

Documents relating to the Stockbridge mission, 1825-48.

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DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE STOCKBRIDGE MISSION, 1825–48.1

1 As stated on p. 25, *note 1, ante*, the papers left by Rev. Cutting Marsh, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, have been deposited in the archives of this Society. With the Marsh papers, the Society has also received from the same source, several documents appertaining to the work of his predecessor, Jesse Miner. The Miner papers are herewith published in full; but the Marsh papers are so voluminous that we have selected for present publication only that missionary's annual reports to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, covering the dates May 2, 1831–June 1, 1848. Even these, we have somewhat abridged, omitting those portions in the later reports which either dwell in detail upon the purely ecclesiastical side of his work, or cast reflections upon rival denominations. The journal kept by Marsh is contained in 39 MS. books, covering the Period from May 2, 1830, to the close of the year 1855; there are also 55 letters from and to Marsh, bearing dates from 1830 to August 6, 1856.

The Scottish reports, although prolix, are of exceeding interest, from many points of view—historical and psychological. They present to us a picture of the results of Calvinistic teachings upon Wisconsin barbarians, after several generations of similar missionary efforts; of the transition of the tribe from a state of nature to that of citizenship in a civilized community; of the trials, tribulations, and changing moods of the missionary himself; and are particularly interesting when compared with the annual *Relations* of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, to which they will be seen to bear many curious resemblances as to matter, form, and spirit. We follow the original drafts of the reports, as preserved by Marsh. Finished copies were sent by him to Edinburgh.— Ed.

GRANT OF STATESBURG MISSION SITE.

This agreement made the 6th day of April 1825 between the Chiefs & Peacemakers of the Stockbridge Tribe of Indians in behalf of their nation of the first part and Rev d . Jesse Miner² Missionary to s d . Tribe of Indians of the second

² Jesse Miner was at this time the American Board's missionary to the Stockbridges at New Stockbridge, N. Y. The mission site herein described was that of the present South Kaukauna, the settlement being at first called Statesburg. Miner arrived at Statesburg in July, 1827. As will be seen from the succeeding document, he returned to New York in the autumn; but in June, 1828, permanently located at Statesburg. He came at first without his family, but later brought them to the new mission; and while completing a house and barn for them, died March 22, 1829.— Ed.

40 part witnesseth That the said Parties of the first Part for the consideration herein after mentioned do agree to convey & confirm to the s d . Jesse Miner and hereby do convey & confirm to him all right and title to the Mission House & Barn and the other improvements on the piece of Land attached to them agreeably to a Deed given by Elijah Pye to our former Missionary Rev d . John Sergeant.¹ and the said party of the second part doth hereby agree & bind himself to & with the said parties of the first part that when the said piece of Land shall be sold to the State, on condition the said House Barn & other improvements, on their appraisal, shall be accredited to the s d . party of the second part, he will then pay to the said parties of the first Part or their Agent within one year the sum of money at which said House Barn & other improvements shall have been appraised.

¹ miner's predecessor as missionary to the Stockbridges, in New York, Sergeant died September 7, 1824.— Ed.

And the said parties of the first part further agree to grant to the said party of the second part so far as in their power peacable possession of s d . piece of Land & the improvements untill s d . Land shall be sold to the state

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In testimony whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands & seals the day & year above written

Signed sealed & delivered in presents of

Thomas T. Hendrick

Jacob his X mark Aaron

Hendrick Aupaumut 2

2 Captain Hendrik (Aupaumut) was a soldier in the American army, in the War of the Revolution, and is said to have received a captain's commission from the hands of Washington. In 1792, when the Stockbridges visited President Washington, Secretary-of-War Henry Knox commissioned him to undertake a mission to the Western tribes. His great influence with these tribes was thrown against Tecumseh, and he actively assisted Maj. Gen. William Henry Harrison in the campaign which ended in Tecumseh's defeat. He is said to have favored the plan in 1808–10, for forming settlements of all the Eastern Indians, in the White River country in Indiana, where, by 1818, there had been gathered about 800 of the Stockbridges. From here they were invited by the Outagamies to settle in the valley of the Fox, in Wisconsin. Later, they joined forces with the Munsees, Brothertowns, and Oneidas; and August 8, 1821, signed a treaty which entitled them to a strip of land about five miles wide, at Little Kaukauna. Hendrik Aupaumut's remains were buried at Kaukauna.— Ed.

John Metoxen 3

3 John Metoxen was the head chief of the Stockbridge Christian party which left White River, Indiana, in the late summer or autumn of 1822, to take up their new lands in Wisconsin. It was the following year before the Stockbridges who had been left in New York, reached Wisconsin. Metoxen, who had been educated in the Moravian school at

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Bethlehem, Pa., was an orator of rare power, and frequently preached to his people. He died April 8, 1858, aged 87 years, and lies buried in the old Indian cemetery at Stockbridge. See biographical sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, pp. 303–305.— Ed.

John W. Quinney 4

4 Quinney was born in 1797, and received an English education at a high school in Yorktown, N. Y. Attaining the chieftaincy of the Stockbridges in Wisconsin, he was largely employed by his people, during thirty years, in the negotiation of treaties with the government of the United States. He died at Stockbridge July 21, 1855. See biographical sketches in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, pp. 305–311; also Quinney's speech and memorial, *Ibid.*, pp. 313–333.— Ed.

Solomon U. Hendrick 5

5 The son of Hendrik Aupaumut, and himself a chief of the Stockbridges. He was one of the negotiators of the treaty of 1821, which secured the Wisconsin lands for his tribe.— Ed.

Jesse Miner

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MINER TO THE STOCKBRIDGES.

To the Stockbridge Indians residing in Statesburgh M. T.

My Children —I thank the great & good Spirit who reigns above that he has allowed me to visit your Country & to speak to your people on their great & most important concerns; and that I have found so much of the light of divine truth & mercy shining in this wilderness.

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I want also gratefully [to] acknowledge the kind attention & respect which I have received from your people while I have resided among you. I shall gladly bear it in remembrance and carry it along with me to my home.

I hope my visit has not been altogether useless to your people & particularly to the infant church which is established among you: but this will be better known by the fruits which they hereafter bear in their lives. I regret that I am under the necessity of leaving you so soon: but duty & even your own moral & religious interests call me back. Since I have been with you I have as far as possible collected the christians together in regular church order, and confirmed their union by the most divine & heavenly seal the Lords Supper; & I have also administered the sacrament of Baptism to those who were proper subjects to receive it. I have revived the Sabbath School which I hope will be faithfully continued & your children caused to grow in the knowledge of their Maker & their Saviour. I have established among your young people & others a weekly meeting to read the Scriptures and receive instruction. This I hope will not be left to wither & die; but that an increasing spirit will be manifested by them to draw the waters of life from the sacred fountain, & that they will grow wiser & better as they advance in life. The improvement & virtue of your young people is your chief hope. Endeavor then with the greatest possible care to guard them from the habits of vice & wickedness & from the corrupt & soul destroying influence of ungodly white people. I wish your children & young people to reside among yourselves & not be sent down to the Bay; for tho' they may gain some present advantages there it will generally be found for them a school of vice & corruption and I had rather they would be poor than wicked, but temperance & industry will procure for them all the necessaries of life at home. I have with your assistance surveyed a Section of Land where I hope soon a Mission will be established which will be a fountain of knowledge to your children and afford the stated ministry of the gospel to 43 your people generally: and that it will also be the means of spreading the light of truth around among the heathen Tribes in this region. But I think the success of this object depends to a considerable degree on your zeal & earnestness to effect it, and your manifesting this earnestness to the benevolent Societies

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at Boston & to the general Government. I shall hasten to the east & do all in my power to obtain the assistance of these benevolent Societies to which your petitions are sent for the accomplishment of this object. As soon as I receive information I shall write to you & let you know what to expect. In the mean time you will have my most earnest desires & prayers to Almighty God for your temporal & spiritual welfare—that you may be a light in this region of moral darkness & that the labors of those Missionaries who have lived & died among you may not be in vain.

Jesse Miner

Statesburgh Sept. 6, 1827.

PLAN OF THE MISSION.

Missionary Rooms, 1 Boston , April 26, 1828.

1 Of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.— Ed.

Rev. Jesse Miner, Present .

My Dear Sir ,—The committee have deliberated respecting the mission at Green Bay & have fixed upon the following principles —Viz.

2 d That this plan will not embrace a boarding school & if ever hereafter such a school shall be established it will be done gradually & not without the sanction of the Committee, expressed at the very beginning of the proceeding:

3 d That this plan will not embrace a farm, or the keeping of stock, except two Cows & Swine & poultry.

4 That the first object will be to preach the Gospell to the Stockbridge Indians & to establish a good common school among them:

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5th That another object will to be to learn the character of the neighboring Tribes of Winnebagoes & Menommonies 44 to devise ways & means of getting access to them & of bringing a good influence to bear upon them. In order to the accomplishment of these purposes the committee direct that you & a part of your family go to Green Bay as soon as possible & establish yourselves at or near the Village of the Stockbridge Indians on the Fox River (We are quite inclined to think that it will be best for you to place yourselves so near the center of the Village as will secure the fullest attendance of Children at school & of the congregation on the Sabbath. You can probably get a few acres for garden & pasture, & perhaps a few acres for Corn. But if you could get but one acre for a garden, it would be better on the whole to live in the Village, than to attempt to manage a farm). A Schoolmaster will soon follow you who will board in your family and make a part of it.

As soon as can conveniently be done after your arrival at the place of your destination you will commence the erection of a small dwelling house: The size may be about 32 feet By 26. the first story eight feet in the clear, the 2^d 7½ feet in the clear. It is greatly to be desired that the expenses should not exceed \$800. There should be a formal agreement with the Indians, that we should occupy the house & land so long a Mission or school shall be sustained there, & if By any unforeseen event the Mission should be removed or discontinued the Board shall have the privilege of selling the house to any of the Stockbridge Indians, or to any other persons with their approbation.—

We hope the expences of the mission will not exceed \$500. a year after the Building shall be erected & the family removed. Certainly there should be a constant effort to keep it within that sum, & \$600 must not be exceeded. In regard to the expences of the first year we wish them to be as small as possible consistently with comfort & true economy. Let no unnecessary articles be purchased, & no unnecessary furniture or implements be taken on.

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It is to be hoped that you will be blessed in this service, & be the means of much good to the Indians. But if you

Mission House at Stockbridge (Engraving loaned by John N. Davidson.)

45 should in the course of Divine providence be disconnected with the Board, you will be entitled to take away any Books, implements, articles of furniture or wearing apparel which you may have carried thither, & such articles of bedding & wearing apparel as may then be in the actual use of yourself & family.

You will please to keep an accurate account of all expences, & transmit a copy of it quarterly. In the building department, & other necessary Labors, you will do all in your power to preserve economy of time & resources, & to secure property from harm & waste. Immediately on your arrival you will inquire into the spiritual condition of the Indians, & inform us how you find them in these respects.

As it is thought best that Mrs. Miner should not accompany you this year, you may probably leave her in such circumstances, [MS. torn] to make more expense to the Board than if she were with you.

Wishing you the Divine blessing, & praying that you may see an abundant reward of your labors. I am, Rev. Sir,

Yours affectionately Jer h . Evarts .1

1 Secretary of the American Board.— Ed.

Superscription: "Rev. Jesse Miner, New Stockbridge, Madison County New York."

REPORT OF MINER'S DEATH.

States Burgh Green Bay Michigan Territory . 23 d , March 1829

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Dear Sir —I am the bearer of unwelcome intelligence I presume. Your Missionary Mr . Miner is no more. He departed this life on Sunday Eve 22 d . Ins t . after an illness of about 4 weeks, which commenced with dysentery and terminated we think in Billious fever. He continued in possession of his reason to the last. Although the nature of his disorder was such that it occasioned considerable stupidity—he did not say much, during his sickness except 46 when interrogated. Some five or six days previous to his death he sent for the elders of the church and expressed a deep solicitude for their welfare, suggesting the probability of his speedy dissolution—and in few words giving them something of a charge concerning their people, also manifesting his resignation to the will of God in all his dispensations, and his confidence in the merits of his Saviour. He continued to the last steadfast in the faith which he had so long preached others. I asked him previous to his death a few hours if he longed to depart and be with Christ which is far better and he replied in the affirmative. And his death is only to be regretted as it is the end of his usefulness on earth. The past six weeks has been fraught with distressing and important providences to our family, and this people. Six weeks we buried our babe—the youngest of Mr. Miner's children 13 months old—and Eliphalet has been sick more than 7 weeks and is now a mere skeleton rather more likely to recover [than] he was a few days ago. Henry also, the next younger, 3 years of age, was taken sick the same time with Eliphalet. He has in a great measure recovered. The complaints seem to be inflammatory bowel complaints, with billions obstruction. Not an endemic. But mostly attributable to our diet I think. They have been under the care and direction of Doct Foot¹ of the Fort 20 miles distant who could not see them often. Mr. Miner left his business in something of an unfinished situation owing mostly to his unexpected departure. The house is not quite completed—would have been had it not been for the sickness of our family which prevented the joiners from working in the house. The house below is finished and three rooms plastered. The chambers are not lathed and the garret floor is not laid which is but short jobb. When we were taken sick the joiners could not work in the house. Mr. Miner thought to have them get out timber for a small barn, accordingly they scored and sawed timber sufficient for a

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1 Dr. Lyman Foot, then post surgeon of Fort Howard. He was eminent in his profession. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 77, 78, 145.— Ed.

47 barn 35 x 26 — and in the mean time our family became so sick that it was thought expedient to dismiss the workmen and lessen our family. The timber is piled up to await orders. We have loggs to the mill sufficient to make boards to cover the barn. There is also nearly nails enough. Mrs. Miner and family are desirous to return to their former place of residence, and it is probably advisable for them to return. They wait your orders. Will expect provision For their return. And am anxious to return as soon as may be possible, on account of the hot weather — please direct particularly — the widow has a few articles of furniture to small which [it] would not be best [to] carry back—some allowance might be seasonable—such as large table, stand, clock, some Iron ware &c. The mission house realised the avails of a saddle & bridle \$14 belonging to Mrs. M. There are some articles here on the hands of the Board not necessary to be retained, such as a boat cost \$[7, a horse \$40, harness \$15, chest Tools \$50, very high. There is also a cart, plow, Irons, two chairs, many other tools which may be necessary for a family, two cows, one hog \$6, 15 Bushels wheat, 10 s Bushell, 3 bushells Timothy seed, 1 clover. Our expences for so large a family though not inconsiderable, will probably be less for some time to come except some clothes necessary for the children. With respect to myself I hear nothing from you since I came here contrary to my expectations. It is my desire to stay among this people for boom I think I feel a deep sollicitud. I have taught their school 3 months, which closed 3 weeks since, on account of the sickness of our family. Electa Quinney,¹ a competent native Teacher, will probably take charge of the school this summer and be paid from public funds of the Indians. The Indians have

1 A Stockbridge woman, who had been trained at a mission school at Cornwall, Conn., and taught among her people in New York before their removal to Wisconsin. September 17, 1832, she opened a mixed public school at Kaukauna. Later, she married Rev. Daniel Adams, an early Wisconsin missionary. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 453–465, for documents relating to early schools at Green Bay.— Ed.

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48 agreed with Mr. M. to pay me \$24 per month for teaching the winter school. If you think it inexpedient to appoint me as a missionary I can retire, but I choose to be appointed. I have kept an accurate account of expenditures since Mr. M's sickness and will undertake to make the returns for the last quarter ending March 13th 1829

1 Letter unsigned, but evidently the writer was Augustus T. Ambler, a physician as well as teacher. He arrived at Statesburg, November 4, 1828 (according to Davidson). His health becoming bad, he was succeeded in August, 1829, by Rev. Jedidiah Dwight Stevens. Ambler died in 1831 at a Choctaw mission.— Ed.

MARSH'S REPORT TO THE SCOTTISH SOCIETY, 1831.2

2 Cutting Marsh was, as has been previously explained, the American Board's missionary to the Stockbridges from 1830 until 1848; at the same time, he was the missionary of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which had for many years given some financial support to the Stockbridge mission. This is the first of Marsh's annual reports to the Scottish Society.— Ed.

Statesburgh near Green Bay Michigan Ter . May 2 d 1831

To the Sec. of the Soc. in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge .

Dear Sir — Having been certified by the Rev. Dr. [John] Codman Sec ry of your Board in Boston Mass. of my appointment by your venerable Soc. as Miss ry amongst the Stockbridge Indians residing near Green Bay, with much pleasure & gratitude I now address my communications to you relative to these Indians.

I shall first give a brief account of their situation from the death of their lamented Miss ry the Rev. Jesse Miner wh[ich] took place in March 22 d 1829; and my arrival wh. was May 1. 1830. At the time of his death they were enjoying an interesting revival of religion wh. commenced the Summer previous. The good work stopped at his death, but the

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number of hopeful converts was considerable for a Settlement no larger than theirs at the time; besides it seemed to renovate the hearts of those who had been members of the 49 ch[urch] previously, some of whom on account of their removal had grown very cold in religion & others had greatly backslidden. They were now left like sheep without a shepherd, for the School Teacher on account of the multitude of cares & secular business wh. in consequence devolved upon him was unable to give but little religious instruction, besides his health soon failed & after my arrival was obliged to leave. Still they kept up their meetings regularly both on the Sab. & week-days & carried them on themselves. So far as I have been able to judge of that work fr[om] a years' observation it was truly genuine: for the church is now almost a new one in respect to feeling & none who united with it as the fruits of that revival have as yet been excommunicated.

The Settlement of the Stockbridge Indians is situated upon the S. E. side of the Fox river; near what is called the Grand Kaccalin or Big rapids, about 21 miles fr. its mouth where it empties into Green Bay, and extends along on the river about four miles in length and fr. one & a half to two in breadth. It was commenced in 1822 & has been receiving accessions from time to time fr. t[he] state of N York ever since. The whole number of souls now belonging to it is 225 including some who been adopted fr. other Tribes.

Over this plot of ground wh. but a few years ago was all a wilderness they are scattered in neighborhoods & families, each man having a farm of his own or as much land as he can clear & cultivate altho. as yet their farms are small. They live in houses constructed of logs & covered with oaken shingles, all of them have floors & the crevices. in the sides of the house are filled with mortar; the chimneys are made by cutting out the logs in the end of the house 7 or 8 feet in length & about the same in height, this vacancy is filled with stones & mortar this forms the fire place without any jambs and the top of the chimney is made, of sticks & thatched clay so that when well constructed they are in but little danger from fire, and having a plenty 5 50 of wood their houses in winter are very comfortable. Their barns are also constructed of logs. They have a saw-mill and intend soon if not compelled to remove to build a gristmill. The unsettled state which they have been in since they came

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to this country has prevented them from building framed houses or barns or a convenient place for public worship, & now they are under the necessity of meeting in a log-school-house. There is a small two story, framed house & barn attached to this Station in which the Mission family reside; these buildings are pleasantly situated on the banks of the Fox r[iver].

