17th.—Mr. Evans has arrived. I have already traversed upwards of three thousand miles of the American continent, and I have now a journey of about one thousand to perform before I reach Edmonton-House. This mission is daily increasing in interest and importance."

Under date of Moose Factory, August 24th, 1840, Mr. Barnley gives some interesting particulars concerning his journies, services with the Indians, and his mode of teaching. The Indians were deeply interested, and many of them seriously impressed. Mr. B. had established an interesting school.

The Rev. James Evans has travelled extensively, and visited many parts of the extensive Territory. He has constructed a syllabic alphabet, made a fount of Indian type, and a press, and printed a considerable portion of sheets.

There is one singular fact, which ought to be noticed, viz: it appears that the Indians in every part of North America, are willing and anxious to receive the Gospel. This Macedonian cry is a sure indication of Divine Providence that it is our duty to visit them—that they have a first claim upon our attention. I have already made some remarks on the means by which the Gospel spreads from one tribe to another, when describing the wampum. Every intelligent observer must be remarkably struck with the concurrence of Divine Providence in missionary enterprise. And if indeed it is a work in accordance with the will of God, we may expect his providence will work with his grace. Numerous instances will immediately occur to the reader's mind, in connection with every effort of this kind, in every part of the world. Such interferences of Providence cannot fail to be pleasing and consolatory to all who wish the prosperity of Zion, and the enlargement of her borders. Other interesting instances I will insert here.

When Mr. Walker was, with some other Indians, on a tour as a deputation from the Wyandots at Sandusky, to inspect the Indian Territory, he called, on business, at St. Louis, upon General Clarke, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. General Clarke informed him that four chiefs from the Flat-Head Nation had visited him from the west of the Rocky Mountains—who had proceeded thither on foot, a distance of three thousand miles, to enquire concerning the Christian

religion. It appeared that some white man had penetrated into their country, and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously perform at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the Supreme Being was radically wrong, and was displeasing to him. He further informed them that the white people, who lived towards the rising of the sun, has been put in possession of the true mode of performing it. That they had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy his favour; and with this guide no one need go astray, but that, following these directions, would enjoy his favour in this life, and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides, and live with him forever.

Upon receiving this information, they called a national council, to take this object into consideration. Some said, if this be true, it is high time we were put into possession of this mode; and if our mode of worshipping be wrong, it is time we laid it aside. We must know something more about this: it is a matter that cannot be put off, the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly sent to General Clarke to enquire of him, having no doubt he would tell them the whole truth about it. General Clarke informed them, the white man had told them the truth—related to them the history of man, and of redemption—and explained to them the moral precepts contained in the Bible—and that Christ would judge the world at the last day. Two of these chiefs died at St. Louis; and the remaining two, though somewhat indisposed, set out for their native land. Whether they reached home or not, is not known.

Intelligence of our missionary operations spreads in this manner, and excites in the breasts of the hearers desires to become acquainted with Christianity. While the Rev. G. Marsden was on a visit to the Credit mission, an occurrence took place of a somewhat singular character. Mr. M. thus describes the incident.*

* Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1824. p. 136.

"On Saturday morning Mr. Stinson and I were walking through the village, and we saw a company of Indians just mounting on horseback. Their chief, rather an aged person, was curiously dressed—having round his head what appeared to be a rim of silver, surmounted by feathers, and some feathers hanging down his back. On his breast was a silver plate or medal, and many feathers round it; the other parts of his dress completely Indian. Several Indians, male and female, on horseback, accompanied him. One young woman, apparently about seventeen years of age, of an open good countenance, was still on foot, but going to mount on horseback; and though I thought it very doubtful whether she would understand any thing of the English language, I went to her, and enquired who the party of Indians were who were leaving the village. To my surprise, she spoke in good English—that they had been to the Governor at York, (Toronto,) expecting to receive some presents; but from some cause, (I think it was the absence of the agent,) they had been disappointed, and were returning to their own tribe; that having heard of the Credit village, they were desirous of seeing it, and for that purpose had returned that way. She then said, that, on the preceding evening, she had been at the meeting at the chapel, and was desirous to attend the meeting which was to be held this morning; but the party would not wait for her. I then asked her if she could read; to which she answered in the affirmative; and having a few tracts with me, I gave her some of them: which she received with pleasure, promising that they should be read to her people; and she then pursued her journey."

A pleasing incident of this nature occurred while I was at the Credit. It is narrated in my journal as follows:—"Dec. 26, 1836. The Credit mission is in some degree a centre of attraction; and Indians from a distance come here to enquire concerning the Christian religion. There have just left us *five* pagan Indians, who have travelled hither on foot from Natawasauga

Bay, a distance of more than one hundred miles, with this special object in view; and also, in hope of procuring a few little books, especially an Indian hymn-book, a few slates, and pencils. These Indians had formerly, from an Indian trader who visited their country, learned to read a little, and to write on slates. About two years ago they undertook a journey to Cold-water, in hope of finding a missionary, from whom they might get some instruction; but, unfortunately, at that time there was not one there. The Christian Indians at that place taught them to sing our hymns, and to pray to the Great Spirit. These things they have practised from that time among themselves. To my surprise, they could sing almost every hymn in the Indian hymn-book; and when I and my interpreter were praying with them before their departure, one of them also prayed very fluently. I spent many hours in giving them instruction. I asked them if they knew the Great Book, or any thing of the Great Spirit; and if they ever prayed to him. They said they did not know the Great Book; they prayed a little to the Great Spirit, but had no one to teach them; and that their object in coming to the Credit was to learn these things. I introduced a family bible in 4to; they viewed it with great veneration; and Mrs. Slight taking it on her lap, they surrounded her on their knees. Mrs. S. showed them the word 'God,' and told them that was the name of the Great Spirit, in our language. They appeared pleased with it, and quickly turned over the pages, and pointed out the word wherever it occurred, with the remark, 'God again.' They seemed never tired with listening, and bestowed the most intense attention for hours together, asking various questions on subjects concerning which they wished to enquire. Among other enquiries, they seemed anxious to know what the Indians pray for—how public worship is conducted—and what Gospel meant. I endeavoured to satisfy them on these points, and told them we should have worship in a day or two. The first opportunity for attending Divine worship was on Christmas-day.

I had told them it was the day set apart in memory of the birth of Jesus Christ. They were all present, for the first time they had ever seen worship regularly conducted by a Christian minister. At parting, we gave them what little books we had in Ochipwa, with a few slates and pencils. They expressed great thankfulness for these presents, and for the instruction they had received; and were very sorry at having to leave us. They said, 'We go away, and see no more missionary;' adding, 'We come again and see missionary.'"

In February, 1841, when we had removed to Guelph, an Indian whom I did not recognize called upon us, to sell some baskets. He appeared to recognize us, smiled and said, "You remember me?"—"Credit." (He invariably pronounced the *l* for *r*.) He was one of the abovementioned party. When we understood who he was he seemed highly pleased. When asked by Mrs. Slight, "Do you still pray to the Great Spirit?" he replied, "Oh, yes—me pleach." "Indeed! how long is it since you began to preach?" "Four years." "Why, then, you began soon after you left the Credit." The poor simple-hearted creatures followed the good way as *far* as they knew it, and as *soon* as they knew it; and diligently communicated all they had learnt to their brethren. He further told us,—"We prayer-meetings in camp—Eramossa," (an adjoining township, where they had encamped for the purpose of making and selling baskets.) Then holding up his fingers, he touched each with the forefinger of his other hand, and said, "Monday night prayer-meeting;" and proceeded through the days of the week, until he came to Sunday—"and Sunday," said he, his countenance lighting up with animation—"prayer-meeting all the day. Great Spirit come down in our hearts—warm it—make it happy all over—(moving his hand over his bosom.)—Squaw Indian get very happy—big tear run down cheek of Squaw Indian, and then Squaw Indian fall down." After exhorting him to be faithful, we parted, thankful that still fruit remains of our humble endeavours to impart to them the knowledge of Christ.

Having given as brief an account as I could of the various efforts to benefit this interesting class of men, especially so far as the Methodists have been concerned in them; I must now proceed to examine the benefits the Indians have realized by the introduction of Christianity among them. To any Christian philanthropist, it must be interesting to contemplate the blessings Christianity confers upon any heretofore pagan people. The difference between the pagan and Christian Indian is very striking, and only fully appreciated by such persons as have duly contemplated the appearance, manners, and domestic comforts of both classes. Leaving religion out of the question, and considering the Christian Indian in reference to temporal matters only; it would appear that they have repaid all the expense, labour, and pains bestowed upon them. But many of them are also truly pious and devoted Christians.

The Gospel is suited and adapted to man; and wherever there is a man there is a Saviour, no matter what circumstances may be attached to his condition. It is rather too late in the day to echo the outcry which used to be made concerning the hopelessness of attempts to evangelize the heathen. The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation wherever it is faithfully and fully preached, and whenever cordially believed and received; and so many are the triumphant proofs of its power actually realized in the salvation and elevation of savage Indians, that it would require a greater degree of effrontery than is generally possessed, to reiterate the assertion. The Negroes, the Hottentots, and, lately, the North American Indians, have been excepted by men, who are wise above what is written. But, happily, we can make our appeal to *facts*, and to facts selected from different portions of the family of man, so as to form a wide induction, and from which a solid conclusion may be drawn. The eloquent Watson said, when he contemplated the rising state of the spiritual temple,—"It is a joyful sight, as it opens the gate of the most splendid and delightful hopes. What light breaks upon the gloom of ages, and the gloom of

millions! What sweet and refreshing verdure springs up in the desert! What sounds of praise fall upon our ears from Negro huts and Indian cottages; the hum of schools, where heathen children read of Christ; the happy families that have been created by Christian truth and renewing grace; the eye of age lighted up with celestial scenes; the bed of death made soft with hope! 'Where?' say you? Wherever you have made the attempt."

In the face of all this evidence and unvarying experience, Sir F. B. Head had the hardihood to come forward, and make assertions highly derogatory to Missionary operations. "The men," he says, "having lost their hardihood, perish, or rather rot in numbers by consumption; while, as it regards the women, it is impossible for any accurate observer to refrain from remarking, that civilization, in spite of the pure, honest, and unremitting zeal of our Missionaries, by some *accursed process*, has *blanched their babies' faces;* in short, our philanthropy, like our friendship, has failed in its professions. Producing deaths by consumption, it has more than decimated its followers; and under the pretence of eradicating from the female heart the errors of a Pagan's creed, it has implanted in their stead the germs of Christian guilt.

"What is the reason of all this?—Why the simple virtues of the Red Aborigines of America should, under all circumstances, fade before the vice and cruelty of the old world, is a problem which no one among us is competent to solve—the dispensation is as mysterious as its object is inscrutable. I have merely mentioned the facts, *because I feel that before the subject of the Indians in Upper Canada can be fairly considered, it is necesary to refute the idea which generally exists in England, about the success which has attended the Christianizing and civilizing of the Indians.* Whereas, I firmly believe every person of sound mind in this country, who is *disinterested* in their conversion, and who is acquainted with the Indian character, will agree,—

"1. That an attempt to make farmers of the Red men, has been, generally speaking, a *complete failure.*

"2. That congregating them for the purpose of civilization has implanted more vices than it has eradicated; and, consequently,

"3. That the greatest kindness we can perform towards these intelligent, simple-minded people, is to remove and fortify them, as much as possible, from all communication with the Whites."

This is a daring blow at all missionary operations. While Sir Francis appears to yield some meed of praise to the missionaries, he boldly intimates, that the "errors of a Pagan's creed," and the "simple virtues" of a drunken, cruel, barbarous, savage people, are superior to the blessings of Christianity; and the still bolder assertion that the idea of success having attended the efforts to Christianize and civilize the Indians is refutable, and that more vices have been implanted thereby than eradicated. Whereas, there is no proof attempted for all this, only a *belief* expressed that all *disinterested* persons of *sound mind*, will agree with him. Now I happen to know, that there are many persons not at all biased, and who might make some pretensions to sanity, who will *not* agree to the assertion. I for one, at the risk of having these imputations applied, and the addition of want of *accurracy of observation*, will not shrink from coming forward to *disagree.*

If these assertions are facts, then they falsify all our statements and nullify all our efforts. We must cease at once all our operations, and we can never more, either on a platform or in a report, state that good has been effected. No facts are mentioned; but we *have* facts to offer counter to the assertion.

I have already considered the last of these propositions, which Sir F. has deduced from his previous remarks, in a former chapter. This is the result at which His Excellency aimed all his statements. The intention of his Excellency was to form a pretext to banish the poor Indians from their lands, their improvements, and their comfo table homes. But I think I have suf-

ficiently demonstrated that it would not be the greatest kindness which we can perform towards them; but an absolute and glaring evil, and injustice!

If the premises Sir Francis has laid down were true, still his conclusion would not follow as a matter of course. The conclusion ought to be: endeavour to find out the reasons why these attempts do not produce the desired end; and having discovered the cause, remove it, that the effects may cease. But mine will not be a hard task to prove, that the premises themselves are *false*. This is the task which now devolves upon me.

Lord Glenelg, himself a pious Christian, and for many years the warm friend of Christianizing the world —to whom, as Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, the Despatches were addressed—was better instructed, and better disposed, than to credit all these assertions; and, therefore, thus rebukes Sir Francis: "I should most reluctantly yield to the conviction, that, in the prosecution of the object, we must abandon the hope of imparting to the Indian the blessings of Christianity, on the ground, that those blessings were necessarily more than counterbalanced by the evils with which they have been unhappily associated. I shall rather be disposed to attribute those evils to the counteracting tendency, which, under unfavourable circumstances, ordinary intercourse with white men has had on the instruction and example of Christian teachers, than to any inherent inaptitude in the Indians for the reception of a religion, in itself peculiarly qualified to elevate and raise the standard of morality."