Most of the families have some stock either oxen or cows, some both, besides poultry & hogs. As a nation this tr[ibe] is very poor, in consequence of removal, the dissipated habits of many belonging to it, the difficulties in wh. they have been involved since they came and for the want of sufficient encouragement; so that as yet they have not raised enough in the nation for the supply of their wants, altho. there are no families but what raise something every year.

The climate is healthy, altho' there has been much suffiness for a year past, and more deaths than in any year since their removal. The winters cold, the summers warm, not excessively hot & vegetation rapid. The soil clayey, and of a reddish cast, not remarkable for fertility, tho' sufficiently so to produce, with suitable cultivation, all of the necessaries of life.

It is now one year since my arrival amongst these Indians. I was on the first Sabbath struck with the stillness which prevailed in the Settlement as I proceeded to the place of worship and nothing which I witnessed was calculated to disturb the repose of the sacred day. I could at first hardly persuade myself that I was on Missionary ground when on my way to this place I had passed thro' many a white settlement where if their secular business was suspended (which was very often not the case)it seemed to be rather a holi-day than the holy Sab[bath]. I have since found that the Sab. here is generally observed, all kinds of labour are suspended, & many of them observe 51 it with great strictness. And when I arrived at the place of worship, which is not large, I found it filled with decently clad, and apparently devout worshippers. There is on the Sab. a very general attendance at meeting, & better order & more stillness I have seldom witnessed in assemblies of white

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people than uniformly prevail here. The singing is conducted wholly by themselves and they are very fond of it, have excellent natural voices & would excel provided they had suitable instruction in the art.

On the Sab. I preach twice, besides attending to the S[unday] S[chool]. Sometimes I expound a chap in the Bible & in the P.M. I have an interpreter on account of some of the old people who do not well understand the english language. In the eve. there is a third meeting at which the members of the church take a part. Once a week I have a meeting of inquiry for such as are anxious about their souls; on Wed[nesday] a meeting for reading the Scr[iptures] and then explain to them the meaning, this I have generally found to be a profitable meeting as it affords an opportunity for explaining the Scrs. in a familiar manner & of asking questions, which I do not have at other times. And on Fri. there is a meeting designed specially for the church & some of these meetings are truly interesting & refreshing seasons.

The Monthly Concert of prayer has been better attended than usual the winter past, & attended too with a good degree of interest.

The S. School is a very interesting & powerful means of grace. Of this the school Teacher Mr. J[edidiah] D[wight] Stevens has the charge & has been very successful in securing a punctual attendance of the children. Between 30 & 40 children and young people usually attend besides numbers of the old people who receive instruction at the same time in the lesson. Mr. S. the School Teacher received his appointment last Summer from the Am. Board and entered upon the duties, assigned him in Aug. There is no boarding school attached to this Station. All of the children board at home, this occasions much irregularity 52 in their attendance and it requires incensing effort to secure anything like a regular attendance, because many of the parents do not restrain and govern their children in a proper manner. The whole number of children of a suitable age to attend school is about 69 but the number wh. actually attend the school varies from 30 to 40.

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In March there was a quarterly examination. The School was divided into four classes. The first was examined in reading, spelling, writing & geography, the 2d. in reading, spelling & Colburn's Arithmetic, the 3d and fourth in reading & spelling, besides answering many questions of a practical kind. The whole examination was highly creditable to the scholars & evinced that they had made laudable improvement in their studies during the winter. The decent dress, cleanly appearance & good behaviour of the children on the occasion, as well as their state of improvment in knowledge formed a delightful & striking contrast betwixt the children of their fathers before any christian Missionary visited them bearing the glad tidings of the gospel, and also betwixt multitudes of squalid, half clad children in the wilderness beyond and even about us, who know nothing of the blessings of civilisation or of the gospel. Many of the parents were present & expressed a high degree of satisfaction. One of the head-men at the close arose, shook hands with the Teacher (which is customary with Indians when going to address any one) and with tears in his eyes, said "I thank God he has given you so much knowledge to come here & teach our children."

The church consists of forty-three members, many of whom were gathered in as fruits of the revival whilst Mr. Miner was living. They generally walk orderly, many adorn their profession, and on the whole appear to give as much evidence of personal piety as members of churches generally amongst white people. Many of them appear emphatically to be brands plucked from the burning; having been in times past very much addicted to intemperance with its kindred vices. To mention one example. The case of an old man whose name is Bartholomew Calvin, 53 Delaware by nation, who is now 70 years of age. In 1771 or 2 at the solicitation of the Soc. in Scotland I believe for Propagating Christian Knowledge he was selected by the Rev. John Brainerd, brother of David B.1 in order to give him a liberal education; but in his second year in college, the funds failed in consequence of the revolutionary war and he was obliged to abandon his studies. For many years afterwards he taught school and about 25 years ago united with a (baptist) church, but became intemperate & at times drank excessively, still from time to time

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the upbraidings of his conscience were very severe & sometimes he would resolve on reformation, yet so strong was the habit, that he as often broke his resolutions & ruin seemed inevitable. But God in the riches of his grace & mercy saw fit to rescue him when he seemed ripe for an aggravated destruction after he had drunk of the intoxicating cup until reason & intellect were almost destroyed. In the way above mentioned he lived until about 3 years ago when the revival commenced under the Rev. Mr. M[in]e Jr preaching, he was then awakened and is now an eminent example of temperance & sobriety. Seldom have I seen one who appears to possess more of the grace of humility, this is manifest in all his deportment, but especially in prayer, here he seems a suppliant indeed. His humility seems to arise from a deep sense of the sinfulness & depravity of his heart by nature and of the greatness & holiness of God. When inquiring of him at a certain time respecting his feelings,. "Sometimes," he replied, "my sins rise so high before me and appear so great, that I inquire is it possible that such a sinner as I am ever to be saved?" At another time, at a church meeting when the members were expressing their feelings in turn "I have," says he, "a great many doubts (about myself) that I am not a christian, because I see so much sin in my heart. Still I find something within which hates those very thoughts & feelings which arise there, so that I am encouraged still to

1 David Brainerd was a celebrated missionary among the Stockbridges, in Massachusetts. He commenced his work in 1743.— Ed.

54 hope and now I am an old man & must soon die and it: seems as tho' satan was more busy & the conflict became more severe the nearer I draw to the close of life. But I am *determined* that if I *must perish* to perish at the feet of my divine Lord & Master." One circumstance more I can. not forbear to mention as it will show the state of his mind under severe trials. Last winter when the measles prevailed amongst the children, his only son who is but a lad had them and for a while his recovery was doubtful. But the old man viewed distinctly the hand of God in this dispensation of providence & was afraid he was going to cut off his only son from the land of the living so that his name would be no more remembered. (This I believe is characteristic of the Indian almost as much as it was of the

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Jews. He looks upon it as a great calamity not leave a son behind him to keep alive his name) But he bowed with a childlike submission and says "It is fit that God should take away this my *only son* & thus cause that the *name* of such a sinner as I have been should rot in oblivion." Having brought up his family in that irregular manner which every man who leads a life as he did, it could not be expected, that they would when old afford him much consolation; still some of them conduct well & one of his daughters is now a member of the church and gives abundant evidence of being a christian. Perhaps many more of those beloved christians who prayed & contributed for the support of this man when a youth have long since gone to rest, but I trust they will ere long meet him in heaven; & if any still remain it may be interesting to them to know that after between 50 & 60 years their prayers are heard & answered. Tho' seed lie buried long in dust it shan't deceive their hope."

The Deacons of the church John Metoxen & Jacob [C.] Chicks are interesting & exemplary men and "use the office of a Deacon well. " The former is at present the head man in the nation. His natural talents are respectable; he is judicious & discerning & perhaps no one possesses more influence in the nation—modest & 55 affectionate but yet decided in his opinions. He is old & gray-headed and he looks forward to the time when he must die, this seems to increase his anxiety to do his people good. It is pleasing yet affecting to see & hear him at times addressing his people. He is rather large in stature and comely in his appearance and when he speaks to his people it is like an aged father to his beloved children, whilst tears trickle down his aged cheeks, until his feelings become too big for utterance, still the intensity of his feelings never betray him into anything boisterous or fanatical, whilst he presses upon their minds & consciences the all important truths of the gospel. His wife is also a member of the church & adorns her profession. His only son gives some evidence of having experienced a change of heart the winter past.

The latter Jacob C. is a man of more talents & has been a great speaker, but was irregular in his habits until about three years ago when he broke off altogether from drinking & is now an example of piety, temperance, sobriety and industry. His wife is also a member of

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the church. Last winter his family were greatly afflicted by sickness & death. He buried a daughter & three grandchildren. The dying counsel of his daughter, whom we hope died a christian appeared to be blessed to the awakening of some of his children, particularly his oldest son who had been a profligate youth, altho' he was three years in the foreign Mission School at Cornwell Conn. He now appears to be a christian and if he holds out his talents & acquisitions in knowledge will enable him to do much good. These afflictions the parents bore with christian fortitude and when speaking of them says the father "I think them good because it be the means of awakening my other children."

During the year I have been with them a number of cases of discipline & suspension for a time have occurred but none of excommunication. There has been one death in the church and six belonging to the tribe have been added by a profession of faith and two (the school-Teacher & his 56 wife) by letter. One adult & fourteen children have been baptised.

A Temperance Soc. was formed about a year ago which now numbers about 70 males & females and exerts a very salutary influence. It embraces all of the most respectable part of our little community; altho' some at times have fallen away, yet in some cases the course pursued by the Soc. which was to have a Corn. of vigilance to visit delinquents, has proved effectual in reclaiming them, but a large majority of the members have entirely abstained from ardent spirits since they joined the society.

A Maternal Association was also formed last fall for the mothers of the church which seems to promise much good.

The winter past has been distinguished for judgements & mercies. In the fore part of it the measles went thro' the whole Settlement & more or less in almost every family had them, still only one infant child died of them, but consumptions and other disorders carried off a number of children & young people. Still others of the young people for a while appeared very houghtless & indifferent about their souls & were in the habit of meeting together

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& having dancing parties. At length I preached upon the subject on the Sab. & specially reminded them of God's dealings with their people for a few months past; and concluded by warning them in a very solemn manner to beware of such places and practices as they valued their souls & would escape the torments of hell. But alas! I have fearful reason for believing that in respect to one of those youths who thus met together, that the message of the gospel proved speedily "a savour of death unto death." For instead of listening to the warning, which was then doubtless timely had it been kindly received, some of them were offended and turned a deaf ear. For after meeting they met together & agree to & have a drinking frolick. Of this number was a young who had a pious mother, brother and sister who were faithful to him; but he heeded not their counsel. Besides he had been one year at the 57 foreign mission school before mentioned. And whilst the last golden sands of life were running he was engaged from time to time in dancing parties, this seemed to render his mind callous against all serious impressions. According to agreement he set out on this same eve (Sab.) for Green Bay (20 miles distant) contrary to the earnest solicitations of his friends who wished him to attend meeting. And after being absent two or three days they set out to return home but in a state of intoxication. But it seemed as tho' God would not be trifled with, nor suffer his laws & judgements to be trampled under foot with impunity. Part of this company stopped by the way but this young man with one other kept on; at length night came on it was exceeding cold & stormy, but it was his last for he froze to death. Alas how unlike the night, how changed the scene from what it was just one week previous which he spent at a dancing party. Little did he think whilst he danced along upon the brink of eternity that death had marked him for his victim & was making ready his arrow upon the string that those earthly pleasures with which he was fascinated served only to lull him into greater security, so as to render the shock of death more terrible. His comrade succeeded in getting to a house but with the greatest difficulty, but was so benumbed with cold & intoxicated, that he thought nothing of his companion. This awful stroke of divine providence put an effectual stop to these amusements for the winter and it does appear to me that it has been blessed to the good of some. Since about that time the cause of Christ seems to have been gaining ground, christians have been more prayerful

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religious meetings more solemn and a number have been inquiring to know what they shall do to be saved. Four or five give some evidence of having passed from death to life. Those who seem to give evidence of a change of heart amongst these Indians, are but, as it were, babes in Christ, they need constant watchfulness, for they are surrounded with strong temptations the strength of which christians abroad cannot easily conceive. Besides for 3 or 4 years 58 past they have been involved in difficulties respecting their lands; a detail of which I shall not here attempt. Suffice it to say that these troubles have in a great measure paralyzed their efforts to improve their farms & erect framed buildings—have been very depressing to their spirits, consequently their progress in habits of civilisation has been much retarded. They sent a Delegation last winter to Washington in order to lay the subject before Congress, but I believe nothing was accomplished. Should they be compelled to remove again I fear it would entirely ruin the tribe; for it is reduced exceedingly low & has been very much scattered in consequence of its removal from the state of N. York.

About one hundred of the Oneida tribe which left the state of N. York last Summer have joined the Stockbridge Indians, settled down upon the Fox r. 2 or 3 miles above them, built convenient houses and some of them have begun to clear up farms in a business-like manner.

A few individuals amongst them appear to give evidence of piety; They hold meetings amongst themselves on the Sabbath & week days and half of the day on the Sabbath the school Teacher or myself meet with them and give them religious instruction and after meeting have a S. School for the children when from 20 to 25 attend.

Besides the Indians already mentioned who have emigrated from the State of N. York; there are about 300 of the Oneida tribe settled about 20 miles distant on what is called Duck Creek. They are of the Episcopal order and at present have no Missionary or religious Teacher, their Miss ry the Rev Eleazer Williams¹ has been absent during the winter upon public business at the Seat of Government. There is a church amongst them;

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but for a year past they have had no schools (except about one month) nor S. Schools. Scarcely any either old or young can read

1 The so-called "French dauphin." Williams's career has been fully outlined in numerous volumes of *Wis Hist. Colls.*, and *Procs.*, q.v. See also, Wight's "Eleazer Williams," *Parkman Club Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896), i, pp. 133–203.— Ed.

59 intelligently in the English language. The Rev. R. F. Cadle¹ who labours under the patronage of the protestant Epis. church has a boarding school at Green Bay containing at present about 50 children, most of them however are only half & quarter Indian.

1 See "Documents relating to the Episcopal church and mission in Green Bay, 1825–41," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 450–515.— Ed.

The Stockbridge Indians are situated in part amongst the tribe of Menominie Indians, but who are in a wretched, degraded state; nothing as yet has been accomplished towards civilising them and they are fast wasting away before that dreadful scourge intemperance with its kindred vices. The whole number of the tribe is reckoned at 4,200. And not one of them knows anything experimentally of the religion of Jesus Christ.

It was peculiarly pleasing to witness the satisfaction & gratitude which the S. Indians expressed when they heard the letter read which the Rev. Dr. Codman Sec ry of your Board in Boston Mass. sent announcing my appointment as their Missionary, by wh. they ascertained that the venerable Soc. to whose kindness and liberality, they were so much indebted had not forgotten them. This is a powerful support to their minds in the midst of their troubles as well as a strong consolation to know that christians abroad are labouring and praying for them. Be assured Dear Sir, that the Society and christians in Scotland are not forgotten by the little band of christians who have so long been nourished & supplied by their your alms with the Bread of Life, in this far distant region in their daily supplications at the throne of divine grace, tho' the ocean rolls between and they are separated by many a hill & valley. They may indeed be said to be the poor of this world, yet thro' the

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instrumentality of the Missionaries which your venerable Soc. has sent to them and supported, some have been made rich in faith and heirs of the heavenly inheritance, and others doubtless have already entered into Rest.

Indorsed: "Returns to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge May 2d 1831."

60

EXTRACTS FROM MARSH'S JOURNAL, DURING THE BLACK HAWK WAR.1

1 The settlers in the valley of the Lower Fox feared that Black Hawk, now being pursued by the white troops under Gen. Henry Atkinson, would attempt to escape towards the northeast, and thus involve this region in the broil.— Ed.

Sab. [June] 17th. Rainy and cold. Mind completely distracted in consequence of reports of Indn. hostilities. Heard that the Sacs, Foxes some Pottawottamies and Winnebagoes were about 70 miles fr[om] Ft. Winnebago. Found it difficult & almost impossible to keep my mind off fr[om] t[he] subject. Still found some relief in prayer to God.

* * * * *

Tues. 19th. Weather very pleasant. In t[he] A.M. attempted to study but could accomplish but little, mind being constantly filled with distressing apprehensions of Indn. aggressions. Still feel it is wrong to distrust the goodness & mercy of God, for he can preserve me and my people & station atho' a host sh[oul]d rise up against us. At times I find relief in prayer and can trust all with God & then ere I am aware my mind is in the very midst of the enemy or I am planning some means of defense or destruction to the foe in case of an attack, and seem almost to see & hear their approach & savage yell—or feel t[he] poisoned arrow & tomahawk—But again I recall my wandering thoughts and strive to fix them on my subject & God, but these subjects alas! seem like strangers or unwelcome guests after such vagaries of the mind.

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Thurs. 21. Visited some and returned at dusk, & it was reported that t[he] Sacs &c were about 70 m. fr[om] t[he] Portage and coming this way; all was immediately alarm & confusion. Mr & Mrs. S[tevens] passed t[he] night with us, but there was little sleep in t[he] Mitssion] house during t[he] n[ight]. I felt at first somewhat alarmed, & disconcerted, but was enabled I trust to find relief in prayer; and that in some measure I could say t[he] L[ord] of Hosts is with us t[he] G[od] of Jacob is our refuge—And that I 61 could fleeing to t[he] blood of t[he] everlasting covenant commend myself & t[he] interests of this Mission to t[he] God of Missns, even if I must now close my earthly career. Walked to & fro for some time up & down about t[he] Missn. ho[use] t[he] latter part of t[he] n[ight] feeling that there was a possibility that I might discover or be surprised by a deadly foe—The moon shone beautifully all was calm & quiet around, & nothing to break t[he] stillness of t[he] scene but t[he] murmuring of t[he] waters in t[he] F[ox] river. Still every thing appeared to wear a melancholy appearance because I knew not what dangers awaited me, nor but that it might be near—But that from t[he] woods, or bushes I might hear them coming to do their dreadful, & tragical work of murdering & scalping both old & young—But t[he] morn. returned I had slept after t[he] day began to dawn,—t[he] sun shone into my room pleasantly & t[he] morn. seemed to smile and I arose thankful as I truly hope for t[he] kind preservation of t[he] n[ight] and that midnight alarm had [not] been permitted to disturb our dwelling.