Let us consider,

1. Their industry, and, consequently, the increase of the comforts of life, and their elevation in society, are promoted by their instruction in Christianity. Their capability and willingness to cultivate the soil, has in these Despatches, been denied; yea, the contrary has been taken for self-evident:—"The attempt," it is affirmed, "to make farmers" of them, is in general a complete failure—"it is against his nature to cultivate the soil." I grant it is against his habits; but a ha-

bit for such an employment may be—has been acquired. Every one must believe, that it is a difficult matter, and must be a work of time, to take a wandering savage, and to bring him to such a state as to possess all the diligence, regularity, and application necessary to be a successful farmer. And we do not blush to say, that the Indians are not, in this respect, every thing we could desire. Those who are acquainted with history well know the great difficulties which always have attended the bringing of roving tribes to the condition of settled husbandmen. Gibbon affords abundant evidence to substantiate this remark. He states, that the highly-cultivated lands of Europe, which were overrun by the barbarians, were suffered to become wastes. And let it be remembered, that the Indians, when *first* emerging from a state of barbarism, *have forests to subdue;* but this, to a certain degree, they acomplish. We do, however, without fear of reasonable contradiction, say, they, as a body, are gradually and regularly *advancing* to such habits, and to a respectable standing in society.

The Credit Indians had nearly nine hundred acres enclosed for pasturage and tillage. The whole Reserve is, I am informed, three thousand acres in extent. This, therefore, forms nearly one-third of the whole Reserve—which is as much, or more, than the major part of the settlers in a new country have cleared, in the same number of years. Each man has fifty acres allotted him. There is scarcely one who has not some improvements on his lot. Chief Sawyer said, the young men have been a little backward for the last year and a half, in consequence of the discouragements they have received. They did not feel a wish to improve lands from which they might be immediately removed, and in which in fact they had no permanent possession. They raise grain of all kinds, hay, potatoes, and other roots, apples, and vegetables. They also raise pork and beef, have milk and butter. They possess cattle, horses, and pigs. They own two public stores, in which they receive produce and goods as

forwarding merchants—two saw mills, one blacksmith's shop, one carpenter's shop. They are the proprietors of two-thirds of the shares in the Credit Harbour Company. They had built eight or nine barns, and twenty-four or twenty-five houses, since Government commenced their settlement at the Credit village. The village had been improved in appearance, having boarded the side-walks through the village. There were a few idle, worthless men; but for the most part, I can testify that they were very industrious, for, in addition to their agricultural produce, most of the men will make from eighty to one hundred and fifty dollars per annum by hunting and fishing. Some were engaged in the lumber business, and cutting firewood for sale. From the review, I think we may warrant the conclusion, that, with due encouragement, the Indians would soon become respectable and wealthy members of civil society.

They enjoy domestic comforts, and the blessings of social and civilised life. To contemplate the poor wandering Indian, without home, house, (excepting the wretched wiggewaum, consisting of a few poles and a little bark placed around them,) without means of subsistence, except what he can casually acquire by the chase, and sometimes, after several days fruitless toil, returning home without a supply to their famishing families, and being driven frequently to pick up mere carrion and to devour it as subsistence; and now to see the contrast; the Indian, with his wife and family, in a comfortable cottage, with decent furniture and comfortable provisions in his cellar, barn, &c., must afford conviction to every unprejudiced, *sound* mind. The following entry in my journal will substantiate this observation:—"Oct. 12, 1836—In the course of visiting from house to house, I was much struck and highly gratified on coming to the house of Bunch Sunnegoo. There are but few white people in the middling stations of life that have houses so neat, clean, comfortable, and respectable as this house is." The excellent wife of this individual is elsewhere

mentioned as distinguished for her superior piety. I remember once especially having been forcibly struck with this contrast. On a tour with the Rev. J. Stinson, in approaching Muncy Town, we came up to a wretched, filthy, and destitute wiggewaum, and some of the half naked and filthy occupiers were outside. On enquiry, I learnt the owner was a Pagan. Casting my eye forward, at some distance I espied a very neat and even handsome cottage, and learnt it belonged to one of our pious Christian Indians. I felt deeply impressed; I could not help exclaiming to my companion, "Here, Sir, is Paganism—and there is Christianity." The artist has caught the same idea. On the portrait of Peter Jones, in the Wesleyan Magazine for June, 1833, we have the same representation made to our visual organ. Many of the Indians are really respectable people; and I have elsewhere remarked, that many of them have cultivated their talents to a respectable degree. Indeed, the improvement of the Indians in these respects is a matter of notoriety. I have conversed with numbers of respectable and intelligent individuals, who have lived contiguous to the Credit Indians, and who have marked them before and after their conversion, who have testified, in the most unequivocal terms, of the very great difference there is in their present state, compared with their past. This has been expressed with marked emotions of astonishment and admiration. Soon after I commenced preaching to the Indians near Amherstburgh, an old man was present at one of our meetings, who was originally from England. He was taken prisoner by the Indians when a boy, attending Sir W. Crawford's army, and has resided with the Indians ever since. He married an Indian, and has a daughter, a fine looking woman, married to an half-cast, who has an interesting family. The man seemed much affected; and, at the close of the service, shook me heartily by the hand, being particularly glad to see me so recently from England. He expressed himself heartily glad to see the poor Indians so employed, and said,—"Oh Sir! I

am glad to see these people listen to the truths of the Gospel. I have been with them for sixty years, long before any white man showed his face here: and then Sir, they were a lost people. I hope they will continue to listen to the same great truths." One of our coloured members, who resided at Amherstburgh, called upon a poor old white man, who occupied a house upon the Indian Reserve. Upon his introducing the subject of religion the old man observed,—"These Methodists are the finest people in the world. Look only at the Indians. Formerly, they were the most abandoned people in the world; but since the Methodists have preached among them, they have become like white men—they are civilized, moralized, and Christianized." In the place of these two testimonies, I might have introduced numerous others from persons in *all* ranks of life; but I have chosen these from persons whose interests seem incorporated in theirs, and who had marked every progressive change.

One proof of the benefits they have realized by Christianity, is the elevation of their women in social life. "Experience has proved (says a popular historian) that savages are the tyrants of the female sex, and that the condition of women is usually softened by the refinements of social life." The Rev. R. Watson, when treating on the actual effects produced by Christianity upon society, observes,—"It has put an end to polygamy and divorce; and by the institution of marriage in an indissoluble bond, has given birth to a felicity and sanction in the domestic circle which it never before knew. It has exalted the condition and character of women; and by that means, has humanized man, given refinement and delicacy to society, and created a new and important affection in the human breast—the love of woman founded on esteem: an affection generally unknown to Heathens the most refined."—(Works, vol. ix. p. 323.) The condition of females among the Indians in their savage state, is truly deplorable. They are merely beasts of burden, and are beaten and abused worse than such animals usually

are. But now, you will see as much tenderness, affection, and consideration paid to them, as you will usually see among civilized men. The Christian females at our Mission stations are very gratefully sensible of all this; and will frequently, in their prayers, with tears acknowledge it before God; and it is very remarkable that our Christian females are more faithful to their profession, and more diligent in the means of grace, than the males; although, in their pagan state, they were as much, and perhaps more, addicted to dissipation than the males.