* * * * *

Mon. 25th. Weather very fine in t[he] A.M. Spent t[he] time in going to see some of t[he] head-men but accomplished nothing. Still in a state of suspense & we are constantly hearing contradictory reports respecting t[he] Indns. some feeling that there is no danger, and t[he] Sacs &c will not come here but others, that they probably will Held a consultation respecting Mr. St[evens]'s family going to Green Bay in order to be out of danger provided there should be an attack of t[he] Inds. but no decision was made—O Ld. direct that I, nor

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any entrusted with t[he] concerns of this Missn. may err, or do anything for wh. we shall be sorry hereafter. Saw French & Inds. passing down upon t[he] opposite side of t[he] r[iver] went across & had an interview with them. Heard that a party of Sacs had been killed by a band of white men & 25 Winnebagoes, & their scalps brot. in near the Blue M[oun]d if I rightly recollect,—That they were daily expecting them 62 at Ft. Winnebago, & were only one day & a half's march fr[om] t[he] latter place. The whole number supposed to be not far fr[om] 8 or 10 hundred.

That 8 white men had been massacred at Galena & the B[ue] M[oun]ds. That they had told t[he] Winneba, goes that they wanted to have them get out of their way for if they did not they might step on them, and that they did not wish to hurt them but they wanted to kill t[he] white men—And also that t[he] tracks of 5 Sacs had been seen betwixt the B[utte] Dies] Mort and L[ake] W[innebago] Alas! What trials & troubles await this Missn. I know not. When I look at my own unfaithfulness, and ill-desert, as well as at my sins and the sins of this people I feel, that we are deserving of all t[he] calamities of war & even unspeakably more, banishment fr[om] his presence eternally, but O! his mercy & forbearance I desire to plead towards myself & people & altho' my crimes are black as hell, yet with *thee* there is forgiveness & plenteous redemption, that thou mightest be sought unto in this hour of perplexity and trouble. In t[he] eve. endeavoured to seek relief in prayer & hope that in some measure I did, & retired at a late hour but t[he] news of t[he] day, conversation &c. would not permit me to rest; often woke during t[he] n[ight] with some burden upon my mind,—rose & looked out but could see nothing, retired again after commending myself anew to God, and enjoyed some refreshing sleep. But was awaked very early by t[he] firing of guns and t[he] stir of t[he] family, and felt as tho' I could indeed give thanks to G[od] for t[he] light of returning day—How many have slept to wake no more, but I am still spared— God grant that it may be to live for thee and thee only—felt as tho' before God I could resolve if He would deliver me from this trouble, and continue unto us t[he] blessings of peace I would do more than I ever have done to promote his glory,

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and t[he] salvation of souls. Still my own strength is perfect weakness, and unless I am imbued with grace and wisdom fr[om] on high I shall not keep this resolution.

* * * * *

63

Wed. 27. Mr. Sherman & Mrs. S. Mr. and Mrs. Stevens left for Gr[een] Bay, passed the remainder of the week alone, both in peace & quietness, had but little fears fr[om] t[he] invasion of the Sacs. Still felt during t[he] week as tho' G[od] w[oul]d preserve me & this missn. and as tho' I could rest upon t[he] words of t[he] Ld. to Hezekiah when Sennacherib came against Jerusalem. Therefore saith t[he] Ld. G[od] concerning [the] Kg. of Assyria, He shall not come into this city nor shoot an arrow there. Isa. 37:33. Lord may I never presume upon thy goodness & mercy, but guide me in t[he] way thou wouldst have me to go.

* * * * *

July 6th. * * * Saw John Whistler who had just returned fr[om] Lead Mines. Heard of some shocking barbarities. That t[he] Sacs shot two men, one a Lieut (Force) belonging to a F[or]t (at t[he] Mines I believe) cut off his head, peeled up t[he] breast bone, took t[he] heart and cut off slices fr[om] t[he] fleshy parts of t[he] body to eat.¹

¹ George Force was killed while scouting near Blue Mounds Fort, June 20, 1832. In his company was Emmerson Green. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, *index*, for references to this affair.— Ed.

Alas! how brutal, how is man turned to be worse than wild beasts of the forest for they devour when pressed with pinching hunger, but these to gratify a spirit of revenge.

Gen Dodge killed another Indn. a chief of a band in a skirmish, and after snapping his gun at him 3 times, came at him with his spear, and when within pistol shot killed, and he

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scalped him, and he had tied in t[he] back part of his hair what appeared to be t[be] scalp of a white child. This band fought until they died, & one when actually dying continued to cry, how, how, wh[ich] was t[he] same as fight. The Sacs were then stationed in a fortified place on a point of land in a Lake called² [name omitted in MS.]

² Probably a reference to the so-called Battle of the Peckatonica, fought June 16, 1832. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.* for numerous accounts of this sanguinary skirmish.— Ed.

64 and provided they made their escape would probably cross F[ox] r[iver] somewhere, and perhaps, some of them come to this place—Mr. S. returned fr[om] the Bay and spent t[he] Sab.

* * * * *

July 10th. Mr & Mrs. S. having returned late t[he] previous eve. in order to prepare to go East perhaps, was very busily employed in assisting them to start. Much confused in mind as well as weary in body from want of rest t[he] night previous.

* * * * *

Thurs. 19th. a band of Winnebagoes called at t[he] Mission house wh[o] were on their way to Gr[een] B[ay] preparing to go out on a war excursion, one having a large spear, t[he] blade perhaps a foot & a half long, and the handle covered with red baize, another carried t[he] colors among other things with which it was ornamented was a pice of a Sac Indns. scalp. Some of them were painted red and had horses tails so adjusted upon their heads that the hair all hung down upon their shoulders, and upon the crown of the head was a plume, and another still carried a sort of drum wh[ich] t[he] natives make use of in dancing, which they beat on with a stick, and is a kind of tamborine—Their behavior was perfectly civil and after tarrying a short time they went on their way.¹

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1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266–298, for documentary material bearing upon the “Stambaugh Expedition” of Menomonees and French Canadians, in the Black Hawk War. — Ed.

On Tues. two men arrived fr[om] t[he] U.S. army stating that t[he] Sacs had retreated and gone towards Milwake perhaps 80 m. fr[om] Gr. Bay—

* * * * *

Friday 27th * * * Saw perhaps 50 of the Menominies who were on their way up the Fox r[iver] on a war expedition to join the U.S. army against the hostile Sacs. They appeared indeed thoughtless as sheep bound to the slaughter. Their painted faces, ornaments, drums, whistles, 65 war clubs, spears &c. &c. made them appear indeed savage and warlike. Their songs uttered from t[he] throat, consisting in deep guttural sounds and very loud without distinction in sounds seemed most like the singing of frogs, and t[he] occasional whoop was calculated to make one feel that darkness and moral death still broods over this region, removed at a very considerable distance from t[he] peaceful abodes of civilization, and peace. The contrast seemed very striking and impressive when compared with the stillness and order wh[ich prevailed] among a company of their brethren & kindred according to the flesh who were collected in a house wh[ich] they passed, consulting upon the interests of the Redeemers Kingdom.

SCOTTISH REPORT FOR 1832.

Statesburg &C, Aug. 1st.

To the Sec of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge .

Dear Sir —i feel it a duty to make an apology for not writing you before; but an absence of some months from my station by permission from the Am. Board, & Indian hostilities after

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my return have prevented. In consequence of these things a pressure of business & cares have combined to protract the time of making my return since the trouble ceased.

In taking a review of the last year & a quarter I see much to encourage & deplore—God is doing great things for Zion in christian lands whereof we are glad; he is pouring out his spirit on some of the Missionary stations among the heathen & multiplying converts to righteousness. For these manifestations of his power & grace we rejoice & bless his holy name. I feel that I have abundant cause for unfeigned Gratitude to God for his goodness to this Mission also. During this time he has appeared in glory to build up Zion amongst these Indians, and very considerably enlarged the number of the friends & followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. But I have to lament the paralysing effect which t[he] difficulties in wh[ich] they have been involved for some years past, respecting their lands, have had upon their feelings & the shade wh[ich] it has cast over their prospects. These things place a strong barrier in the way of our usefulness by distracting their minds, subjecting them to great expense and consumes not only much of their time but in various ways of our own. Still upon the whole there is a perceptible improvement from year to year in habits of industry & sobriety & an increase in religious knowledge. I have witnessed with great satisfaction more attention to their business, & to t[he] cultivation of their land than there was t[he] first year that I resided amongst them; and their families have been far better supplied with the necessaries & conveniences of life. Amongst that part of t[he] tr[ibe] upon whose hearts the gospel has not as yet produced a saving effect there has been far less drinking & carousing.

But t[he] work of reformation is not yet accomplished, for whilst I see much to encourage, there is still much to deplore and a work of years remains to be done. There is a great deal of indolence peculiar to the natives in an uncivilised state & many relics of paganism still cleaving to them, besides there is manifested in t[he] native character a degree of fickleness which is trying both to faith & patience. But I hope it produces in some measure

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this effect to make us cease trusting in man, & to be more cautious in judging according to t[he] outward appearance

The Temp[erance] Soc[iety] wh[ich] I mentioned as numbering at that time 70 members now contains about 100 & its effects are very apparent in t[he] peace & quietness wh[ich] is enjoyed in families & neighborhoods where before wretchedness & discord prevailed.

As the fruit of t[he] revival which I mentioned in the, winter of 1831 ten united with t[he] ch[urch] at t[he] season of communion in Aug. & Oct. three of whom were baptised. Some of these were young people of much promise & have continued to give increasing evidence of a change of heart. Meetings thro the season both on t[he] Sab. & week days were well attended & solemn, still there appeared to be no particular attention to t[he] subject of religion until t[he] latter part of fall & the first of winter. About this time christians began to awake, & to do their duty, & sinners also to inquire what they must do to be saved. The first of Jan. a morn. prayer-meeting was established commencing at sunrise, & often before that time, neither cold or snow or the early hour preventing, they would assemble for prayer; and whilst thus united & engaged God heard and answered. Many, even amongst th[ose] most dissipated & abandoned in t[he] tr[ibe] were awakened & hopefully converted; & by their sober, regular habits as well as by their conversation, as yet give evidence of having passed from death unto life. But some opposed, & whilst t[he] truth like t[he] fire & t[he] hammer appeared to break & melt many hard hearts & led them to bow in sweet submission to Christ, others seemed only to become more & more hardened.

In July nine united with t[he] church, six of whom received t[he] ordinance of baptism, and it was indeed solemn & joyful season to see so many coming forward & joining themselves to t[he] Lord. But whilst I rejoice it is with trembling for they are emphatically the "little ones" in t[he] family of Christ & stand in constant need of all that cherishing & watchfulness which children do when surrounded by strong temptations. (We use much caution in admitting members, & put them on trial usually three months before they are admitted.)

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They are usually put on trial three months before received into t[he] Church. I hope that christians in Scotland will ever remember this little flock in their supplications rescued by the grace of God from the destroyer, and cherished by their benefactions, that they may be kept & be enabled to adorn their profession. Another circumstance wh[ich] added to the interest of the season just mentioned was, that the delegation wh[o] had spent the winter in 68 Washington had just returned, & sat down with us at the table of the Lord and God had also delivered us from all our fears of t[he] hostile Indians.

John Hunt, one of the number who came forward was the sixth of a family of Munsees wh[ich] has united with t[he] church since it emigrated from t[he] state of N. York, a few years ago; and at that time every member of it was in pagan darkness. But now two only remain out of the ch[urch] and they are children. Until last winter John retained all of his pagan habits, pursuing t[he] chase for a subsistence, & all he could get besides a scanty living he expended for ardent spirits; and doubtless was one of the most dissipated in the tr[ibe]. But where sin has abounded, grace appears much more to abound, for he seems to be literally a new man, & thus far an example of temperance & sobriety & by his conversation also seems to show that a work of grace has been begun in his heart. Two of this interesting family have died. The last Thomas Simons died in May at Cataraugus N. Y. where he went last fall (1831) to visit his friends. When relating his feelings at a religious meeting, "Before I cam here," says he, "all was dark. I knew nothing about these things, and I was advised by t[he] old people to learn to read t[he] Bible." He immediately commenced, & being very persevering in whatever he undertook, he was soon able to understand a little in t[he] N[ew] T[estament]. "There says he, "I found that I was a sinner, but I found also that a Savior had been provided for such, & I was led to believe on him. This makes me happy. And now altho. I am a great sinner & deserve to be sent down to hell, yet I will praise him for his great goodness to me & I mean to try to serve him all my days." He died with the consumption & whilst he wasted away retained his reason & appeared to give brighter & brighter evidence that his treasure was laid up in heaven. He manifested a strong desire for the salvation of his brethren & kindred according to t[he]

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flesh, & told them that he wanted to have them feel as he did. To the Missionary he says "I love Jesus Christ & feel ready & willing to die that I may go & be with my 69 Friend & Savior." At times he had expressed to me a strong desire to get an education & preach t[he] gospel, but God had otherwise determined, & without doubt he is now serving his divine Lord & Master in a higher & more glorious manner than he could had he been permitted to attain t[he] object wh[ich] seemed to lay near his heart.

There has been a number of cases of discipline & suspension for a while from the church but none of excommunication; and the ch[urch] now consists of sixty two members in regular standing with t[he] exception of some individuals who are under discipline; and in addition to t[he] nineteen wh[o] have been admitted to t[he] ch[urch] I have baptised eleven children.

At times I see very convincing proof that God is carrying on the work of sanctification in the hearts of many of my ch[urch] by the deep heart searching wh[ich] t[he] truth occasions, & the godly jealousy which is maintained over their hearts lest they should be deceived. Early one morning Bartholomew Calvin (whose name I have before mentioned) called upon me and I inquired of him how he did, "Well" he replied "in body but not in mind. Yesterday I was reading that chap. in the Memoirs of David Brainerd¹ where he speaks of his supposed good frame &c. before it pleased God to show him his situation & exposedness to the wrath to come; and I thought it very possible that I might be in the same situation. The preaching of David B. was the means of awakening & converting my poor mother & now I thought he was speaking to me." I inquired of him how long he had been in this darkness of mind & he said ever since the communion wh[ich] was a few weeks previous. "I am afraid," says he, that I partook of the memorials of the Saviors dying love unworthily because it seems to me so great & solemn a thing to come to the table of the Lord." After removing some difficulties in

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1 *An abridgment of Mr. David Brainerd's Journal among the Indians. Or, the rise and progress of a remarkable work of grace among a number of the Indians in the provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania* (London and Edinburgh, 1748).— Ed.

70 his mind respecting 1 Cor. 11:29. I inquired of him if he had any doubts respecting Christ's willingness to save &c. "No" says he I cannot doubt that but it is the hidden evils of my heart that troubles me & because I have so much indwelling sin," To the inquiry whether he had not at times some previous views of Christ? "O yes," says he, "but not so much as I could wish." Whilst I assured him that no strange thing has happened to him & he listened with a child-like simplicity to every word, & at the close of the interview I prayed with him, & when he left, gave me his hand & says "well I am thankful that I came here this morn." It was indeed a consolation to administer relief to one bowed down as he seemed to be under a sense of his own vileness & unworthiness, and to direct him to our "merciful & faithful high Priest who was tempted in all points like as we are yet without sin."

At another time when returning from meeting I overtook a member of the ch[urch] * * * who had been a notorious drunkard, but now I trust has been washed & sanctified, and asked her how she felt with regard to the truth wh[ich] she has heard whether she believed it &c. "I think it just so now, says she, but once I did not. Sometimes when you preach so hard (close) I all naked, I nothing to cover me, but then I get hope, I think how Christ has died, and I mean to try as long as I live to serve him."

The school & S[unday] school have been kept in operation & the number has been about the same as when I wrote before, and the children appear to be making some progress in knowledge, altho' the present unsettled state of the tr[ibe] prevents its flourishing as it otherwise might. During two summers past it has been taught by natives, and by the Teacher Mr. Stevens in the winter.

Our labors were very much interrupted for a number of weeks during the forepart of summer in consequence of our fear of an attack by a band of hostile Sacs, which had

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crossed the Mississippi & committed deprivations upon the white settlements wherever they came in contact with them, & murdered the inhabitants. For a considerable time their place of rendezvous was about three days march distant, but small bands were constantly going out to plunder &c. The Teacher with his family removed to Green Bay in order to take refuge in the Fort in case of an attack. During this time I remained alone with only an Indian boy at my station.

They were at peace with the Stockbridge tribe, but their object was to destroy white people & the Menomies with whom they were at war, and many of them resided in the vicinity of Green Bay. After I lay down upon my pillow with the impression upon my mind, that it was possible before the morning light I might be aroused by the war whoop, & rise to seek safety by flight or else fall into their barbarous hands a prey; such feelings were indescribably painful: but then I sought support & relief & trust that I found it in his precious promise who said "Lo I am with you always even to the end of the world." And the Lord remembered us in great mercy & blessed be his holy name forever, for the enemy were not permitted to come against us or even "shoot an arrow here."

Since then those Sacs have been mostly slain by the Am[erican] force & other friendly Indians.

It is now quite probable that the Stockbridge Indians will remove in the course of two years to a place about 15 miles distant¹ on the E. side of Winnebago Lake (a small L[ake] in t[he] Fox river about 40 miles from its mouth). An arrangement has been made betwixt them & the U.S. in wh[ich] they together with two other tribes are to receive 3 Townships of land on that side of the Lake, and pay for all their improvements on their present location. As this arrangement is connected with another in wh[ich] a reservation is to be set off on the W. side of Fox r[iver] for other N.Y. Tribes, and has not as yet been assented to by the Menomies it is possible they will refuse consent. Provided they should accede to the proposed arrangement betwixt the U.S. & the N. Y. Indians, then the Township will be confirmed to the Stockbridges & other tribes by an

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1 The present village of Stockbridge, Calumet County.— Ed.

72 act of the Senate and Pres. of the U.S. I have lately explored this tract of land and find the soil of a quality far superior to their present location, generally well watered with excellent streams of pure water, & some of them large enough for mills, well timbered and suited to purposes of agriculture. In addition to this they will be farther removed from the means of intoxication. I have little doubt but the removal will eventually improve their condition altho for a few years they will have to struggle hard to get along.