2. It is asserted that the state of their *health* suffers in consequence of their civilization—that having lost their hardihood, they perish, or rather *rot*, in numbers, by consumption. It is necessary to enquire,—Is this overstated? Does their more civilized condition induce and increase these disorders? There are some diseases to which the Indians are particularly liable. All inflammatory disorders are very fatal to them.—The small-pox is a dreadful scourge. Formerly it carried off multitudes wherever it attacked them—yea, sometimes whole tribes are swept away by its ravages. The same may be said of other inflammatory diseases. The small-pox made an inroad among the Indians at the Credit. But by the faithful attendance and regulations of their medical advisers, and our own supervision, the disease was much mitigated, and several recovered. The doctors vaccinated the children, and the disease, in its worst form, spread among but few. Formerly, when the Indians were taken with this disease, it was considered a hopeless case; but not so now. The following extract from the Memoir of Dr. Walsh, will confirm the above statements:—"The small-pox is one of those awful scourges that afflict the Indian tribes, and is more fatal in sweeping away the population, than all their exterminating wars among each other." Of this he has recorded a most affecting incident, communicated to him by an eye-witness:—"A distant tribe, in alliance with the Ochipwas, had been in a flourishing state, when it was first attacked by this

awful pest. In vain their priests, prophets, and physicians attempted to arrest its progress—they themselves became its victims. The survivors shifted their encampments from place to place; the inexorable pestilence pursued them, till the whole nation perished, with the exception of one family: a man, his wife, and child. This last man fled towards the British settlements, and was seen to pitch his wiggewaum at the edge of the forest. But here, too, his enemy found him. The woman and child sickened and died; and the last survivor dug their grave, and laid them in it.—He then sat down on the edge, and in this attitude he was found by a passing traveller. Him he requested to cover him up with his wife and child; and then giving himself a mortal wound, he flung himself upon the bodies. The Indians seldom or never commit suicide; but this was an extreme case, which overcame the fortitude of the man without a tear."

No wonder that they should feel a great dread when an inflammatory disease visits them. I have known when persons have been taken sick with a disease of this nature, that it is scarcely possible to get any one to attend upon them. Their friends will convey them away into the woods, erect a wiggewaum, and do the best they can for them there; and when one of them dies under such circumstances: no one, scarcely, will venture to approach them to assist at their interment; but they will, as soon as possible, be thrown into a grave. When you enquire after the dead for the purpose of performing the funeral service, you find they are buried out of the sight of surviving friends.

During the visitation of the Credit with this disease, I heard of the death of a woman, who had lived with her husband and family at a distance on the Reserve, and had expected the corpse to have been brought to the burying ground for interment in the afternoon.—But going over in the morning to another family near, I found the corpse in a rough coffin outside the door, and the grave dug a little distance from the house.—The Indians would dig the grave, or assist in any way,

at a distance, but dare not come near. The old chief, who had the disorder, and was therefore not afraid, was in attendance, and had requested the assistance of a Frenchman married to an Indian woman, who had also had the disorder; but he did not arrive, and there were not sufficient persons to carry the corpse. A kind old woman, who had run the risk of attending on the poor woman during her affliction, came forward to help; and Mrs. S. and myself had to afford our assistance. By this means, we managed to get the poor creature conveyed over the rough ground, stumps, and fallen timber, to the open grave—where I performed the last sad office.

To arrest the progress, and ameliorate the character, of this disease, Dr. Walsh, with some of the medical officers, were sent by government to introduce vaccination; which was effectual in answering these purposes.

The Indians are particularly liable to consumptions. Many children also die in their infancy. But this is not attributable either to civilization or Christianity; but rather to the want of a greater degree of it. Fond as they are of their children, and deeply as they lament their death, they have not that thorough management and care of them, to keep them from exposure—so as, in all cases, to preserve their health. When we have pointed out this to them, they have seen it, and have resolved to be more careful; but, as I have already observed, their former habits are not overcome all at once. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, I am prepared to show that the results of "the lovely and beautiful theory of congregating them in villages of substantial log houses," are to meliorate their disorders, and promote their longevity, as well as their comforts. It is mainly Paganism, and baptized heathens, worse than simple Pagans, which is the cause of their diminishing numbers. This is capable of demonstration, and has, in fact, been demonstrated. When these accusations were first made public, I ascertained, from a council of Indians at the Credit sta-

tion, which I had wished to assemble for the purpose, that the Indians had actually increased in number.—After deliberate consultation among themselves, they stated, that, to the best of their knowledge, the number of deaths during the period of ten years *before* they embraced Christianity, and when they were roving on their hunting-grounds, was about three hundred; and during ten years *subsequent* to that important event—about fifty or sixty. Included in this latter number were the deaths which had occurred by two or three epidemics—by which, during that period, they had been visited. Their number when they first settled at the Credit, about ten years before that time, was two hundred and five; then, the number was two hundred and forty. This was no conjecture; as both numbers were taken from the books which contained the records of individuals to whom presents were distributed, at each period referred to. The increase of population in England for ten years is 14 or 15 per cent. This shows that civilization and Christianity was really doing them no injury in respect to their longevity; and that the Miami Cacique's exclamation, "The red men are melting away like snow before the summer's sun," was applicable to those unfortunate individuals who had not come under the nursing hand of Christianity. This also shows that Sir Francis's calculation is unfounded. "We have only to bear patiently with them," says he, "for a short time, and with few exceptions, principally half-casts, their unhappy race, beyond the power of redemption, will be extinct." I believe, if the Indians do not become amalgamated, which will probably be the case, the patience of those who wait for such an event will be exhausted. In addition to the evidence I have brought to bear upon the subject, I will further produce that of their medical attendant. He said he could positively contradict those assertions in relation to the health of the Indians, and wondered their physician had not been consulted before such a statement had been made.

Chief Sawyer, when attending the council I have referred to, took a practical and common sense view of the subject. He immediately entered upon an explanation of the difference. "Before we were Christians," said he, "we were all drunkards: many used to perish by fire and water, and by the hands of each other." When intoxicated, they would subject themselves to the most awful exposure to the weather, being out in the open air in heavy rains and severe frosts. Some have, in the morning, been found frozen to the ground. When they do not actually and immediately perish, this exposure induces disorders of various kinds, especially that to which they are very subject—the consumption. Others, perhaps, reel or crawl home; and when they have reached it, have during the night, rolled upon the fire, and have been consumed themselves, and set their wiggewaum on fire, and have burnt an assembly of sleeping drunkards. And others again, in attempting to reach home, have fallen into the water, and have been drowned. Old Tanewa, a woman at the Credit, who, after her conversion, often got *baubementum*, (very happy,) was, in her pagan state, one night very drunk, with a child on her back, proceeding home. She stumbled over a log which was against a small pond. The next morning she was found at home without her child, and could give no account of what had become of it. Numerous instances of death by exposure, accident, and fighting, while in a state of intoxication, might be related; but I will close these remarks by inserting an account which my interpreter, D. Sawyer, gave of a circumstance which happened to himself. He was discanting on the blessings they had received by the gospel. "At one time," said he, "when we were assembled at the mouth of the Credit, to receive our presents, we provided ourselves with a fiddler, that we might have a dance and be merry. I was then grown up a youth, and, with the rest, had got very drunk.