* * * * *

(Altho) much has been done to civilise the natives & many doubtless have already been savingly benefited, still when the whole number is taken in the account who are perishing for lack of vision, very little indeed comparatively is doing. The light already lit up is only as a taper in the midst of gross darkness. A vast proportion of the Indians in this N. W. Territory up the sources of the Mississippi & West of it have never heard of the name of Jesus; and with regard to most of them they are not only pagans but their downward course is greatly accelerated in consequence of mingling with fur-traders and others engaged in the traffic of ardent spirits. They are rapidly disappearing like the dew of the morning before the scorching sun. Their drunken frolics & feasts exhibit scenes both disgusting & shocking to the feelings. In the month of June I visited a band of Ojibbeways on the river St. Clair at the outlet of Lake Huron. There had been a general feast & as usual closed with a drunken frolic. Whilst conversing with one not quite as much intoxicated as the rest, a young woman came up & spoke to her husband in such a manner as made him angry, he immediately stripped up his sleeves, knocked her down, stamped upon her and caught the first thing which came to hand which was a large piece of peeled bark, dried in the sun and struck her with it with both hands. By this time I had succeeded in getting the Indians to interfere & he fought them like a tiger, but they succeeded in securing her from his barbarous hands, otherwise 73 he would doubtless have put an end to her life. Murder is not unfrequent in these revelries.

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The pagan female enjoys none of those privileges and immunities which females enjoy in christian lands; and instead of having honor shown her "as unto the weaker vessel" and treated as the tender & affectionate wife, she is considered & treated rather as the servant or slave of an arbitrary husband, & must perform all of the drudgery whilst he hunts or sits in the wigwam. Being from childhood accustomed to this mode of treatment they suppose it must be so and stupidly submit without murmuring. But all of the wretchedness & hardship which they endure in this world would not be worthy of being mentioned, if when released from this state of bondage by death they were prepared for heaven. But this is not the case, for as they approach the shades of death they draw near in all of their sins, and total strangers to that only name by which any can be saved; and the joys and hopes which comfort & support the christian in this solemn hour reach them not. Hearing one time that a war-chief was dangerously ill I went to see him, and asked him where he expected his soul would go after death, & the amount of his reply was "I dont know."

When the christian parent is called to part with his beloved offspring he commend its departing spirit to that Savior who died for sinners, but I have known the pagan mother kindle a fire at its grave and watch it a long time when it was cold, and when asked the reason why said that it was to keep it warm on its way to the West where they imagine the souls of the departed go; or else commend its departing spirit to the guardean care of a favorite dog. An Ojibbeway family on the Mississippi as a missionary who was an eye-witness informed me, lost a child & at its burial (as they suppose the soul does not leave the body until after this takes place) took a favorite dog, performed over it some senseless ceremony, addressed it very earnestly and then killed it. Being asked why they did it, answered "That it might take care of the child 74 on its way to the West." How invaluable to such parents would be a saving knowledge of that gospel which brings life & immortality to light, so that in the arms of faith they might commend in the hour of death, the spirits of their children to that Savior who says "Suffer little children to come unto me." &c.

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Says a Mr. Oakes an intelligent Indian Trader, "The account which the Apostle gave of the heathen in his day is applicable to the uncivilised Indians of the present day, and I have learnt this from personal observation." Not un frequently aged and infirm parents are left by their children to perish on some desolate Island. "I was crossing," says a Mr. Ashmun (another Indian Trader) Leach Lake (a large Lake situated N. W. of L. Superior) in the month of Dec. upon the ice, having a white man & Indian for a guide. It was exceeding cold and I had to make every exertion to keep from freesing; about noon I arrived at an Island in the middle of the Lake and built up a fire & was obliged to remain some time on account of the cold. I had been travelling a number of days & my provisions were entirely exhausted, but shook out a few crumbs from out sacks and ate them which was all we could get to eat & determined if possible to reach a house that night on the opposite side of the Lake about 15 miles distant. Just as I was leaving the Island my attention was attracted by a hacking, & looking thro' the bushes saw an old blind man upon his knees at work with a hatchet almost worn up to the eye; he would strike a few strokes & then stop & feel; in this way he had succeeded during the day in felling a very small tree & cutting off one stick & had commenced upon the second. I approached & spoke to him; he immediately drops his hatchet, raises both hands and exclaims "O che-moke-a-mon, che-moke-a-mon" (the word for an American) who *has come* to give us life a little longer? Do go into my lodge & see my poor, old woman for she is almost dead." "I went in" says he, "& saw lying upon the ground an old, blind woman also. Near her was a little handful of coals and a pile of acorn-shells wh[ich] she 75 would take up one by one and put on the coals to prevent them from being entirely extinguished. They begged for something to eat but "I told them that I had nothing wh[ich] they could eat. I ascertained that they were the parents of a thousand powerful band of Indians; and that their children left them in the fall with a little wood & a few nuts, but they had eaten them all up & were in a state of starvation, After furnishing them with some wood I left them and with very great difficulty succeeded in reaching the house at a late hour in the night & for three days it was impossible to return

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on account of the storm & cold & when I did, found that poor, old, blind couple dead and lying side by side.”

Indorsed: “Returns to the Scotland Soc. for Prop. Chris. Knowledge. From May 2d 1831 to Aug. 1st 1832.”

FIRST SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1833.

To the Secretary of the Scotland Society for Propogating Christian Knowledge .

Dear Sir —since I wrote you in Aug. the affairs of this Mission have gone on without interruption. During this time there has been no general attention to religion, altho' (from time to time) some have been awakened, & for a time seemed to have considerable conviction, still I do not know that any have indulged hopes of a saving change. Meetings both on the Sab. & week days have been well attended; & sometimes there has been a deep solemnity upon the minds of the congregation, still these flattering appearances have been rather like the early cloud & morning dew, tho' all have not lost their convictions.

The state of feeling in the church has been very harmonious; but our faith & patience are greatly tried from time to time by the irregularities of some of the members. There has been four cases of discipline, tho' none of excommunication. Children in understanding as well as in 76 knowledge, & surrounded by strong temptations, alas! many of them are too easily led astray.

The day and S[unday] School have gone on as usual with but little variation in respect to numbers. It has been more sickly than usual during the winter past, and since Oct. there have been seven deaths, all of them children, however, excepting one young man.

Here I will insert some extracts from my journal from time to time in order that I may give a more correct representation of the situation of this church and people.

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Sept. 2d. Sab. preached from Zach. 9:12. The audience very solemn, many listened with deep interest, & t[he] word appeared to take effect. But, alas! they hear but do not lay it to heart, nor will they “turn to the strong holds.” Baptised a family consisting of five interesting children. The father formerly unsteady & intemperate, but now I hope a new creature in Christ Jesus. He is the leader in singing & for two or three winters past has taught a singing school amongst his people. These are always interesting seasons as it affords me an opportunity to explain & enforce the obligations of parents towards their children after giving them up in the solemn ordinance of baptism, to train them up for God. Since then I have baptised 12 children including an interesting family of six. At the eve. meeting Dea[con] Chicks prayed in english (which is not usual for the members of the church.) It was Daniels prayer, contained in his ninth chap. and such was his humble manner & feeling too, that it produced a striking effect upon the audience, & some were affected to tears. It seemed rather the language of a penitent jew confessing his sins & the sins of his people, & pouring out his soul in fervent supplications for his city & people, than of a christian Indian using his words centuries afterwards.

27th. The day of the stated church meeting. Brought forward a resolution in which the members agree before taking any considerable journey to ask counsel of the church. And if they think the reasons insufficient to abandon it, but if it is approved a letter of recommendation is 77 to be given. After reading & fully explaining the object, it met with a cordial reception. A disposition to journey, I have ever found a great evil, for they do not only spend their time & money to little purpose, but generally fall into temptation. If this resolution is followed up it will undoubtedly greatly promote steadiness in their habits, and check that roving disposition which is characteristic of the wild Indians, & takes a great while to break up after they become in a measure civilised.

Oct. 5th. At the church meeting questioned the members respecting the subject of my discourse the preceding Sab. which was the nature of the christian hope, distinguishing it from such as are false & delusive, and inquired also what was the object of their faith. The

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answers were generally very satisfactory, which showed that they had not been inattentive hearers of the word. I inquired of Sally A. who appears to be a growing christian & adorns her profession, what would satisfy her, "To be with Christ," says she, "to see him & to be like him," in a manner & with a tone of voice which seemed to show that it came from a heart deeply imbued with the love of God.

7th. Sab. Meeting in the eve. at Bartholomew Calvins; he having been for sometime sick & low and not expecting to recover. After I had made some remarks respecting the conversion of a sinner an hundred years old, from the recollection of a sermon which he had heard the Rev. R. Baxter preach 85 years before. "O what love," says he, "that could pardon such an old sinner? And O! What encouragement to the chief of sinners, when I who had lived all my days in sin, & was just ripe for ruin should be plucked as a brand from the burning, & made a vessel of mercy." "I ask an interest in all your prayers that I may be supported & have the light of the Savior's countenance when called to pass the Jordan of death. Please to sing the 51st Ps[alm] 1st p[ar]t. Show pity Lord, O Lord forgive." This is a favorite Ps. with him and one to which he often refers in conversation.

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12th Attended the funeral of two children. One thirteen years of age & a S[unday] S[chool] scholar. His father is a leading man in the tribe and a member of the church. The religious instruction which he had received at home and at school also had deeply impressed his mind with the importance of religion. I visited him frequently during the latter part of his sickness, & found him ready to converse. He did not expect to recover & once of his own accord requested prayers on the Sab. He appeared to manifest sorrow for his sins & said that he hoped the Savior had forgiven them, & that now he loved him. A few days before his death he said to his father, "at first I felt unwilling to die, but now I do not for I want to go & be with the Savior."

Nov. 4th. Sacrament day, preached from s. John 3:1. The church listened with fixed attention. May the love of God be shed abroad more & more in the hearts of his children

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here and they live more as becometh sons of God." In the afternoon administered the Lord's Supper; the season was solemn and interesting and refreshing to our spirits. Two were added to the church who had formerly been members in the state of N.Y. Baptised three children.

13th. Quarterly meeting of the Temp[erance] Soc[iety]. An address was delivered by Timothy J[ourdan], one of their own number. Meeting well attended and considerable interest was manifested in the subject. But from the report it appeared that little progress had been made during the last quarter. Some had violated their promise & among the rest a member of the church, * * * of whom we had cherished high hopes for nearly two years.

Often I have painful evidence of the fickleness and instability of those whose minds in early life were not fortified by moral & religious principles & who have for years given the reins to the basest of passions. Altho' by some alarming providence, or by religious instruction this vicious propensity may appear to be overcome, still at time, it rouses its expiring energies, when it would seem that 79 victory was well nigh complete and very frequently compels its deluded votary to say "when shall I awake? I will seek it yet again.

14th Attended the funeral of a young man, Joshua Aaron, & a member of the church. Preached from Rev. 14:13. The audience listened with deep solemnity whilst I pointed out what those labors are from which the pious dead rest, & the kind of works which follow them. Joshua died of a consumption. I visited him frequently during his sickness & found him ever ready & willing to converse so long as he could. He felt conscious of his approaching end & endeavored to prepare himself for it. The first time I visited him after he was taken sick, so great appeared to be his sense of his own sinfulness that he did not dare to call himself a christian, "for," says he, "I am a great sinner, still I love the Lord Jesus Christ & delight in his worship & service."

He looked upon death with composure & appeared ready & willing to depart. Of this he often spoke to his brother, who is also a member of the church and said that he wanted

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to go & be with Christ which was far better. As he drew near the close of life he could converse but little, yet when I spoke to him of the love of the Sav. in dying for sinners he would weep when so low as to be unable to speak. His mother died in the triumphs of faith as I trust between two & three years since, thus we hope that both mother & son are now gathered to that rest which remains for the people of God.

16th. Commenced a course of weekly lectures to parents upon family government & instruction. This is greatly neglected & is a sore evil. Some however feel more deeply the importance of training up their children in the way in which they should go but are deficient in knowledge; whilst others follow too much the pagan mode which is to let their children do as they please with but little restraint. The consequence is what might be expected such children take the course in which a depraved heart leads—are unsteady & vicious and their example is alike detrimental to the interests of society & religion. The meeting was well attended, all appeared to be pleased & I am sanguine in the hope, that thro' the blessing of God great good will result.

Dec. 3d. Monthly Concert. The meeting generally well attended. Read the account of the revival at the Cherokee Camp-meeting held last Aug. which greatly rejoiced our hearts, and we immediately lifted up our voices in thanksgiving and praise to God for his goodness & mercy to the poor Cherokees. Accounts of this kind excite the liveliest interest in the minds of this people, for they not only have a tender sympathy for them in common with all other christians, but such as kindred have for each other. Many of our little praying-circle have learnt by experience to prize these seasons, & give proof of it by being uniformly present, & by the fervent prayers which they offer up. Some are often so much affected at these seasons that their feelings become too big for Utterance. May the Lord greatly increase the numbers of such amongst this people as love to pray for the prosperity of Zion.

Dec. 24th. *Narrow escape from fire .*

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Between three & four o'clock this morning was awakened by the smell of a little smoke in my room, still it did not alarm me because the chimney being badly constructed we are much annoyed with it. Immediately arose in order to find from whence it proceeded, and was induced to keep on from door to door until I opened the one into the sitting-room, (which was in another part of the house from which I slept,) and saw the floor two thirds of the way across on fire, tho' somewhat stifled owing to the tightness of the room. It had already communicated with a closet in one side of the room filled with clothing. Momentarily I roused the family from their perilous condition, for in a few minutes the flames would have been bursting into the room where a part of it slept, and with our utmost efforts together with the assistance of a new neighbor the fire was extinguished, which in a very few minutes more would have laid our dwelling in ashes as little could have been saved provided all had escaped with their lives. The fire originated from a defect in the construction of the hearth. The loss of property is perhaps not more than 60 or 70 dollars.

In no event of my life, have I ever seen more manifestly the hand of God, & none scarcely in which it deserves more devoutly to be acknowledged. It was his watchful providence, who never slumbereth nor sleepeth, which awaked me, for I retired Sab. eve. unusually fatigued with the labors of the day & had rested quietly until that time beyond which all human efforts to have saved our dwelling would have been wholly abortive. Blessed be God, for altho' he has chastened us still he has remembered mercy and spared our dwelling &c. in this inclement season of the year. May we be more entirely devoted to him in future.

25th. Christmas. At a Council previously called the nation of their own accord resolved to spend the day in a religious manner. It has usually been a day of mirth & festivity amongst the young people. We met at the usual hour of meeting on the Sab. and had religious exercises and devoted the afternoon to the cause of temperance. There was a general attendance at meeting all day, and I returned home rejoicing that God had put it into their

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hearts to spend the day so differently and profitably too from what it had been spent in years previous.

28th. Spent a part of the day in visiting. Passed some Menominie wigwams, and hearing the sound of a native drum, concluded that they were performing some religious rite and I stopped to witness it. As I approached I heard a number of men singing a native tune which was responded to by the women emitting the sound thro the nose, so that at a distance it sounded like persons in distress. When I came up I inquired what was going on within? "Mani-to-kan-so" (Grand-Medicine-dance) one replied very seriously, and went on to tell me that a child was sick & expected to 7 82 die. (it died soon afterwards). I looked into the wigwam & saw the women dancing around the fire in the middle, holding by the arms a pale, emaciated child too sick & weak to stand up itself & perform the senseless ceremony in order to be cured. In the meantime one man beat upon the drum & another shook a gourde-shell in order to keep time. After dancing a few minutes all seated themselves around the fire in silence, & the leader made a short speech, which was responded to by a loud grunt. They vainly imagine that these unmeaning ceremonies have a mysterious efficiency in healing the sick altho' nothing can be more inappropriate or less calculated to do them good. They resort to this dance, or rather season of revelry on other important occasions, as for example when going out to hunt that they may find a plenty of game, or when they have hunted a long time & taken nothing, that the Great Spirit may tell them where to find it. But their songs & speeches are mere repetition of words without meaning which forcibly reminded me of the Saviors injunction "use not vain repetitions as the heathen do." What added to the sorrow and disgust which I felt was, that these ceremonies were performed with whiskey, which is considered indispensable, and when the wretched, squalid mother arose the second time to dance she was too drunk to move, & could only stand & make the child perform the motion whilst the rest went around. From this scene of superstition, degradation and drunkenness, I turned and inquired how long shall more than Egyptian darkness brood over these immortal minds! And how long shall men influenced wholly by the basest selfishness be permitted to pour out such a

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flood of desolation, as they do now upon these frontiers! And when shall the light of the gospel shine upon this fast degenerating tribe!

Jan. 2d 1833. Julia, a little girl about four years of age, a daughter of Mr. S[tevens] the Teacher, expired. She had a presentiment from the time she was first taken, that she should not recover; was often heard engaged in prayer, & frequently asked her mother also to pray for her. Altho' 83 she appeared sensible that she was drawing near to death still it was not terrible to her, but said to her mother that she was not afraid to die "For she should go & be with the Savior." For a number of weeks before her death when in health, she had been unusually interested in the story of the Savior which her parents often related to her, and could not be satisfied then, but would plead to have it repeated again & again without ever manifesting the least appearance of weariness or impatience. Whilst her parents deeply feel their loss, they do not mourn as those who have no hope.

I would conclude this by earnestly commending this Mission to the prayers of your venerable Society. Amidst many discouragements we feel that we do not labor altogether in vain. But from time to time we are permitted to see some precious fruit of our labors, for God grants us some refreshings from his presence; and while we are thankful for any mercy drops, we venture to look up and humbly ask for more; hoping that ere long God will pour out his Holy Spirit and that great numbers may be gathered into the fold of Christ.

I feel an increasing anxiety in behalf of the Indians belonging to other tribes in this region. No one in whom any measure of the Spirit of Christ dwells can look over this region without feeling in some degree as Paul did whilst waiting at Athens. Life, which to all is uncertain, is still more so [to] them, for they are slaves to those vices which cut it short, and which, while it lasts renders it hardly deserving of the name, for they half extinguish the vital flame, and it seems rather like the flickering of a candle in the socket. Still the gospel can enlighten, it can elevate, it can save them. How then should the christian inquire in respect to this glorious cause Lord what will thou have me to do? Let him not grow weary in well doing, remembering that the Saviors words are indeed true in respect

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to all "He that believeth & is baptised shall be saved but he that believeth not shall be damned."

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Board Feb. 1st. 1833. Sep. 2–Jan. 2, 1833."

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THE SOCIETY'S REPLY.

Edinburgh Society Hall 18 June 1833.