I retired to a little distance, and fell asleep. During the night I awoke, and thought I heard my companions in their carousing. I started to make my way for them, in the direction of the noise, until suddenly I found myself up to the middle in water. I struggled out, went back, and fell asleep again. After a time I awoke again, and supposed I heard my companions again; and once more started to go in the direction from whence the noise proceeded, until again I found myself up to the middle in water. This I repeated three times. I then found that the noise which, in the stupidity of drunkenness, I mistook for the fiddle and mirth of my companions, was occasioned by the bull-frogs."

I think, from all that has been said, it will be acknowledged that it is Paganism and not Christianity, which is the cause of their diminished numbers. Other concomitants of Paganism, and their effects upon their diminution, I have observed in another chapter; and as the subject does not belong to this head, I barely refer to that part of these *Facts*. I trust these remarks will prove the charge groundless, and fully establish a conviction of the fact, that Christianity and civilization have improved their condition in respect to health.

3. The improvements Christianity has produced among this noble class of men will further appear by a consideration of their *moral character*. In the "Despatches," their morality has been grossly impreached. "Civilization," it is said, "by some accursed process, has *blanched their babies' faces*." By this expression, the distinguished writer evidently intends to bring the charge of illicit intercourse against the female Indians; for he adds,—"Under the *pretence* of eradicating from the female heart the errors of a pagan's creed; it has implanted, in their stead, *the germs of Christian guilt*." In reply to this, I will insert Question 20th in the Circular from the Indian Commission, and my answer:—"Does the birth of illegitimate children among the unmarried women oc-

cur frequently? And in what light is the circumstance viewed by the Indians?" Answer—"I only knew one instance, which occurred at the Credit. The Indians, in general, abhorred her conduct." This answer embraces a period of *six years'* residence. Cases of bastardy did *frequently* occur before they became Christians: but Christianity has effected this good among them. I do not mean to deny that their babies, faces were in no cases blanched; but I deny that it was by any *accursed process*. We had white men *married* to Indian women, and Indian men to white women. Besides, a different mode of living, less exposure, and more cleanliness, has effected a change in this respect.

The Despatches refer also to their *drunkenness*. This is well known to be their besetting sin. But such as maintain a connexion with the Christian church, (I speak as far as the Methodist branch of the Church of Christ is concerned) are preserved from this vice, otherwise they are expelled. And what is material to observe is, the expulsions are few. Such also as are not in close membership have a constant check upon them. Notwithstanding their natural propensity, their great exposure to temptation from monsters in the shape of white men; there was, perhaps, less drunkenness in the Credit Indian village than in any village or settlement of white people of the same number of inhabitants. I have seen hundreds of villages in England, and in Canada, and can testify, I do not know one more decent, orderly, and well behaved than the Credit village. There we were not accustomed to see any open violation of the Sabbath; the house of God was frequented, and *one-third* of the total inhabitants were in actual membership with the Church—which they could not have been, considering the strictness of our discipline, had they not been pious, devout, and sincere Christians. Perhaps an enlargement of observation, on their quiet and religious observance of the Sabbath, may be here appropriate, and will contribute toward producing conviction on the mind of the reader,

of the influence Christian principle has exerted upon them, in promoting moral conduct. The river Credit, at certain periods of the year, possesses a valuable treasure of salmon, and other fish. From its mouth, and several miles upwards, it runs through the Indian Reserve, and ought to be considered their property. Any other proprietor would claim the exclusive right of fishing, and would not allow an intruder on their lands, at least, for the purpose of taking the fish. However favourable might be the circumstances which presented themselves on a Sabbath day, I never knew the Indians to attempt breaking the sabbath by fishing; but would allow them to run by unmolested. But while they were quietly worshipping God in his house, it frequently happened that wicked, unprincipled white men from the neighbourhood, would come down with their nets and rob them of abundance of fish. They are sometimes very scrupulous concerning Sabbath observance. one Saturday, in the winter, one of our pious men, who lived a mile and a half from the chapel, came to me and said,—"I something want to ask you. When I come to chapel on Sundays, my little boy too young to walk—and don't like to carry him on my back—so I bring him on a little hand-sleigh. Is it a sin to do so?" They are very exact in avoiding doing any little thing on the Sabbath. In the neighbourhood among the white people, I was often annoyed by hearing the sound of the axe, in preparing fuel, on the Sabbath; but I never once heard it among the Indians. While I resided at the Credit, Christmas-day once fell on Monday. They generally came from a hunting excursion the day previously. At the time I allude to, they came home rather late on Saturday evening, and immediately the village presented a busy scene, in preparing for the Sabbath: the females in domestic affairs, and the men in preparing fuel. On Monday morning, (Christmas-day,) one of our Indian speakers going through the village, saw an old man blowing his fingers, and gathering chips. "It's pretty cold," said the old man; "I came home late on Saturday night,

and did not chop enough wood to serve me to-day over, and I am obliged to pick a few chips to keep us warm." The other thought there was some distinction between Christmas-day and the Sabbath, but proposed to enquire of the Missionary. I told him it was good to abstain from labour on Christmas-day—that we might worship God, and think on his great goodness in sending his Son into the world to redeem us; but in a case like the one in question, we should not do wrong in providing for a pressing want, as Christmas-day was not commanded to be kept holy in the word of God, but was attended to by pious men for these purposes.

4. Their *Christian* character may be fairly compared with other professors of Christianity. Whatever distinguishing feature of true piety is introduced as a test of Christian character, we do not shrink from its application to them.

If love to the house of God, and faithful *attendance upon the ordinances* of *religion*, is designative of sincere piety; then we say, the Indians are truly pious. They love the habitation of God's house. The attendance is good, serious, and devout; and when any unprecedented or extra services are to be held, the sound of the church-going bell will cause them to flock thither.

A Christian is a man of *prayer*. The Scriptures represent it as constituting an essential characteristic of a Christian. So the Indians are men of prayer.—They delight in prayer-meetings; they are earnest in the exercise. Passing through the village at the hours of morning and evening family worship, you may hear on all hands, the Great Being (*Keshamaetoo*) addressed in the voice of supplication, prayer, and thanksgiving.