Dear Sir —I have received both of your Journals which I had much pleasure in laying before the Directors of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The Directors are exceedingly gratified, not merely with the interesting information which your Journals contain but with the Spirit which they breathe. They rejoice that in the midst of so much danger from the neighbourhood of hostile tribes, you have in mercy been saved, and they hope you will be long preserved to be useful to the people among whom you are placed, and that you may have the rich reward of seeing the pleasure of the Lord prospering in your hands. Highly honourable indeed is the work in which you are engaged. What a rich prize would it be if even only one soul of these poor, benighted, and ignorant natives should be saved—how much more so, if you should be the honoured instrument in the hands of God, of turning many from sin to righteousness—of removing the darkness of their heathen superstition and idolatry—of bringing them into the marvellous light of the Gospel—of leading them to the cross, and to the peace speaking blood of the lamb, where alone they can have their sins washed away. The Spirit of the Lord can alone accomplish this great work, but we are desirous to use the means, and I trust you will have many souls given you as the success of your labours.

The Directors of the Society have ordered extracts from your Journals to be published in the appendix to their anniversary sermon, and they hope you will continue as frequently as you can, to transmit your journals containing not merely the progress of the great work in which you are at present engaged, but such particulars regarding the habits, peculiarities

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and manners of these native tribes, which may shew the dark and ignorant state in which they are at present, and the removal of which should be the anxious wish and earnest prayer of every christian.

The Directors pray that you may be strong in the Lord—That through your means many be added to the church of 85 Christ and that in your own person, and in your flock, you may have the blessing from on High, strengthening you in your labours and uniting you more and more in those bands of christian love which the world cannot break asunder I remain with every christian feeling

My Dear Sir Yours very faithfully Jno. Tawse Sec. Socy P. C. K.

The Rev d Cutting Marsh, P. M. Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians P.O. Grand Cakalin Michigan Territory .

Indorsed: "Jno. Tawse Secretary of the Scotland Soc. Recd. Oct. 1833"

SECOND SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1833

Statesburg near Green Bay M. T. Aug. 1st, 1833

To the Sec. of the Scot, Soc. For Prop. Chris. Knowledge .

Dear Sir —My last communication brought the history of this Mission down as far as Feb. 1st. Since then no great changes have taken place: altho' industry and the cause of temperance are evidently making progress. The state of feeling in the church has been very harmonious and two individuals have indulged hopes of having passed from death unto life. The four individuals whom I then mentioned as being under censure have been restored and their walk since that time has been circumspect. But we have been under the necessity of suspending three others on account of intemperance. One of them, a young

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man with a wife who is also a member, have since left the Settlement in a clandestine manner, and gone to Canada five or six hundred miles distant.

Two were examined & propounded for admission into the ch[urch] last Spring, but their walk during the time they were on trial (which was three months) not being satisfactory, they were put upon further trial. Two members have died in the triumphs of faith. I have baptised four children. Religious meetings both on the Sab. & week days have been well attended and at times great solemnity has been manifested upon the minds of the congregation. 86 An increasing interest is felt in S[unday] S[chool] instruction; the children the Spring & Summer past have been far more punctual than formerly. Between forty and fifty children belong to the S.S. besides a class of young and old people together who are taught at the same time in a bible class by the school Teacher.

Perhaps it will be interesting to your Soc. to have a brief history of this church given from the time of its formation to the present, together with a catalogue of all the names who have united with it.

This church was organised in New Stockbridge N. Y. July 24th 1818, and then consisted of eleven members, four males and seven females.

A small colony consisting of about 40 persons, was sent out to take possession of some lands which the tr[ibe] owned in common with the Delawares on White River in the state of Indiana. A few of this band were professors of religion and it was thought desirable by their Missionary the Rev. Mr [John] Sergeant, that they should be formed into a church; and accordingly were receiving the same articles of faith & covenant as the parent church had.

Thus organised and receiving instructions from and the blessing and prayers of their Revd Missionary and christian friends, they set out to go into the wilderness, a little feeble band having no one to go before and guide and instruct them.

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On the way they were favored with two opportunities whilst passing thro Ohio of communing with other churches. But the sacrament was never administered to them, nor they did they have any preaching whilst they remained there which was a period of three or four years: still they met regularly on the Sab. & held public worship amongst themselves, and besides other appropriate exercises read the bible with Dr. Scotts Commentary. Whilst there three members of the church died. In 1822 they removed to Green Bay with the rest of the remaining Colony, but had no congregational or pres[byterian] preaching until 1827 when the Rev. Mr. [Jesse] Miner being sent out by the Am. Board on an exploring tour spent a few weeks with them. He collected the church together, inquired 87 into their standing &c. received a number into it and administered the Lord's Supper a privilege which they had not enjoyed before for 8 or 9 years. Mr. M's. visit was productive of great good & prepared the way for the establishment of the Mission the next year 1828.

Names, time when received and present standing &c.

July 24th 1818.

62 John Metoxen. Deacon.

56 Robert Konkapot.

*

* Dead.

Joseph Quinney.

59†

† Absent and standing not good.

John Bennet.

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79 Esther Thowhusquh.

* Margaret Quinney.

64 Elisabeth Bennet

52 Hannah Konkapot.

50 Catherine Metoxen.

46 Dolly Now-ottokhunwoh

* Mary Konkapot.

Sept. 2 d 1827

64 Catherine Littleman by letter

* Betty Pye by letter

* Betty Pontkoohquh

83 Anna Aukauweem

* Christeen Auseetaunwuh

65 Betsey Sauquaumeen.

* Catherine Turkey

48 Hannah Chicks

57 Betsey Miller

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39 Betsey Palmer

39 Jerushee Davids

Sally Hunt

July 20th 1828

73 in Feb.

72 & Bartholomew S. Calvin

49 Jacob Chicks. Deacon.

41 Austin E. Quinney

*65 Catharine Poponanmuh

29 Sally Anthony

33 Rebecca Moses.

Oct. 5th 1828.

39 Timothy Jourdan

41 Jacob Davids

36 John W. Quinney

33 Cynthia Quinney

29 Betsey Toweey

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26 Electa W. Adams

23 Hannah Chavees

61 Eunice Jourdain. Suspended

Jan. 1st. 1829.

47 Cornelius Doxtator

37 Joseph M. Quinney

28 John P. Quinney

* Tracy Joshua

22 Samuel Miller

* Joshua Aaron

26 Esther Joshua

* Thomas Simons

May 27th 1830

53 Eunice Quinney

60 Nancy Hunt

57 Josiah Miller

* George Simons

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Nov. 7th 1830

26 Catherine Quinney

61 James Hunt

Aug. 14th 1831

Houyost Smith. Dismissed

27 John N. Chicks

* Jacob Aaron

‡

‡ Suspended and absent.

33 Simon S. Metoxen. Suspended and absent

†47 Mary Quinney

†21 Elisabeth Metoxen

24 Betsey Aaron

27 Phebe Quinney

†30 Susan Seth

Oct. 9th 1831

38 Andrew Miller

33 John Moses. Suspended

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July 29th 1832.

49 Thomas Hendrick

49 Benjamin Pasmer

34 Timothy Poweey

40 John Hunt

34 Isaac Littleman

38 Susannah Hendrick

35 Pualla Jourdan

50 Anna Turkey

54 Philena Pye

Nov. 4th 1832

73 Lydia Hendrick by letter

75 Eve Liberty Do

88

Twelve are over 20, 15 over 30, 10 over 40, 10 over 50, 8 over 60, 3 over 70 and 2 over 80 years of age.

In twenty four of these families there are family prayers morning and evening. And 43 can read intelligibly in the english language.

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This catalogue embraces Indians only and no white persons, as there are some belonging to the church.

Of the surviving members forty five are married or are heads of families and have had seventy one children baptised since Mr. M's visit in 1827. Twenty four are males and thirty five females, whole number fifty nine. Twelve have died in the faith, besides six others who have died giving evidence of having experienced a change of heart, but had not an opportunity of uniting with the church.

Two are upwards of 80

And all get a livelihood by agriculture, tho some of the men are skilled in the mechanic arts. The women all understand sewing and some of them knitting, spinning, weaving &c. Three have taught school and one female¹ has been engaged for some years in teaching and a few weeks ago was married to a Mohawk Indian from Canada whom the Methodist Ep. Soc. sent out last year as a speaker Missionary to the Oneidas in this region.²

1 Electa Quinney.— Ed.

2 Daniel Adams.— Ed.

Here I will insert some extracts from my journal which will show more particularly the state of the church & people for six months past.

Feb. 1st. Attended the ch[urch] meeting previous to the administration of the Lords' Supper. This meeting I intend always to occupy in inquiring of the members individually respecting their state of feeling and views of the ordinance. Some of the ch[urch] were much affected and with great difficulty expressed their feelings; one woman Sally H. was so much so that she was unable to say a word. The next day she called upon me and in broken english says "I want to have a little speak with you. Last night I feel so I could say nothing. When I look back upon my life & then into 89 my heart it look very bad, &

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I feel very poor and weak, but when I think of Christ I rejoice all the time. Then I want to come & see you for I want to know more, but I sorry I do not understand. Sometimes when you talk I dont understand, but when you speak about Christ and heaven (pointing upwards) then I understand, then my heart glad." She spoke of her two little children which are the only members of the family who do not belong to the church and expressed a strong confidence, that they would become christians. One of them has been awakened & manifested much interest in the subject of religion.

4th. Called upon John H. a brother of Sally in order to baptise a child which was very sick. Whilst instructing the family more fully in respect to the nature of the ordinance Big-Wave, formerly head chief of the Menominie tribe of Indians, an aged, venerable looking man, came in. He looked on very attentively but said nothing. At the close I inquired by an interpreter what he thought was the meaning of that service? "I suppose," says he "that the child is bewitched and that you did that (baptised it) in order to cure it."

I then explained to him the meaning of it, and went on to preach unto him the necessity of being born again in order to see the kingdom of God. He replied that they had received different commends (instructions) from their fathers and they must follow them— That the Great Spirit had made them different from, the white men, and that they (their fathers) had told them that the white men came from the East and would go back there when they died; but the red men came from the West and would return thither after death. This impression prevails generally amongst uncivilised Indians. They believe that the good i. e. the good warrior & hunter will go to a land abounding in every kind of game & the rivers with abundance of fish, all of which will be easily taken; but the bad i.e. the coward and poor hunter will go to a place of endless punishment.

They ascribe sickness and disease more or less to the influence of evil spirits and witch-craft, and apply such remedies as they suppose will drive them away. Altho Big-W. was once head chief & a principal counsellor still he appeared entirely ignorant of the spiritual malady with which the soul is diseased or that it needs any moral purification.

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25th. Went in company with some of the head-men to visit the Oneidas at Duck Creek about 20 miles distant.

26th. The day appointed by the Am[erican] Tem]perance] Soc[iety] for holding meetings generally. Visited the families during the day and in the eve. held a meeting and addressed the people on the subject of tem. But being much divided amongst themselves and national difficulties so much occupied their minds, that they could not be prevailed upon to form a soc. Intemperance is making fearful progress in this settlement, and its dreadful effects are abundantly manifest in their poverty, indolence and the exceeding low state of religion which prevails.

April 6th. Death of a member of the church.

Died of the consumption Jacob Aaron aged 24 years. In the winter of 1831 the death of a sister in law was the means of awakening him. Previously he had lived an irregular life, being addicted to intemperance & other vices. His convictions were deep & pungent, and he appeared to have a very vivid sense of the enmity of the carnal mind against God and of the total depravity of his heart. This made him deeply sensible of his lost condition by nature and of his perishing need of an interest in Jesus Christ. He was often seen weeping, & when asked what was the matter would reply, "Because I am a miserable sinner." It was in this state of mind that he attended a meeting of inquiry, at the close of which I urged upon him the importance of immediate submission to Jesus Christ. Soon after this I found him rejoicing in hope. From that time to his death his course was not only onward in the christian life but rapid. In Aug. following he united with the church. He understood the english language pretty well, and could read intelligibly in the bible which he made his constant study. 91 I have met him at eve. returning from a days labor with his Test. in his pocket and he would stop to inquire about some passage which he did not understand. I scarcely met with him without his making some such inquiry.

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April 18th. Solemnised two marriages. At the last was invited to partake of the wedding supper which was served up in excellent style. The furniture of the table, and manner of cooking were all according to the custom of white people. No strong drink or cordials of any kind were used on the occasion and good order and decorum prevailed amongst all present as there was a large collection; after supper all went home in quietness and peace. But a few years ago and it would have been impossible to have gone thro' with such a transaction without a drunken frolic at the close.

25th Annual Fast.

Preached from Prov. 14:34. The day was generally observed by the tr[ibe] and the audience as large as on the Sab. and as attentive. Afterwards had a prayer-meeting which was solemn and interesting, some of the church appeared to be deeply affected. Closed the day feeling that it had been truly profitable both to myself and people.

May 14th. Annual meeting of the Tem. Soc.

Previously I invited all of the S[unday] S[chool] children to attend and most of their parents came with them. The meeting very interesting and gave an impulse to the cause which will long be felt. I addressed the children particularly, and was followed by remarks from some of the parents and head-men who spoke with much animation.

After fully explaining the subject to the children 27 immediately came forward and with smiling countenances requested that their names might be put down with their parents upon the constitution. One little girl came up of her own accord and says "Will you put down my name for I wish to join and I cannot do it myself." Connecting 92 the subject of temperance with Sab. Schools amongst the Indians appears to me highly important and the most effectual way of promoting the cause amongst them. For the instruction will be more likely to do good and be remembered and the children will become little preachers of temperance perhaps to drunken parents. Upwards of one hundred & fifty of different ages

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have united with the Soc. since its formation; but our patience has often been tried by the members transgressing its rules, still a large majority have kept their promise sacredly.

The reasoning of a church member in order to ascertain whether he was a christian.

19th. Sab. eve. One man Timothy J. arose in the meeting and in view of what he had been hearing of the strait gate and narrow way says, "Sometimes I think I am not a christian, because I am guilty of so many sins. But then I do have a love for the children of God, which I do not have for any body else; and when I hear of their falling away I am very sorry. But when I hear of others who are not christians committing the same sins I do not feel so. I think that is their nature, still I have a concern for them. Now I think that if I was not a christian why did I not have these feelings before? I know that I never felt so before, and it does appear to me if I did not love our Lord Jesus Christ I should not feel as I do."

June 3d. Attended the annual meeting of the foreign Missn. Assn. It was addressed by the school Teacher Mr. Stevens. This Soc. was formed two years ago, and last year upwards of twenty dollars were raised in aid of the funds of the A[merican] B[oard]. Probably more will be realised this year as there appears to be an increasing spirit of benevolence amongst them. A few days afterwards at the close of a meeting Sally H. came to me and with tears says I want to join the benevolent Soc. (meaning the Miss. Soc.) I was sorry I did not understand when it was going to meet. Last year I gave six dollars but this year I want to give twelve, because I want to have the gospel sent to the Indians who are destitute of it."

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July 28th Sab.

After the public exercises called to see Christeen a member of the church, who was very sick. She had been attacked the night before with the cholera morbus. She was tossed with pain and passed recovery, yet in view of her approaching dissolution she had no feelings of dread. I inquired of her if she felt willing to die and she immediately replied that

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she did and was constantly preparing her mind for it—That the Sav. appeared near and precious to her and that she was willing that he should do with her as seemed good in his sight.

At the third meeting a woman expressed her determination to seek the salvation of her soul and appeared to have considerable conviction of sin.

29th. Heard of the death of Christeen. It seemed that she had been herself anticipating it. A christian friend visited her a short time previous to her death, and was speaking about her garden and little field of corn around which she had cultivated with great industry. "Others" says she, "will gather and eat it," altho' she was then in usual health. Again mentioning about removing to their new location, "No," she replied, pointing to the burying ground "there is my grave."

She had been a member of the church almost six years, and her walk and conversation during that time evinced the sincerity of her faith. She had outlived her husband, children and grand children being upwards of 80 years of age. Her exact age was not known as she had lost it. Altho' much afflicted in her old age with rheumatism, still when able to walk she was a constant attendant at the house of God both on the Sab. and week days.

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Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Society for Aug, 1st 1833,"

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SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1834.

Statesburg Near Green Bay Mich. Ter . Feb. 1st 1834

To the Sec. of the Scotland Soc. For Prop. Chris. Knowledge .

Dear Sir —My last report brought down the history of the mission to August 1st 1833.

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I believe that I have in former communications mentioned that the Stockbridge Indians were expecting to remove from the lands they now occupy to another place 15 or 18 miles distant on the East side of Lake Winnebago a small Lake in Fox river about 40 miles from its mouth. They have made an amicable & satisfactory arrangement with the govt of the U. S. in which they agree to relinquish two Townships and pay for all of their improvements not to exceed a sum of 25 thousand dolls. Notwithstanding the terms on the part of the Indians are quite advantageous, and they receive improvements, still the effects and consequences of removal will be very disastrous, and will be felt for years, besides the operations of the mission, giving religious instruction—of the school &c are and will be very much interrupted.

Nothing hardly is more to be deprecated in a temporal point of view than the removal of a tribe of Indians, it seems almost like transplanting aged trees, which, if not destroyed by so doing, hardly ever acquire sufficient thrift to rise above it and soon show marks of a premature old age. Altho' in watching the course of events respecting the Indians and seeing the evils of removal, I am sometimes almost ready to sink down into a state of despondency still I am upheld by the gracious promises "Lo I am with you always," "And the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose."

The Stockbridge Indians are highly pleased with their new location and on many accounts it is preferable to the one they have relinquished. They are making preparations as fast as possible to remove, but a majority doubtless will not go before the winter of 1834–5 at which time 95 the mission will be removed. The mission has also been interrupted in another respect. The School Teacher with his family left last fall (1833) and his place has not as yet been filled by another which has interrupted the operations of the school and greatly increased my own labors, but the Am. Board intend to send on another so soon as one can be obtained. Altho' wintery days appear and prospects sometimes look dark and cheerless and faith seems to be put to the test still I hope that your venerable

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Society will not be disheartened nor discouraged but still pray and look for a brighter day to dawn upon the poor red-men of the forest. Many I have reason to believe from amongst this people thro' the instrumentality of Missionary labors have been savingly benefited and have entered into rest whilst others appear to be followers of them who thro' faith and patience have inherited the promises— These will be a most abundant as well as an everlasting reward for every sacrifice made and all that has been done whether on the part of Missionaries or the friends of Missions to promote such a, blessed cause as preaching the gospel amongst those who have sat in darkness and death-shade. One aged member of the church of whom I will give some account hereafter has been called as I trust to her everlasting rest leaving behind very satisfactory evidence that she was a child of God. Thus we are often admonished to do with our might what our hands find to do both towards those who have set their faces Zion-ward, as well as those who have not as yet fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before them in the gospel. Many of this people appear to have a deep sense of gratitude towards their patrons for their kindness and christian benevolence manifested towards them.

Here I will insert some notices extracted from my journal.

Aug. 5th. Monthly Concert.

The meeting well attended. Considerable of time spent in prayer, interspersed with singing and exhortation. The subject of foreign Missions seems to be evidently gaining 96 ground amongst them & a deeper interest felt in behalf of those around and in the regions beyond who are still in pagan darkness. One man came forward after having paid his annual subscription & gave a half dollar saying “that he had been unfaithful but he wanted to do something.”

7th Examination of the S[unday] School.

Attended the semi-annual examination of the S. S. Each weekly Lesson contained seven verses and it is expected, that all capable of committing will get one verse a day. Such

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as are not able to read are taught from a catechism prepared in manuscript. Forty six children were present, the average usual number about 30. The former were examined upon the lessons giving an account of the birth of Christ and his sufferings in the garden of Gethsemane; his crucifixion, and his coming to judge the world at the last day: The latter were examined in the Catechism. The answers were promptly given and in such a manner as evinced that they had made pleasing progress in the study of the holy Scr[ipture]s and understood what they had learnt. The exercises were interspersed with singing appropriate hymns and were listened to with deep and solemn interest on the part of the parents. At the close they evidently appeared by their remarks to be more deeply impressed with the importance and benefit of S. S. instruction. One of the head-men remarked "Our children even know more, & are able to answer questions that we could not." This ought to encourage us to feel more and encourage them more to attend the S. S.

13th Visited Elisabeth Smith an Oneida woman and found her in the last stages of the consumption. But a calm and heavenly serenity rested upon her countenance. Long and severe have been her afflictions both by the loss of her husband some months before who came to an untimely end by intemperance, and her own sickness; but she has born them with christian fortitude and patience. And now in the last conflict when the energies of nature are all well nigh exhausted, she looks upon death with composure, and rejoices in the hope of that blessed immortality, 97 upon which she expects soon to enter. Her answers to my inquiries were very satisfactory and such as showed that she was very ripe for the change which soon awaits her.¹ I prayed with her and bade her farewell feeling that

¹ She died a few days afterwards.

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate Is privileged beyond the common walk of virtuous life Quite on the verge of heaven."

Dreadful effects of intemperance amongst the Menominies

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19th Wishing to cross the Fox river I went to a Menominie wigwam for that purpose, and found them in drunken-frolic, the old man having a wound on his head which he had received from his wife. Just as I pushed off from the shore saw a drunken mother knock her little child down and stamp upon her furiously, but the little sufferer was soon relieved by a sober girl who ran to her assistance. Ah ! How little do the children of temperance and christian parents know how much children amongst pagans suffer, oftentimes even death itself, in consequence of the brutal vices of their parents, and how little do they realise what a blessing it is to have temperance, kind and tender parents who instead of destroying them with their own hands will thrust themselves betwixt them and harm danger.

20th. Early this morn. it was reported that a murder had been committed in a drunken frolic about two miles distant at a Menominie village. I soon set out to go and learn the truth of the report, and when I arrived I there witnessed a most shocking scene of blood and murder. A young man in a state of intoxication had beat his father brains out with a stake and then stabbed his aged mother in the small of the back with a large scalping-knife with so much violence as to break it off and leave it sticking in the wound and afterwards took a handkerchief and hung himself in the wigwam near (by) his dead father!! There they both laid dead and the mother at the door in almost an agony of pain with a number of other women about her!! 27th A young man and his wife who is a member of 8 98 the church called upon me for religious conversation. I made many inquiries of him respecting his views of sin, his state by nature and the necessity of a change of heart. All of which he answered very satisfactorily and said also that he hoped that he had submitted to Jesus Christ. I then gave him such instruction as was suited to his case respecting the new birth and his duty to God & his family, and closed the interview with prayer.

Sept. 4th Another case of death by intemperance. Attended the examination and burial of a young man belonging to the Brothertown tribe who had doubtless shot himself whilst in a state of intoxication the Sab. previous. The whole charge entered the body a little below

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the pit of the stomach and thus in a moment he was called to stand before his righteous judge.

18th. And still another—

Early this morn. an Indian came in and said that a dead body had been found in the river near his wigwam. I hastened to the spot and found that it was even so. But it had lain so long, and the countenance was so marred by the ravens that it was impossible to recognize it, yet from the clothing &c it was ascertained to be the body of a Brothertown Indian. He probably undertook to ford the river in a state of intoxication where it was impossible for a man to cross and was drowned, and has left a wife and three or four children entirely destitute having made them so by intemperance. In such a state he has gone to the bar of that God who has said "No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of heaven."

Oct. 14th. Visited Catherine Charles an aged woman and a member of the church, she seems to be wasting away with the consumption. She said in answer to my inquiry that she thought herself near her end; but that had no fear of death and that the Say[jour] seemed near and precious, and was constantly preparing herself for her departure.

Nov. 8th.

Attended the church-meeting preparatory to the communion. Much harmony of feeling was manifested. One 99 aged man Benjamin Pye, formerly a notorious drunkard, as well as a wicked man, came forward and was further examined as to his evidence of piety. The answers which he gave to questions, were very satisfactory and so far as I can judge he appears to be a true christian. He had grown gray in sin, but now blessed be God he appears to be a new creature in Christ Jesus. Truly he is a brand plucked from the burning and to the riches of Gods' grace and mercy be all the glory.

10th Sacramental season.

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Preached from John 19:30. The audience much larger than usual and numbers appear much affected. Communion-season very solemn and interesting. The man abovementioned was received into the church. I rejoice that one more was added to the number of such as I hope will be saved. May showers of heavenly blessing descend upon this church and people and great numbers be brought to join themselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant. After meeting I went and administered it to two in private, one of them Catharine C. before mentioned.

12th Attended the quarterly meeting of the Tem. Soc. Altho' a busy time with the Indians still a considerable of a number present, particularly of the children and youth who had been especially invited to attend. The meeting was addressed by one of the Indians in a very able manner. After the address examined the children upon some temperance questions which they had been taught in connection with their S. S. Lessons. These were answered promptly and listened to with deep interest by all present. It appeared that less had drunk during the last quarter than for a long time previous; and teaching the children I find to be an excellent means of promoting the cause for the instruction is carried home to their parents.

The Stars are falling.

13th. Very early this morning was awakened by an alarm wh[ich] a neighbor had given, that the stars were falling. Observing this singular Phenomenon and being 100 somewhat frightened he came to call me and said that "if it kept on they would all fall." There was a clearness and serenity in the air such as I have seldom witnessed, and the whole scene was grand and striking and filled the beholder with wonder and admiration. There was one continual fall of meteors, seemingly like a thousand lamps hurled thro' the air in every direction, some shooting horizontally and the train continuing to burn in the air for 10 or 12 seconds, others obliquely, and once or twice a cluster fell together emitting a light brilliant as lightning. They appeared to proceed from a luminous spot or nebulæ East of the Zenith; and fell less frequently as morn[ing] light approached but continued to fall until obscured

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by the light of day. This brought to my mind what a rushing to and fro there will be amongst men when they shall begin to see the signs of the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven to judge the world. Ah! Whither shall the wicked flee when consternation Turns the Good man Pale?

Dec. 2d.

Death of a Menominie Indian by intemperance.

Heard that a young Indian had shot himself while partially intoxicated. I soon set out to go and see what had been done; when I arrived at the place which was about a mile distant, I found the father, sitting in the wigwam where his son was, looking very sad and having his face painted black which is the only badge of mourning the uncivilised Indians make use of. The corpse was prepared for burial, but was dressed the same as for a journey, for the wild Indians believe that they shall go to the West after death. As I opened the blanket to examine the wound having obtained permission I saw the face painted red a small mirror fastened to the body such as they carry when travelling and a pipe and plug of tobacco (were) tucked under a handkerchief which was tied about him. I inquired why they put the pipe &c there and the old man replied "that his son was very fond of smoking in his life time." He vainly imagined that his son would still use and be attached 101 to his pipe in that world to wh[ic]h he had gone. I then told him that his son would have no more need of his pipe for it was not to the West but to the Great Spirit that he had gone and all who died were immediately very happy or miserable and that none who drank the Sko-tu-wah-bo (whiskey) could go where the Great Spirit dwells — They listened very attentively to what I said and I left them with a sorrowful heart, to see how they are bent upon the gratification of their lusts and how many are destroyed in consequence.

Dec. 12th Death of a member of the ch[urch]

Visited Catherine Charles and found her very weak and low. When I approached her bed-side & spoke to her she looked up with more than usual cheerfulness. She seemed

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evidently to be near her end, but was much nearer than I anticipated. Being much troubled with a cough and unable to speak but little I could make only a few inquiries which she answered satisfactorily. Closed the interview with prayer not however expecting that it would be the last as it proved to be that I should have with her this side eternity. The next morning I heard that in a very calm and quiet manner she resigned her spirit into the hands of Him who gave it at the age of sixty five years.

“Her mind was tranquil and serene No terrors in her looks were seen Her Saviors' smiles dispelled the gloom And smoothed her passage to the tomb.”

Catherine had been a member of the church about five years and during that time her life and conduct had been peculiarly exemplary. In no instance had she been a subject of discipline for any offense. Her infirmities and declining years led her to make the subject of death familiar, so that during her last sickness she manifested no desire to recover but said that she felt ready and willing to die. Tho she lived and died in deep poverty still she showed no impatience, but gave evidence to all about her that she was an heir to that inheritance which is incorruptible undefiled and that fadeth not away.

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25th. Attended the meeting of the Tem. Soc. Read the speeches of the Hottentots and made some remarks. I was followed by the head-men and some others present with animated speeches setting forth the evils of intemperance and encouraging the members of the Soc. to persevere both on account of the benefit which they had received and the good which it would do to others —Eleven afterwards came forward and subscribed, the constitution; but the Soc. was under the necessity of excluding four and received four others upon trial who had broken its rules. From the interest felt and the remarks made upon the subject it appeared evident, that the subject of tem. is taking deeper hold of their minds and that the cause is gaining ground still there are those who pursue their former course with accelerated speed.

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28th. Went to Duck Creek about 20 miles distant to visit a band of Oneidas who had lately removed there and who formerly had lived near the Stockbridges. Some have already completed their houses and others are now building.

29th Sab. Before sun-rise the horn sounded for a prayer meeting. Soon a number collected and a short season was spent in singing and prayer. At eleven o'clock the meeting commenced, the congregation was not large but very attentive. Preached from John 1:29 and afterwards administered the sacrament to about a dozen communicants who belong to the church connected with the Methodist Missionary Station there.¹

¹ See Bishop Kemper's account of his visit to this mission, August 5, 1834, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 439.— Ed.

In the eve. went about four miles and preached in the principal settlement of the Oneidas, the house very full and solemn. The spiritual prospects of this place appear dark in consequence of their having hitherto received little religious instruction and the desolating effects of intemperance,—still I am hoping that the Methodist Mission established near may be the means of doing good.

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30th. A meeting was called for the purpose of forming a Temp. Soc. The weather not being favorable and prejudices also prevented many from attending yet a small society was formed upon the principal of total abstinence and eleven subscribed the constitution. From this small beginning I am encouraged to hope by the blessing of God that great good will result and many snatched from that fiery stream which is bearing so great a number of them to a drunkards' grave.

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Soc. for Feb. 1st 1834."

To the Sec. Jno. Tawse .

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Dear Sir —Your very kind and obliging letter of June 18th 1833 came to hand in Oct. following and which I perused with deep interest. For you will please to accept of my hearty thanks. I rejoiced to hear from you personally and from the venerable Society of which you have the honor to be Sec. Altho' the broad ocean rolls between and a wide extent of country also intervenes, still it does afford matter of rejoicing and gratitude, that we may meet at the same throne of grace day by day and that it is the cause of one common Lord and Master which we are endeavoring to promote and if found faithful when our labors are done in his vineyard he will gather us to the enjoyment of the same glorious reward and everlasting rest—Be assured, Sir, that any communication from you or Soc. will be gratefully received, and so soon as these Indians become settled upon their new location of which I have made some mention below I shall endeavor to have them write you.

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EXPEDITION TO THE SACS AND FOXES.1

1 The original letter embodying this Report of Mr. Marsh is still preserved in the record room of the American Board in Boston. The hieroglyphical figure by which the Sacs &c are in the habit of representing human life” has escaped from the Report and cannot now be found.— W. W. Wight.

Stockbridge , Mar. 25th, 1835.

To Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass .

Dear Sir —i feel it a duty to make some apology for so long a delay in communicating to the Board² the result of my tour last summer with the Stockbridge Indians. But my peculiar situation, building, removing to the New Settlement, visiting the sick, together with the duties connected with my calling &c. must be my apology.

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2 The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is the oldest national missionary society in the United States, having been established in 1810. It undertook at an early time the evangelization of the American Indians simultaneously with its work in India and in the Sandwich Islands. Its missionaries have always been thoroughly educated men and especially instructed to report to the Board as to matters of ethnological and archaeological interest. The report now under consideration is an instance in point.—W. W. W.

Your last brought to me the unwelcome information that you had not heard from me since I left my station directly, and now it will be necessary to recapitulate much of what until yours came to hand I had supposed the Board had received last summer.

Your last before the delegation left last June informed me that it was the wish of the Board that we should leave sooner than it was contemplated at first, but it was some two months after it was written before I received it. It was then time that we should have been on our way in order to have met Dr. W.³ seasonably, but the Indians were

3 Rev. Thomas Smith Williamson, M.D., a missionary of the American Board from Ripley, Ohio. He was a son of Rev. William Williamson, and was born at Fairforest, S.C., in March, 1800. He graduated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, 1820, studied medicine at Cincinnati and New Haven, received the degree of doctor of medicine from Yale College in 1824, and studied theology at Lane Seminary, Cincinnati. His wife was Margaret Poage of Ripley, born in Mason County, Kentucky, in October; 1804. Williamson was appointed missionary of the American Board in 1834. On April 25, 1834, he started on an exploring tour from Ripley, doubtless the tour during which Marsh was to meet him. Williamson ascended the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, then the highest white settlement on the Mississippi, visited Prairie du Chien and Rock Island, and collected such information respecting the Dakotas, or Sioux, as led to the establishment of a mission among them. He returned to Ripley, July 2, 1834, and was ordained near Chillicothe, Ohio, in September, 1834. His later missionary experiences and trials in what is now the state of

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Minnesota, are foreign to this article. He died at St. Peters, Minn., June 24, 1879; his wife died at St. Peters, July 21, 1872.—W. W. W.

105 not ready and could not leave before the first of June, nor could I have done it as I was then situated, still I was ready as soon as the Indians were.

We however set out the twelfth of June. We should doubtless have started about the first had it not been unusually wet during the spring, so that the Indians could not clear and get in their crops which they must attend to before leaving. At first the Delegation consisted of five, headed by John Metoxen. This was considered a sufficient number to represent the nation and also to man our bark-canoe, on board of which we put our provisions &c. for the journey.

Nothing worthy of particular notice occurred whilst ascending the Fox river to the Portage at Fort Winnebago, excepting that our progress was slow in consequence of the Indians being unacquainted with managing bark-canoes and one of our number was taken sick and we were obliged to leave him at the Portage. The Fox river is remarkable for nothing except its meanderings and lakes; as it takes its rise in a small lake about 3 miles from the Portage, and between this place and its outlet at Winnebago Lake there are four small ones, and the widening at the Big Butte des Morts [Hill of Death] may fairly be considered as making the fifth. The largest however of these is Lake Winnebago which extends from N. to S. about 35 m. and from E. to W. about 8 or 10 m. Having so many vast reservoirs it never overflows its banks, nor does the ice break up at once in the spring, but wears away by degrees. The soil upon its 106 borders is generally barren between its entrance into Lake W. and the Portage or else it is low and swampy.

Every morning before setting out we engaged in reading the Scriptures, (each one reading in turn) singing and prayer, and in this manner closed the day also.

Upon the 14th at eve we encamped upon an eminence for the Sabbath, having in full view on our right the Big Buttes des Morts or Hill of Death, which has taken its name from the

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slaughter¹ of an entire Sac village by the French and Menominies about one hundred years ago.

¹ This slaughter occurred in the winter of 1706, as says *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 207; or in 1714, as says *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 92; or not at all, as Grignon thought, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 293. The subject is discussed in Davidson's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*, chap. iv. The Big or Great Butte des Morts must be carefully distinguished from Little Butte des Morts, which is near the present city of Menasha—Davidson, *ut supra*, p. 19.—W. W. W.

In this solitary place we pitched our tent and passed the holy Sabbath unmolested and in quiet with none but our little company. At the hour of worship we retired to the shade of some shrubby oaks, and although far from the sanctuary still we felt it as good to draw near to God there as though we had been in the Christian assembly. A prayer meeting closed the day which had been neither long nor tedious but pleasant and profitable.

As we pursued our journey we occasionally saw lodges of Winnebagoes along upon the banks, but no corn-fields or vegetables of any kind which they had growing, and their personal appearance was exceedingly pitiful and wretched. Whenever they saw us coming if on the water they would put out in canoes to meet us and beg, or if on the land they would flock around as if half starved for want of food.

Col. Cutler,² the Commanding Officer, at Fort W. informed me that three or four hundred barrels of flour and a proportionable

² Enos Cutler was born in Brookfield, Mass., November 1, 1781, graduated at Brown University at the age of nineteen, was tutor there a year, and then studied law in Cincinnati. He entered the army in 1808 as a lieutenant, became a captain in 1810, and served through the War of 1812¹⁵ as assistant adjutant general and assistant inspector general. He became a major in 1814, and served under Gen. Andrew Jackson in the Creek War, and on the Seminole campaign. He became a lieutenant colonel in 1826, and was commander at Fort Mackinac from July 15, 1829, to August, 1831. He commanded

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at Fort Winnebago until October, 1835, when he was ordered to New York. He became a colonel in 1836. Resigning from the army in 1839, he died at Salem, Mass., July 14, 1860. — W. W. W.

107 quantity of pork had been issued to them from the Post and Indian Agency since the previous winter and still they were in a starving state. Moreover that they were the most indolent, thievish tribe that he knew of, and sometimes he had known as many as three or four hundred drunk at one time.

As all of their lands upon the Fox river have been ceded to the U.S. Col. C. informed me a few weeks since that he had received orders to prevent them from going down it any more for any purpose. The largest band is the one which has resided upon Rock river, and these lands have also been ceded, but they are unwilling to leave them; this they have been told they must do, still they disregard it, and it is probable that force will be employed when Spring opens to remove them north of the Wisconsin if it should be found necessary. At present, they are, as a tribe, in a very unsettled state, and the prospect of doing them good, so indolent, thievish, treacherous, degraded and unsocial are they in their habits, appears to me far less than any tribe which I have as yet met with. The Cumberland Presbyterians have a mission, or rather a missionary under the patronage of Gov't established near Prairie du Chien.¹ The Catholics are making some efforts to proselyte them and numbers are Catholics at the present time.