Aspirations of *praise* are frequently heard from real Christians. It follows in the nature of things, that the conscious recipient of favours should enquire, "What shall I render?" In accordance with this, the Apostle says, "Rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, in every thing give thanks." The Indians are thankful for the blessings they enjoy. John Sunday said, "I

do not care for the lands we have lost, only send us plenty of teachers instead; we value Christianity more." They often express their gratitude to the people over the great waters for sending them Missionaries. It is affecting to hear their prayer in behalf of the good people of England, who have thus favoured them. But above all, they thank God. It is truly delightful to hear their animated expressions in their prayers, in love-feasts, and in class-meetings, to this effect. A few extracts from my journal may perhaps be interesting, and will tend to illustrate the point in hand:—

"July 31, 1836. Thomas Smith, an old Indian class-leader, said,—'I wish I could tell my white brothers and sisters, in their own language, the great things the Lord has done for me. Many of them are well aware, that before we embraced Christianity, we were a wretched people, lying in the streets, and about their houses, drunk. But the Lord has brought us to himself. I sought the Lord one year before I found the comforts of religion; but when the Lord did manifest himself to me, it was in so powerful a manner that I was nearly struck down to the ground by the force of it. I have been very happy ever since, and I feel so to day.' An aged woman said,—'Before I embraced Christianity I was in a most wretched condition. I appeared altogether lost. But the Lord put down his arm in the dark, and happened to meet with me, and brought me out into marvellous light. She was so lost and wretched, that she seemed to think that it was almost a wonder that the Lord found her out.—On another occasion T. Smith said,—'The Lord has blessed us very much in the sugar bush. On Sunday night I felt my heart very poor, and began to pray, and soon after retired to rest. I do not know whether I was sound asleep, or nearly awake; but suddenly I seemed to be surrounded by a bright light. Directly I felt very happy, and was when I awoke, and have been ever since.' This is a good man; and from the time of his conversion (about twelve years ago) to the

present time, (1837) has almost invariably walked under the light of God's countenance."

"July 16, 1837. An Indian woman was much blessed last evening at class-meeting. She felt indeed 'the o'erwhelming power of saving grace.' I had been preaching the preceeding week from Matt. v. 6. The account she has since given of herself is as follows: 'For ten years I have enjoyed this happy religion, but never so much of it as I do now. For this last week I have been filling, and filling; but at this time, I thought I should burst.' As a proof of the nature of this good woman's religion, I would remark, it manifests itself by submission to the blessed will of God. She has lost several children, and lately the only one she had with her; she said, 'I love my child very much, but when it was taken sick, directly I gave it up to the Lord, and said, Lord just do what thou wilt with my child.'"

"March 4, 1838. The love-feast was a time of great enjoyment. I noticed especially what one or two of the Indians said. James Rezhegoo said,—'I carry the Lord about with me wherever I go, (meaning he had a constant sense of the Divine presence) and he makes me happy—happy in my soul—I feel it in my body, my flesh, and my bones.' Peter Pacobs said,—'When I first felt a sense of pardoning mercy, I felt transported beyond myself. When I was walking along I often actually looked down to see whether my feet touched the ground, or whether I was walking in the air.' I may introduce another circumstance respecting J. Rezhegoo. Before his conversion he was addicted to the sensual vice of the Indians—drunkenness; but afterwards, by the grace of God, entirely overcame it. James was highly respected as an industrious, honest man; and was for many years in the habit of selling his venison to a gentleman in Toronto, who held a respectable post under government. This gentleman respected James, and used to ask him into his parlour, and converse with him. At one time when James called, he had a party of gentlemen, and he was as

usual asked in. They were sitting round a table amply furnished with liquors and wines, of which they were partaking. James was invited to partake with them; he declined, and was urged. Upon which he replied, 'Mr. ———, you have known me long time, have you not?' 'Yes, James,' was the reply. 'Before I became Christian, you know, I used to be about the streets drunk, did I not?' Again Mr. ——— replied in the affirmative. James continued,—'But since I have been Christian, I have left off drinking. I have never tasted since,'—and added, archly looking him full in the face,—'When, Sir, do you mean to leave off?' This had a confounding effect upon the whole company. James sat an hour or two longer—but during his stay, not a glass or decanter was touched. I mention these things to show the nature of the religion the Indians possess. Some of them fall into sin, and no wonder, considering their temptations; yet blessed be God, they all do not."

I will here introduce a fact which transpired prior to my appointment to this station. The Indians were much beset by wicked men, who laboured by all means in their power to make them drunk. They sometimes succeeded, and especially with one poor man. When he became sober, he felt his great loss; he became wretched and *distracted*. He wandered about in the woods in a case of despair, and at last actually shot himself. Many persons will not wonder that we are able to preserve any in the paths of rectitude, when we are surrounded by such incarnate devils!

A Christian loves the word of God. It is the genuine feeling of a man of God. The Psalmist could say, "Thy testimonies are my delight, and my counsellor—I will delight myself in the commandments which I have loved. More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb." The Indians also profess a warm attachment to the word of God; and thus present a mark of their genuine Christianity. David Sawyer once said at a love-feast,—"Sometimes by

temptation all seems dark around me; but then, I go to God's word, and it seems to cast light before me on the road to heaven; it disperses all the dark clouds. I experience such pleasure and delight from the perusal of the word of God, as I cannot express."

At the time when the Mormons were making a stir in Upper Canada, by the propagation of their monstrous doctrines, they paid us a visit at the Credit. I took occasion to show the Indians the design and uses of Scripture, and that the Mormon bible could not substantiate its claim to be a revelation from God, but that it was merely a bungling invention of wicked men; that it was not calculated to answer the ends of instruction, or to promote the piety and holiness of those who adopted it. They soon abandoned our village, but took up a position in the neighbourhood. One of our excellent Indian speakers, who had not been present on that occasion, but who had heard of the Mormons, and not rightly understanding what they were, came to me one morning for the purpose of enquiry, as they were accustomed to do in case of any difficulty. He addressed me, "Brother S. I want to know about these Mormons."—"Well, sit down, Brother H., and I will tell you." I happened to have what is called "The Book of Mormons" by me, and I commenced reading a few passages out of it, where it contradicted statements made in the scriptures. I saw he felt very uneasy and restless; as I was proceeding, he interrupted me by saying, "Shut it up. If it contradicts this book,"—laying his hand on a bible on the table, in a dignified manner,—"I want to hear no more of it. This book does me good here,"—laying his right hand on his heart—"and I want to hear nothing which contradicts it."

About the same time, a Mormon preacher was holding forth somewhere in the Bay of Quinte, and speaking largely in praise of their system. Among other things he dilated on the Mormon book; how Joseph Smith found it concealed in the earth; that it was written in golden plates that he was inspired to translate

it: and that the angel desired him to bury them again, where they should lay concealed until the last day. When he had gone through with his discourse, as was usual with them, he asked if any individual had any thing to say; if so they were quite at liberty to speak. An Indian had been passing that way, and perceiving there was a meeting, stepped in. When the preacher gave the invitation and permission for remarks, and all were silent, he got up, and said, "May Indian speak?" "Yes," replied the preacher, "Indian may speak." "A long time ago," said he, "the Great Spirit send his book to the white men over the waters. He receive it—believe it, and it make his heart all over glad. White man then send it over to this country to poor Indian. He receive it—believe it; and it also make his heart all over glad. The devil see this—he envy the Great Spirit, and he try to make a book just like it; but when he had done, he failed so much—it was so very unlike Great Spirit's book—that the devil he ashamed of it, and hid it in the earth in the woods. By and bye, Joe Smith, he come along, and he dig it up; and this is the Mormon Bible." This story was told us shortly afterwards at the Credit, and we subsequently had the opportunity to prove its authenticity.