¹ The United States stipulated in its treaty with the Winnebagoes of September 15, 1832 (*7 U.S. Statutes at Large*, 370), to erect a suitable building "somewhere near" Prairie du Chien and to educate in elementary branches such Winnebago children as should choose to attend. Tuition, clothing, board, and lodging were to be gratuitous, and the school was to be maintained for the term of twenty-seven years. The school was started on the Yellow River in Iowa and kept there for nearly two years. It was afterwards moved to Turkey River, Iowa, where suitable buildings were erected. Rev. David Lowry of the Cumberland Presbyterian church took charge of the school. It was not very successful, though Lowry,

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an enterprising and accomplished man, remained among the Indians as their agent until 1848— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 329. Lowry removed from Nashville, Tenn., to Prairie du Chien, reaching the latter place September 7, 1833. Some account of his work is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 404–406, and in Davidson's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*, pp. 183z–185.—W. W. W.

At Fort W. we were very kindly received by the Commanding Officer and other officers belonging to the Post and such assistance as they were able and as we stood in need of readily afforded us. Here we passed only one night. The next day after having our luggage and canoe transported across the portage 1½ miles in length, we put off and after running 10 or 12 miles encamped for the night. Just as we had retired a tremendous cloud arose in the South and came up the river heavily charged with electric fluid. And such a thunder-storm I scarcely ever remember to have witnessed. The frequent flashes of sharp lightning, and heavy peals of thunder, the wind blowing a gale and the rain pouring down almost in torrents rendered the scene truly terrific. Our tent which had been secured with more than usual care as we were anticipating rain, was at once torn from its fastenings and required the utmost effort of every man in it to keep it from being swept away at once. Then I felt more sensibly than ever before the meaning of the words, "But the thunder of his power who can understand?" How terrible, who can withstand it and how feeble all human efforts to preserve our lives unless he keeps us! In about half an hour the wind shifted, after the cloud had passed over, to the N. W. and blew even more hard than before, and once or twice it seemed as though in spite of all our efforts, that our tent would be swept away if no more. But he who holds the winds in his fists and directs the storm preserved our lives from harm and blessed be his name. Our clothes and bed-clothes were almost all completely drenched in rain and we suffered some but not severely from the cold. The next morn, as I walked out upon the bank saw trees prostrated in very considerable numbers around us at no great distance, but as we were upon the bank we were not at all molested by them as we otherwise might have been.

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The Wisconsin is a large, rapid and majestic river but full of sand-bars which renders navigation extremely difficult and impossible for a large craft. It is remarkable for the abundance of islands with which it is studded and many of them finely timbered. There are comparatively few places where a person can see clear across the river, and it is said that there are fifteen hundred islands from the Portage to the mouth which is a distance of about 180 miles.

The second Sabbath, June 22 nd , we passed at a place called the Pine Bend¹ on the Wisconsin, about 60 miles from the Portage, where was a small settlement, and a few individuals were present and attended religious worship with us. The day following we were obliged to lay by the whole day on account of a severe storm of rain. We arrived at Prairie du C. on the 25 th and finding that Dr. W. had left we made no tarry. In descending the Mississippi to Rock Island we encountered a severe easterly storm, and although drenched with rain our health did not suffer in the least. This river was unusually high, as most of the islands and some of the bottoms were under water.

¹ Pine Bend (Helena) is mentioned in Fonda's "Reminiscences of Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 260, as the point where Atkinson's army in pursuit of Black Hawk and his Indians crossed the Wisconsin River after the skirmish at Wisconsin Heights. About 1830 a shot tower had been built at Pine Bend (called also old Helena) on the south bank of the Wisconsin, about twenty miles northwest of Blue Mound. The town had grown up for the accommodation of the shot makers, but had been deserted at the breaking out of the Black Hawk War. The remains of the tower are still visible near the south end of the Spring Green wagon bridge. The crossing of Atkinson's soldiers in pursuit of Black Hawk is mentioned in Thwaites's "Story of the Black Hawk War," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 256. As to the shot tower, see the last reference, also id. xi, p. 203, and Libby's "Chronicle of the Helena Shot Tower," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 335.—W. W. W.

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Sat. eve., 28 th , we arrived at Rock Island and were 110 enabled at length to obtain quarters at the Indian Agent's, a Mr. Davenport,¹ and who has since been dismissed.

1 M. S. Davenport was the agent for the Sacs and Foxes.— Ed.

Dr. W. had left this place also the day previous in company with Mr. D. and gone to meet the Chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes in council. As Dr. W. has doubtless made a report of this to the Board I shall pass over it and only give the result of my own observation, &c.

On the Sab. I crossed over on to the main land and preached to the people whom Messrs Byington² and Kingsbury³ afterwards visited, and who had emigrated chiefly from N[ew] E[ngland].

2 Cyrus Byington was born in Stockbridge, Mass., March 11, 1793. He graduated at Andover Theological Seminary in 1819. He departed for the Choctaw nation in September, 1820, and arrived at Eliot, Miss., April 17, 1821. He was ordained in Cincinnati, October 4, 1827, and was a missionary among the Choctaws until his death at Belpré, Ohio, December 31, 1868. He married December 19, 1827, Sophia Nye of Marietta, Ohio.—W. W. W.

3 Cyrus Kingsbury was born at Alstead, N. H., November 22, 1786. He graduated at Brown University in 1812 and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1815, and was ordained at Ipswich, Mass., September 29, 1815. He was home missionary in Virginia and East Tennessee in 1815–1817. He explored with reference to a mission among the Cherokees; and having arranged for land for a station on the Chickamauga River, arrived there January 13, 1817. This station was afterward named Brainerd, and was the first station of the American Board to North American Indians. It was situated on the Chickamauga three miles beyond the summit of Missionary Ridge. In 1818, Kingsbury left Brainerd to establish a mission among the Choctaws. In four weeks he arrived in the Choctaw nation, four hundred miles from Brainerd. His station with this people was Eliot. He labored among

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the Choctaws with the American Board until the discontinuance of its mission in 1859; but his labors with them did not cease until his death. He died in the Indian Territory June 27, 1870. He married in New Orleans, December 24, 1818, Sarah B. Varnum, of Dracut, Mass., who died among the Indians at Mayhew, September 15, 1822. He then married, May 10, 1824, Electa May, of Goshen, Mass. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from Brown University in 1854.

In the summer and autumn of 1834, Kingsbury and Cyrus Byington made a tour among the nations west of the State of Missouri, visiting the missionary stations among the Osages, Creeks, and Cherokees.— W. W. W.

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What statements I now make are intended for yourself and the Committee and are the same with some additions as those contained in my communications which it appears have never reached you.

My first object was to ascertain the views and feelings of the Agent, Mr. Davenport. He received and treated me with kindness and hospitality, and declared his readiness to afford assistance in establishing a mission amongst the Indians over whom he had charge. But informed me that it would depend very much upon the feelings of the Indian Trader, Geo. Davenport, Esq.¹ and the U.S. Interpreter also, as they had very great influence over the Indians. The former having been a trader amongst them some 18 years and the latter was a half-breed. But says he, I have no confidence in either, and I think it doubtful about the part which the trader will act.

¹ “George Davenport, born in Lincolnshire, England, 1783, enlisted in the United States army in 1805 and served for ten years. With the soldiers who came to build Fort Armstrong he landed on Rock Island 1816, May 10th. In the autumn of 1835 he became one of the founders of the city in Iowa that bears his name.”—Davidson's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 133, *note*. At one time he was commander at Fort Snelling.— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 250.

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In Mr. Thwaites's "Notes on Early Lead Mining" (*id.*, xiii, p. 286) he is entitled "Colonel," is called agent of the American Fur Company, and is stated to have erected in 1816 a trading post on the portage between the Mississippi and the Galena (or Fever) River near the mouth of the latter. He is "credited with shipping to St. Louis, in 1816, the first flatboat cargo of lead ever avowedly emanating from the Fever river mines; it was used in payment for Indian goods." In 1822 he was represented as an Indian trader at Rock Island by Amos Farrar.— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 275. As to his connection with an alleged autobiography of Black Hawk, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 300. It was possibly his son George Davenport, "who was born among the Indians at Rock Island," who was agent of the Musquakie tribe in or about 1882; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 158, *note.*—W. W. W.

As soon as convenient I called upon Mr. D., the trader, and had a long interview with him. He expressed a belief in the doctrine of universal salvation and labored almost always when I conversed with him to show "how happy the Indians were in their present state."

To the inquiry whether he thought a mission amongst 112 those Indians a good thing &c., he replied in the affirmative, but, for some frivolous reasons, said he could do nothing towards establishing one. As he manifested none other but a friendly disposition I took him to mean what he said until I should have evidence to the contrary as I afterwards had; when, after some weeks, he said to me that "Missionaries would only make them worse." This is not precisely the expression but the idea conveyed.

Mr. Metoxen has since informed me that he had an interview with Black Hawk after he had been up to Rock Island. Black H. was returning to his village and Mr. M. had just been to visit it and was on his return to Rock I. Black H. was exceedingly anxious to talk with him and meeting at a trading-house they had a good interpreter. Black H. then went on to tell him how kindly he was treated by the white people wherever he went when on his tour. "in no place, says he, did I see the white men and white squaws drinking together the same as our people do. When I passed through your place it was just so, and I want to have my people just like those good white people, for I see where they do not drink they do better

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and live better. Now what do you think is best about receiving missionaries, &c? “By all means receive them, I replied, says Mr. M., for they will do you good.” Black H. “But the trader, Mr. D., told me not to have anything to do with them for they would only make you worse.”

Another gentleman informed me that he met a clerk of the Am. Fur Co. on a steam-boat, and he manifested the same spirit of opposition and made precisely the same remark which Mr. D, had to Black H. This same clerk gave a horse to old Ke-o-kuck last spring as a token of friendship. Such men, the wild, untutored Indian supposes his friend rather than those who would carry to his people the everlasting gospel.

To a white man who had lived some four years with these Indians and speaks the language well I put the question, “What idea have those Indians of a missionary?” Ans. — “That he is a bad man and goes amongst them for 113 base purposes, and will only corrupt or make them worse.” From what I heard and saw I should judge this man's opinion as here expressed was correct.

Afterwards when I went to visit old Ke o-kuck's village, soon after my arrival he told my interpreter that he “knew what I had come for, but he wanted to hear nothing about it.” The head-chief, called the “Stabber” said the same to my interpreter when I went to his lodge. As they had had no previous notice of my visit, and inasmuch as their mode of treating the subject was so contrary to the rules of Indian etiquette, I do not hesitate to say that they had had particular instruction previously.

Another very serious difficulty which I met from the first was an almost entire want of a suitable interpreter and of a proper character. The U.S. Interpreter at Rock Island besides being connected with the Am. F[ur] Co. is a catholic and I could never obtain any assistance from him. The one whom I was obliged to employ chiefly and at a most exorbitant price was a half-breed and could speak the language as well as the Indians themselves, but I was always in doubt what to believe and what disbelieve. Although there

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are many on the Mississippi that can speak a little of the language still there are not more than three or four who can express moral or religious ideas in the language. I should have employed the white man above referred to a part of the time at least, but he was sick.

Having such obstacles to surmount it will not appear strange to the Board that our attempt to establish a mission amongst the Sacs and Foxes entirely failed of success. The Indians are themselves strongly prejudiced against any change of life as a general thing, and appear more strongly attached to their superstitions than most Indians with whom I have met, still these are not so formidable obstacles as those first mentioned.

When we arrived at Rock I. we heard that the Sacs &c. were just setting out to make their summer-hunt, a part having already gone and that Ke-o-kuck would doubtless be before we could reach his village. After some 9 114 consultation amongst themselves the Stockbridges concluded to remain until the Sacs returned which would be about 40 days. I then took a steam-boat and went down the river to the Lower Yellow Banks to overtake Dr. W. having one of them in company but he returned in two or three days to Rock I.

After a few days the Stockbridges met with the Stabber who is considered by the Sacs as head chief but not by the white people. Fearing that it would be sickly when the hot weather came on they began to wish to return and they proposed to the Stabber to make the intended visit to his people &c. At first he objected as his people were out hunting and besides they had not provisions, he said, to receive them; at length however he consented after they told him that they had provisions of their own. Accordingly they went and staid there about five days but having no interpreter could converse but little with each other and so the Sacs understood but little the object of their visit. Still I had reason to believe from what I afterwards ascertained, that a favorable impression was made upon their minds by the visit. After this the Stockbridges set their faces towards home and it was not until some weeks after they had left that I heard of it. I had gone down the river to visit one of the most remote bands upon the river Des Moines, intending to return and accompany them when they went to meet them in council &c.

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The deportment of the Stockbridge delegation during the whole tour was such as to do honor to themselves and the cause of missions. Many white people where we went had never seen a civilized or Christian Indian before, and the Stockbridges were almost as much a curiosity to them as Indians would be in many parts of the N[ew] [England].

Often the most singular inquiries would be made, as "Do they belong to the church? "Can they speak English?" &c. The appearance of John Metoxen, his conversation, &c. were universally spoken of with admiration, particularly by Christians. On their return they were of course alone and they came by land part of the way. I 115 turned the same way. And in the mining country not far from Galena the Sabbath overtook them and they stopped until it was passed. I heard it remarked by some of the people "that they sung hymns all Sabbath day;" this seemed not only new but strange to those who make no distinction betwixt one day or another when travelling.

Population of the Sac and Fox Indians.

The Indian Agent informed me that the whole number was six thousand and four hundred" But gentlemen better acquainted with their situation &c. than he, informed me that their probable number was two thousand, and possibly there might be as many as two thousand, five hundred souls; but the former estimation I should think the more probable.¹

¹ This estimation does not include a band upon the Missouri river consisting of about 20 lodges.

It was stated to me by one man who had resided amongst them four years, that he thought in the seven years since he had known them that their vices and the war of 1832 had diminished the nation one half; another man who had been much with them for some four or five years said he thought they had diminished one third. The statement made in the review of Black Hawk's life (so called) that the war of 1832 had swept off half of the nation is altogether erroneous. By some who were favorably situated for judging correctly, they

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thought that the loss might be three hundred in all. (See "Review of Black Hawk's Life" in N. Am. Review for Jan., 1835.)

Country:—Extent and Boundary.

The Sac and Fox country is bounded on the N. by the Sioux country which commences at a point 23 miles N. of Prairie du Chien. South and West by the state of Missouri and the Missouri river and on the E. by the new purchase on the Mississippi. This purchase was made after the war in 1832 and is situated upon the west bank of the Mississippi 50 miles wide at each extremity and 40 in the middle and extends the whole length of their country upon the river. It is doubtless the most valuable part of their country for agricultural purposes. For beauty and fertility of soil it is much of it unsurpassed by any that I have seen E. of the Mississippi. During the hottest of the weather I was west of the Mississippi but most of the time enjoyed quite as good health as I have in this place.

Location of Villages.—Population in each.

1. Ke-o-kuck's, the principal village of the Sacs is situated upon the S. S. Eastern bank of the Lower Iowa river about 12 miles from its mouth where it empties into the Mississippi. It contains between 40 & 50 lodges, some however are 40 or 50 feet in length, constructed of bark and in the form of houses. As it respects the exact number in each village it is extremely difficult to find out, as no census is taken by themselves, they are constantly coming and going and the chiefs often do not know their number provided they were disposed to tell. This was the case with Ke-o-kuck's village. There were probably as many as four or five hundred souls in it.

This village is situated at the northern extremity of a vast and delightful Prairie, extending for many miles south and west. From the appearance of the grass and soil it seemed as though it would abundantly reward the labors of the husbandman, having an easy and natural communication with the Mississippi where a ready and excellent market

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would be found for every kind of produce; but now this luxuriant soil affords only a scanty subsistence for a part of the year, for a single band of Indians.

It was towards eve. of the 29 th of August when I visited this village. As I approached from the west having the prairie on the right and the river on the left, the sun was now going down and shed a mellow brightness over the landscape whilst all nature seemed to smile around and speak in silent accents of the goodness and wisdom of God. The natural scenery so pleasant and cheering served only to make the contrast still more striking and painful to think that none but pagan eyes and pagan feet roved over these beautiful plains. Upon entering the village which is formed 117 without any regard to order or taste my attention was particularly attracted by Black Hawk's lodge at the upper end of it. This was enclosed by a neat fence made of poles embracing an area of four or five rods square in a circular form. A little gate led into it, and all around the inside melon vines had been planted and cultivated in the nicest manner. Between these and the lodge which was also constructed in a circular form and of peeled bark there was an aisle in which a weed was not to be seen. As I entered the lodge I was received very politely by the children of Black Hawk, himself and wife being absent at the time, and such a specimen of neatness and good order I never before witnessed in any Indian's lodge. Although made of bark it was perfectly tight excepting a small hole at the top for the smoke to pass out at. As there was no floor a layer of clay had been spread over and trodden down which was almost as hard, and at the sides places were built up about three feet from the ground all around, and mats spread over upon which they usually sat and slept. It was also furnished with some dining-chairs, a thing which I saw at none of the other lodges in the nation.

Although Black Hawk has been imprudent and acted rashly in times past, still he had just cause as I conceive for dissatisfaction and complaint which led to those hostile movements. He has been degraded and is not permitted to hold any office amongst his people, yet he has a very respectable band who follow him and are much attached to him, and it is questionable whether even at the present time he is not quite as much respected

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as the haughty and high-minded Ke-o-kuck who now holds the reins of government in his own hands.

Winding my way to Ke-o-kuck's lodge which was about 50 feet long, I found him sitting with prince-like dignity in one corner of it surrounded by his young men and wives, which were no less than five. He appeared very distant and not at all disposed to converse, but treated me with politeness and hospitality, and ordered his young men to put out the horses and supper to be prepared. I found 118 him entirely unwilling to listen to any suggestions whatever respecting the object of my visit as was also the other chief, Pah-chip-pe-ho or the Stabber. There was the same unwillingness to hear anything respecting the subject of religion, and all made light of it when mentioned in the presence of the latter chief. But I was not at all at a loss to account for such a state of feeling.

2. Wah-pel-lo's village, the head chief of the Foxes is also situated upon the Lower Iowa and about 10 miles above Ke-o-kuck's. This is considered to contain about 30 lodges. As only a part of his band resided at the village at the time, most of them being at their cornfields I did not go to them as Wah-pel-lo himself was absent and I had seen him before. He is himself a notorious drunkard and his influence is not great over his band. In respect to intoxication his band follow the example of their chief.