The Indians not only love the Bible in word, but in *deed*. They prove their love for the sacred treasure by their acts. The following extract from my journal is sufficient evidence of the truth of this assertion:—

"May 9th, 1839. This evening we assembled in our Mission Chapel, for the purpose of organizing a branch Bible Society, in connexion with the Toronto Auxiliary. I was appointed the President. It is at all times interesting to see those who, a short time ago, were pagans, coming forward to do any thing to send the Gospel to others. But on this occasion it was more particularly interesting, inasmuch as *this is the first Bible Society ever formed among the red men*. We had the assistance of the Rev. James Thompson, from the Parent Society, and Agent for the whole of British North America, late Agent in the West Indies,

and formerly in South America and Mexico. We were also assisted by my brother-in-law, the Rev. W. Scott. About £5 were subscribed." At the close of the year, something above £10 were realized.

A *death bed* is a test of sincerity—the most rigid of all scrutinies. Those persons who can, with unshrinking confidence, commit their souls into the hands of God, and with joy face the judgment-seat, must be sincere. The Christian Indian has frequently stood the application of this test—has passed triumphantly through the fiery ordeal, and has thereby proved the sincerity of his profession. I have often been by the side of the bed of death, and have witnessed their good confession. They have humbly confessed, in affecting language, their sinfulness and unworthiness; their entire trust and confidence in the merits of the Redeemer; their joy and triumph of soul, from a sense of his favour and gracious acceptance of them; and the bright hope and joyful anticipation they possess of everlasting happiness. Johnson, a brother of John Sunday, when in his last sickness, said, reaching forth his emaciated arms, and many times clasping together his hands,—"*Keshamanedoo, azhe-a-qua-non! O dish quan-dance! Ne-wa-pon-danam, wans-sa-aun,*" &c. "God opens the door of heaven! I see the light of his glory! My soul is very happy! I am going to heaven where Jesus is!" &c. Within a few days of the close of my labours at Amherstburgh, the following insertion was made in my journal:—"Was called to preach at the funeral of, and to inter one of our female Indian members. She was one of our most pious females. We have now lost, by death, *five* Indian members since I came to this mission—of every one of whom I have good hope that they have gone to heaven." I cannot now state the number who died during my four years' residence at the Credit; but there were several, all of whom died with firm confidence in the atoning blood, and with assurance of a blessed immortality. Were it not for the fear of making this article too lengthy, it would have afforded me

great pleasure to have inserted some account of a few of those humble followers of their Saviour; but for this reason, I must forbear. Many of the sons of the forest are already mingling their anthems of praise with the countless number of those who have passed through great tribulation, and who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; and many more, with Christian devotedness, are on their way to join them.

To conclude this review,—I can testify that their religion is of a genuine and scriptural character. Their views of the *nature* of real religion are correct. That it is nothing external—that it does not consist in notions, or merely in reformation of life; but in a divine supernatural power and influence on the heart. They rest on the true foundation, and build thereon with precious materials. I have often noticed this with pleasure when I have listened to their prayers and exhortations, and to the relation of their experience in our love-feasts and class-meetings. The Wyandots would often, with fervour of feeling and solemn reverence, address the Divine Being as God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,—"*O Hanundishzhu—O Jezuz—O Succasih!*" and the Ochipwa—"*O Keshamanedoo—O Pinezid Kecheoochechaig.*" The terms *trezhureah*, (faith,) *tauroolaut*, of Toronto,* (great,

* From this term, I believe we acquire the name of Toronto, the former capital of Upper Canada. There was first a township of that name; and when the name of the city was to be changed from York, this name was selected. How it was that a Wyandot name was given to a township so remote to the present residence of that tribe, I know not; but the name is acknowledged to be Indian, and must have been by some means, taken from that language. It is beautiful both in sound and signification. There is a township adjoining the township of Toronto, bearing the name of Tobicoke, (pronounced Tobico,) which is an Ochipwa word signifying *an alder*; and that neighbourhood was so called by the Indians, from the circumstance of the alder bush being there plentiful. There is also a township near the same spot called Chinguacousey, (pron. Chineusy,) which is an Indian name derived from the circumstance, if I recollect right, of the abundance of pines formerly growing there.

large, or plenty,) were often used by the former, when applying to the divine provisions of the atonement. And the latter would also frequently introduce the great foundation of the Christian's hope—the propitiation made by Christ by his blood-shedding, (*oo–me–squeem.*) Their favourite hymns are those which refer to such subjects. Their countenances would often lighten up, when, with sacred feeling, they would sing:

"Oo - me - squeem on - che - bee - ne zham
Nen kush - ke - e - 'gon 'zshu,"

"His blood can make the foulest clean,
His blood avail'd for me."

And theirs was not a mere Antinomian confidence. They sought to exercise a faith which works by love, and purifies the heart. They were frequently using such terms as *pahpenendaim*, (happy,) *panezid*, (holy,) *zhawanedewin*, (love,) as expressive of their feelings and desires. "I am unworthy," said a poor old woman, on a bed of sickness, "but I remember Jesus died for me, and this makes me very happy." Our hearts were frequently gladdened with similar expressions in similar circumstances. It would afford pleasure to any lover of Jesus, to witness some scenes in their worship, when the servants of the cross have displayed the "unspeakable gift" and "the unsearchable riches of Christ." All this illustrates the *foundation* of their hope, and the *source* of their happiness. In short, they are convinced by the Divine Spirit of their guilt and wretchedness as sinners; they are brought to rely solely on the atonement of Jesus Christ for present pardon and acceptance; they experience a sense of forgiveness of sins, and the enjoyment of an inward kingdom of heaven, which is "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" and they ornament their profession by a consistent life—by the manifestation of Christian graces. Considering, then, the contrast between their past and present state, of which they are themselves deeply conscious, we shall not wonder that they frequently sing, almost with rapturous feeling:

"Jea - zuz nen - kee - aun - do - na - au,
Bu - bun - ou - ne - see - no - oug;
Oo - mes - quem, wee - noo - zhe - mo - ed,
Kee - ke - zhe - ou - ne - ne."

"Jesus sought me when a stranger,
Wandering from the fold of God;
He, to rescue me from danger,
Interposed his precious blood."

It will appear, by the remarks contained in this chapter, that in whatever point of view we contemplate the Indians: whether we contrast their present with their past state: whether we consider their temporal condition, or their spiritual enjoyments,—any particular branch of Christian duty—or the closing scene of life—all unite their testimony to the genuineness of the Christian character they exhibit; and to the fact that Christianity has done them good. We can, without fear of being confronted, notwithstanding every allegation to the contrary, point to many scenes and hundreds of living characters, and say, "These are our epistles, known and read of all men who candidly apply themselves to the subject."

Let the reader decide what would be the greatest kindness we could bestow upon them—to leave them to their uncultivated habits—to their desolate condition—without hope, and without God in the world? or to cheer them with the light of life, and the glories of immortality and eternal day? I know the conclusion of every Christian, yea of every philanthropist, will be, *let us redouble our efforts to send them the Gospel.*

I feel a regret that so many of my observations have been apologetic. However, that they have had to assume this character, is not any fault of mine. I could with greater pleasure have illustrated the benefits they have received from Christianity in the shape of plain statement. But the attacks I have noticed, could not pass without refutation in a theme of the nature I had purposed to myself. I feel still more deeply to regret that I have had to assume a position antagonist to one so high in station as the late Lieutenant Governor of Up-

per Canada. But necessity was laid upon me. When the power of the Gospel to evangelize and civilize the deepest degraded savage is called in question, every Minister of the Gospel is concerned therein, especially those engaged in that very work. And every Evangelist, in whatever part of the world he may be engaged, is interested in such a refutation: for the objection, if admissable in one case, must be also in every other. And although the time since Sir F. B. Head published his Despatches has so long gone by, yet I trust the remarks will not be out of place, as the cause is one which will exist to the end of time; and the subject is therefore of permanent importance.

CONCLUSION.

CANADA requires a far greater degree of religious culture than has ever hitherto been bestowed upon it. Various denominations of Christians are beginning to be conscious of this. And surely, the Wesleyan Methodists ought to feel the importance of greater exertions being made to extend their labours in this highly important—this noble colony. They have been the pioneers, who have penetrated into remote parts of the country, in its uncultivated state, and almost inaccessible condition; and when settlements, villages, and towns are rising on every hand, which have been partly enlightened, and have had a taste for spiritual things imparted by their exertions; surely they ought to follow up the exertions they have made, and not lose, at least to themselves, the fruits of their previous hard toil.

It is natural to imagine our own sphere of labour of importance; and it is right it should be so. Various portions of the Mission field have of late years found able advocates, who by their thrilling appeals have produced considerable sensation on the minds of the benevolent and Christian people of England on their behalf. Happy, in this respect, Fegee, Ashanti, and India, in being favoured with such able advocates. Glad should I be, if I could so represent the claims of Canada, so as to produce any effect, or in any greater degree to impress the minds of the friends of Missions with the necessity of bestowing more attention to this part of the world. However, I will take leave to say, that it is my own impression, giving all due importance to all that has been said in behalf of other parts of the

world, that Canada is as important as any other distinct sphere of operation. Here we have a vast extent of country filling up with inhabitants, destined at no distant day to form materials for a great empire. Teeming millions will doubtless populate this region. The West Indian Islands at present present imposing numbers of Church members; but they are sea-girt isles, and cannot afford room for that extension of influence as this vast country, which is every day extending its boundaries. And they are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh. And ought not British Methodists to be concerned that such should possess the same happy privileges they themselves possess. In addition to this consideration, this portion of the Mission field combines almost every other species of claim that any other country possesses. Is it necessary to employ in Ireland Missionaries speaking to the inhabitants in their own tongue, and to establish schools, to enlighten those so sadly enveloped in the darkness of Popery? Then the same necessity exists here. Here Popery exists in its worst forms, and in its darkest shades. A ready door is opening in various directions. And if it be necessary to employ in France a great Missionary force; the same necessity exists in Canada—with the additional inducement, it is our own soil. Are your hearts touched with the sorrows of those who hasten after other gods? Here also are pagans, who have never yet received a Christian teacher, but who are anxiously desiring them. In short, the colonial claims of destitute settlers, papists and pagans, white, red, and coloured people, bear forcibly upon us, and require a deep sympathy, and zealous exertions.

APPENDIX.

At page 155, I have remarked, I might have introduced numerous testimonies of the great improvement of the Indians, from persons in *all* ranks of life; but that I preferred the insertion of one or two from persons whose interests were intimately connected with theirs. Since then, I have received the following letter from the Rev. R. L. Usher. It contains a testimony and sentiments too valuable to be omitted. The well known respectability and judgment of the esteemed writer will tend to give great weight and force to the testimony he bears. The testimony Sir Augustus d'Este bears to the intentions of Lord Glenelg, accords with my own view of them; and I am inclined to think, had it not been that the piety and benevolence of that excellent nobleman had induced him to present a check to the intrusions of Sir F. B. Head, the Indians would have been stripped of their possessions, and would now have been located on the barren rocks of the Thousand Islands, and left there, not only to be *decimated*, but exterminated.

Montreal, *August* 1, 1844.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I am glad to learn from your prospectus, which has for some time been before the public, that it is your intention to publish, under the name of "Indian Researches," &c., a work illustrative of the character, condition, and prospects of our North American Indians: which, from

your intimate acquaintance with the subject, will, I have no doubt, be interesting to the public in general, and to the Christian public in particular.

How lamentably pagan and degraded soever, the greater portions of the Indian nations of this continent may continue to be, it is pleasing to know, that something has been attempted and accomplished in their behalf,—as is evident from the great change which has been wrought in the social and moral condition of those of the Aboriginal Tribes, which have been brought under the influence of Christian instruction and principle by the agents of our own, and other Missionary Societies. Of this, in one instance, I am prepared to bear my humble testimony, from the opportunity I once had of visiting the settlement and mission established among the Ochipwa Indians on the Credit River, a few miles above Toronto, while that mission was under your pastoral care. I was indeed delighted, while going from house to house through the village on a Saturday evening, to observe the cleanliness of their dwellings and persons, and their calm and quiet preparations for the Sabbath. Still more delighted was I on that holy day, to witness their devout attachment to the duties and ordinances of religion; and can say, that I never any where saw the Sabbath more properly observed.—And could I have visited the other Indian missions in Canada West, I should no doubt have witnessed similar exhibitions of the hallowing and civilizing influence of Christianity. Little, however, I fear has been done for the long-neglected and deeply-injured Aborigines of this continent, compared with what remains to be done. On this subject, I beg to submit to you an extract of a letter which I received some time since from that illustrious friend of the Indians, Sir Augustus d'Este, son to His Royal Highness the late Duke of Sussex:—

"The sun of the Great Spirit is shining upon his Red Children: it is for his own favoured ones of a fairer skin, *now* to take advantage of it. Lord Glenelg *appears to me* to be a blessing upon the Indians. He is willing, more, *desirous* to make up to these now living, for the unrighteous dealings of the past; in consequence of which, the Departed are gone, leaving their Descendants our Creditors, whose debts Justice herself would never be able to liquidate."

You have my best wishes, dear Sir, for the success of your undertaking; and sincerely do I hope, that it may

be the means of creating a deeper interest in behalf of a race of men whom you, I have no doubt, will be able to show are among the most noble of our untutored species, and in every way worthy of the benevolent and most strenuous exertions which can be made for the accomplishment of their civil and moral improvement.

I am, dear Sir,

Respectfully and affectionately yours,

R. L. Lusher.

The Rev. B. Slight.

Published by the same author, price 6d.

THE MYSTERY OF GODLINESS, THE PILLAR AND THE GROUND OF THE TRUTH: A Sermon preached on the Credit Mission, &c. Published by request.