Dreadful effects of Jealousy.

At this village I learned that a man in cool blood murdered his wife a few days before and then cut off her nose and ears. The Indians are exceedingly prone to be jealous of their wives, and if at such times an Indian cuts off the nose or ears of his wife as is sometimes the case, no notice is taken of it; for they have no laws for the punishment of any crime, and even murder may be expiated by money or presents to the friends, which seems with them to answer all things.

3. Pow-we-sheak's village is situated Upon the Red Cedar, a branch of the Iowa, and about ten miles from its mouth.¹ Pow-we-sheak is second chief among the Foxes. This

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village contains about 40 lodges and 4 hundred souls as P. informed me. There are more in it than in Wah-pel-lo's. It is not more than 12 or 15 miles west of the Mississippi, consequently upon the U.S. land. It will doubtless be removed in the course of one or two years further up the river and upon their own land. The Red-Cedar is a very beautiful and rapid stream 25 or 30 rods in width and the

1 This village is about 35 miles from Ke-o-kuck's.

119 soil where they raised their corn of an excellent quality. With comparatively little labor they might raise corn and vegetables in great abundance but alas they are indisposed as a genera) thing to alter their mode of life.

Interview with Pow-we-sheak.

When I arrived I found him and his people preparing for a sacred feast at his lodge which was about 30 feet long. He sent one of his young men to inform me that I could stay at his lodge if I wished; and assigned me a place in it according to Indian custom. After the feast was over which together with the usual ceremonies lasted between two and three hours I sought an interview with him. P. is about 40 years of age, thin and savage in his appearance and very much debased as well as all his band. Still he was much more willing to converse than either of the chiefs before mentioned. I inquired first about the instruction of his young men. He replied that he should like to have two or three educated for interpreters, &c., but he did not want schools for he wished to have his young men warriors and they did not like to be confined in a house. I inquired if he should not like to have his men make farms &c. He answered they could work the ground with the hoe and did not want a plough; and besides they did not wish to raise more corn than they wanted, but chose rather to hunt for a living than cultivate the ground. In a few years, said I, there will be no game, by the time your little children grow up. Ans.—We shall all be dead before that time. But this will not be the case if you change your mode of life. Ans.—But our way is best. The Great Spirit has made us to fight and kill one another whenever we are a mind to. I replied, this is not pleasing to Him, but to live in peace. P.—If we should now change

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our life it would displease the Great Spirit and we should all be sick and die off. Ans.—If so how does it happen that those nations of Indians who change in this manner as I have proposed live longer, and besides the Great Spirit gives them a great deal more than they had before and they do not have to go hungry &c? Evasion.—P.—Two made the 120 earth and all the people, viz.—We-sa-kah and the Great Spirit, and the latter made the red man different from the white man. Ans.—But how different? The red man has a body and soul as well as the white,—he eats, sleeps and wears clothes just as the white man does and how is he different? Evasion.—P.— After a person dies we carry victuals to the grave for him to eat. Ans.—At death the body turns to corruption, and the soul being a spirit cannot eat. No reply. P.—The Great Spirit has given us our Me-shaum. How do you know this? Ans.—It is made known to us by dreams when we fast. But cannot the bad spirit speak in this way as well as the Good? Ans.—But we know when the good and when the bad spirit speaks. A great while ago, says he, all of the nations leagued against us and we were almost all cut off, only a few lodges remained (referring to the wars they had when in the region of Green Bay) and our Meshaum was all that saved us. Afterwards, finding it to little purpose to talk with him I spoke to him respecting Jesus Christ, his suffering and dying for sinners &c. P.— When that God died was it the time when all the ground shook? But Jesus Christ will come again I remarked. And by means of a picture I explained to him the scenes of the last day,—the resurrection of the dead—the separation of the righteous and wicked and where the latter would be sent, &c. He then said to my interpreter that he did not wish to have me say any more for it made him afraid,—afraid that he should dream about it.

I have quoted this interview with Pow-we-sheak at length, not only because it contains the views and feelings of those Indians generally upon other subjects, but because it may be considered as a fair expression of the feelings of the Fox chiefs upon the subject of civilization, &c.

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Where he speaks of not wishing to raise any more corn than they wanted, he meant any more than they had been in the habit of raising; and that is but a small quantity besides what is eaten before they set out upon the fall hunt, which is the first of Sept.

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After the conversation with P. some young men gathered around me to whom I showed some specimens of O-jib-wa writing with which they were much pleased. I inquired if they should like to learn, and they replied, that they had no one to teach them. Should you like to have some one come and teach you? Ans.—No: we do not want to learn for we want to kill Sioux. An old man afterwards came along with whom I had had conversation before. I then told him something respecting the Bible and whilst we were conversing it was reported that there were some Sioux camped near and in the morning they were going to have a fight. He then inquired provided they went out to fight and carried that good book if it would help them?

A drunken frolic followed that night and the village was disturbed during the whole of it by the sound of revelry and intoxicated Indians passing frequently thro' the lodge where I kept. My horses were also stolen and rode during the night and considerably damaged but returned the next morn, about sun-rise. About this time also P. entered the lodge to which they had just brought the liquid poison, having remained sober during the night, and partook of it with the rest. The Foxes appear generally more addicted to drinking than the Sacs and consequently more debased.

Interview with a family at the corn-fields.

On my way to this village I did not reach the cornfields which were at some distance from the village until a late hour in the eve. The owners were now encamped in them, harvesting the corn, drying, shelling and putting it up in sacks for winter. The family with which we put up received and treated us kindly and hospitably, as Indians are accustomed to do to strangers, setting before us dried Buffalo meat for our supper. The old woman was

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a half-breed and quite intelligent. Seeing some ears of corn hung up having the husks very carefully adjusted and tied at the top I inquired what they were for? Ans.—For the boys to eat during the winter after they had been fasting. Sometimes they fast six days and then four rows of the 122 corn are given them to eat. But why do they fast, I enquire. Ans.—That the Great Spirit might love them and make them good warriors. They have to do this on account of their enemies, the Sioux, for they are often killing their people. Do the boys pray when they are fasting? Ans.—No: for they have none to teach them how to pray. Do you (speaking to the old woman) ever pray? Ans. No: for I have never been taught and I do not know how; if some one would come and teach me I should then know how.

After this I made some inquiry respecting cultivating the land and living as white people do. They replied they should like it but perhaps their chief would not. At the close I spoke of Jesus Christ and his gospel, and she made answer that she had never heard of these things before.

Bones of the Mammoth have been discovered in the Red Cedar in a state of petrification near P's village. I saw a piece of tooth supposed to be about one third of it which weighed *seven* lbs. and was 6 or 7 inches long. As the Indians were very superstitious about letting it be known where the bones were I was unable to see them. They relate that they are constantly shifting their position; that a man has been drowned where they are; and that another raised some of the bones out of the river but not thinking it quite right to retain them went and buried them in the Prairie and died in about two days afterwards. They therefore think that there is something very mysterious about them and hold them in great veneration. A woman who had obtained a piece of a tooth kept it in the most careful manner for medicine and would not part with it on any account. A man who visited the village soon after I did was attacked with a kind of bilious colic, they immediately prepared some herb-drink tea and scraped in some of the celebrated tooth, and required him to drink it, which was thought to be a certain remedy.

4. Ap-pen-oor-es village, called Ah-taum-way-e-nauk, (Perseverance Town).

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This is situated upon the south side of the Des Moines 123 (Monk) river and about 125 miles from its mouth. It consists of eight lodges, was commenced in the spring of 1834 and has about 250 souls in it. The location is delightful being upon the bank where it is very high, and having a large and fertile prairie extending 7 or 8 miles in a southerly direction and about two miles wide.

Near this village there is a salt-spring and within a mile and a half excellent mill-privileges, and a sufficient quantity of timber in the vicinity for building and other purposes.

This is the most eligible place which I met with amongst the Sacs and Foxes for a missionary establishment. In addition to the natural advantages it is removed at a greater distance from the white settlements than any other of their villages, being by water about 90 miles. It is quite probable also that the Sacs will concentrate at this place or near. All their hunting ground is upon this river and old Ke-o-kuck had come to the determination, it was said last fall, to sell his Reservation on the Iowa consisting of four hundred square miles because as he said "he was too near the whites."

The Des Moines which the Indians call Ke-o-shah-quah is a rapid and beautiful river, remarkable for uniformity in width, it being generally about 40 rods wide. According to the Indians' account of it, it is eight hundred miles long and heads above St. Peters on the Mississippi. The water is clear and good except when swollen by rains, and there are in most places an abundance of excellent springs of water breaking out from the banks and bluffs. It is said that steam-boats might ascend it for a considerable distance in the spring when the water is high which begins to rise the fore part of April and continues to in the following month also. In the fall Mackinaw boats can ascend but it is with difficulty on account of the low stage of the water.

About 25 miles from its mouth I took passage in a canoe and ascended to the village above mentioned; much of the way the bottom of the river was a solid bed of lime-stone. In some places the shores are bold, but in others the bluff 124 is a half a mile distant

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and the shore hard and sandy. In its banks and bluffs coal is found in great abundance. Copperas and other minerals no doubt abound upon the tributaries of this river. The fine, rolling prairies, covered with a luxuriant growth of grass and flowers of every hue, which everywhere skirt its borders present to the agriculturalist a powerful inducement to search for the treasures hid in their bosom. This whole region seems to have been formed by nature for agriculture and I have little doubt but that before another generation shall pass away those delightful fields and plains will be covered with flocks and herds. But alas! what will become of the poor Indians?

5. There is also a small village upon the Mississippi about 40 miles below Rock Island, of Foxes and Winnebagoes consisting perhaps of a dozen lodges. To the latter band the prophet belongs who dreamed so fatally for Black Hawk in 1832. These Winnebagoes as well as almost all the rest are notoriously thievish and troublesome to their neighbors, the Foxes. Amongst the Foxes who live at the lower end of the village I passed a Sabbath. They were now harvesting their corn and treated me with great hospitality, but when the holy Sabbath dawned upon them seemed to be entirely ignorant of it and of everything relating to the concerns of the soul, accordingly they went on with their work as usual; and when I spoke to them of eternal things they only. "made light of it."

Having secured my horses as I supposed and committing them to the care of my interpreter, I retired to the woods in order there to unite my supplications with the children of God who were assembled in the sanctuary. This I felt to be indeed a blessed privilege although I was as a sparrow alone upon the house-top. But my interpreter being unfaithful suffered the horses which were much troubled with flies to get out and go off. As soon as I found it out I made search as I felt it a duty being amongst strange Indians. After some hours' search they were found just in time to save them, for the Winnebagoes had taken them up and were upon the point of taking them across the 125 river. This appeared quite providential as I should doubtless in a short time have seen no more of them.

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Towards eve, a friendly chief of the Ws' came clown and told the Foxes to look out for their horses as an Indian was going to leave that night and was intending to steal a horse. The Foxes all took up their horses and prepared themselves to kill the W., provided he came, but to my great joy he did not, as I had no doubt they would have done as they said, considering their horses as of more consequence than the life of a fellow-creature.

The next morning early I set out in company with the old man with whom I had been so kindly entertained, and some others for Rock I. After a short ride came to the Winnebago lodges. As I approached the prophet came out to meet me and shake hands.

When I reminded him of having seen him on his tour with Black Hawk he assented with a half suppressed smile which seemed to indicate that the recollection of the past was to him unwelcome. There was a peculiar air of melancholy resting upon his countenance, and his whole demeanor seemed to show that there was lurking within a mingled feeling of humbled pride and disappointed hope. Then he lives in richly merited obscurity and is remembered only for his past mis-deeds.

Besides the villages now enumerated there are a number of others which hardly seem worthy of the name scattered round in various places consisting of three, four or a half a dozen lodges perhaps, some of which I visited; and others I did not think it worth the while.

In addition to the Sacs & Foxes now described there is a village of 20 lodges upon the Missouri river near the Black Snake Hills and about 40 miles below Fort Leavenworth.

Disposition to receive Instruction.

They are generally strongly attached to their pagan rites and superstitions and guard with jealous care against any change. The great object of their pursuit is war and hunting, in the former they glory, and it is a distinction highly enviable, to which the young and ambitious thrive to attain, to rank among the *braves* so as to be able to wear the pole-cat's tail upon the calves of the legs and the Shau-no-e-hun (small bells) and strike the post

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in the war-dance and tell over the number of enemies which they have killed or wounded in battle. To this there are some exceptions however. One of the most striking is Ap-pen-oore the chief of the village upon the Des Moines. He is young and aspiring, and possesses more independence of mind and fortitude than any of the rest of the chiefs. In addition to this he has far more patriotism than any of the rest of the chiefs excepting Black Hawk. The other chiefs are exceedingly jealous of him, but he is fully aware of it and as he is young stands in some fear of them. Ap-pen-oore from time to time has expressed a strong desire to have something done for the improvement of his people. This was a great desideratum with his father Ta-ma, who was a much respected chief. A. is at times anxious himself to receive instruction. He possesses naturally an excellent, inquisitive mind and is one of the most kind and gentlemanly Indians that I ever met with. But he is a great drunkard, and my not succeeding to gain his consent to have a school established at his village I attribute in a great measure to a drunken frolic which took place just at the time appointed to bring the subject before him. After he became sober he seemed far less inclined to do anything upon the subject than before.

Could an influence of the right kind be exerted over him he would soon, I have no doubt, be willing to have schools established and his people instructed. As yet, however, most of the influence which has been exerted over him by the white people has been of the worst kind. (But more of this hereafter.)

Old Ke-o-kuck has in years past manifested a strong desire to have one of his own sons educated but of late his mind has been changed and for a very obvious reason. He is altogether under the influence of the traders of the A[merican] F[ur] Com[pany] who are exceedingly hostile 127 to missionary operations. (See also Mr. Metoxen's interview with Black Hawk.)

At a council held with the Sacs &c. whilst I was in the region Col. William Davenport, Commanding Officer at F. Armstrong, (Rock I.) strongly urged upon the chiefs and head men of the two nations to have missionaries, &c. They replied, "They did not want

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missionaries.” He then spoke of the advantages of forming an education and pointed them to the house and farm of the Interpreter across the river, and says “in a few years you also might have good houses and farms—it costs Gov’t a great deal of money to hire teachers and now you may have them for nothing.” To this no reply was made.

Relation to other Tribes.

The Sacs &c. are in a state of perpetual warfare with the Sioux. Their hunting ground joins on the N. W. and there are mutual complaints of encroachment which is one great cause of hostility. The Sacs &c are more warlike than the S. and more than a match when equal numbers meet in battle, but the Sioux are the most numerous by far, so that they live in constant fear of each other. They are also in a state of hostility with the Winnebagoes and Menominies. I have heard, by the way, that there has been a massacre of some Menominies the winter past by the Sacs. With all of the other neighboring tribes I believe they are upon terms of peace & friendship.

Facilities and Difficulties in the way of doing them good.

With regard to difficulties in the way of doing them good, some I have already enumerated, viz:— Opposition from white men,—very superstitious and attached to their rites, &c. To these may be added their vices, indolence and roving habits.

Provided the Sacs concentrate upon the Des Moines as it is expected that they will either where Appenoore has his village or in the vicinity; and if they could be induced to receive teachers &c. and locate in a few years under the 128 influence of the gospel they might become independent. Because then almost every natural advantage might be enjoyed. The country is healthy, the soil excellent, timber for building &c. near, an excellent place for erecting mills within a mile and a half of A's village and a salt spring close by. Their produce could most easily be carried to the mouth of the river where there is always a good market during the whole season that steam-boats ply upon the Mississippi. It would not be difficult at all to make a road by land from the M. to almost any point upon the Des

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M. They appear more tractable and not so phlegmatic in their temperament as Indians further north.

In respect to the plan of a mission, the kind of laborers, &c. I would remark, that it should be small at first, so as not to excite their prejudices, still suitable buildings should be erected for the sake of an example. The kind of laborers is of the greatest importance. They ought to possess more than an ordinary share of firmness, patience and perseverance. The Sacs are very shrewd observers of white people; missionaries should therefore possess a good degree of knowledge of human nature; should be circumspect yet affable and have much of the milk of human kindness. With all they must be persons of faith and prayer, so that they may take strong hold of the promise "Lo, I am with you always," and confidently expect in "due time to reap if they faint not."

Could a *native* teacher be procured who understood their language, and was capable of instructing them in reading, writing and farming, I have no doubt but that he could gain access amongst them at once. But such a person I know not. We have none in this tribe of the right stamp.

Religious Rites and Ceremonies.

They are very scrupulous with regard to their religious rites and ceremonies. I have as yet seen no Indians as much so as they be. In the first place I shall commence with giving an account of their Meshaum, which is sometimes called Grand Medicine-bag.

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The Me-shaum is a parcel or bundle in which are recorded by knots in strings, stones &c. and also by hieroglyphical figures the names and wars of their gods in ancient times; and their religious belief also or revelation which they suppose was at first delivered to their ancestors by We-sah-kah their tutelary god.¹

¹ We-sah-kah is very probably Noah.

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We-sah-kah is regarded in their mythology as the creator of the new world after it had been destroyed by a flood. The Me-shaum is held in high veneration; none are permitted to open or inspect it, except the one having the particular charge of it. It is opened only in case of invocations to the Great Spirit, in which dogs are often slain and offered in sacrifice.²

² The dog feast is one of the most sacred feasts—no Indian not belonging to the Me-shaum, or white person can witness it.

Ordinances of the Me-shaum.

To fast every morning in the winter season.

To fast ten days in order to obtain signal revenge upon an enemy.

To invoke and sacrifice every time a man has killed a bear or some choice game.

That a woman shall not come into the lodge at certain seasons (during her monthly courses) nor eat anything cooked at the same fire in the lodge.³

³ This superstitious custom has been observed by Indians from time immemorial and the only reason they give for it is “their ancestors did so.”

To give away property to the poor for the good of departed relatives to the land of Shades.

It teaches that the Great Spirit gave them the wild beasts for their sustenance; and requires them to be forgiving towards those belonging to their own family or nation if they have received any injury, but that revenge must be taken upon an enemy. These are some of the most important things required by the Me-shaum. It was formerly considered so sacred, that it was hung upon the limbs of a tree outside of the lodge lest it should be polluted by an unclean woman. 10 130 It was formerly death for a white man to open and examine it. Some years ago a white man near the De Bukes mines on the Mississippi

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seeing one hung upon a tree, was led by curiosity to take it down and examine it in the absence of the Indians. As soon as he took it down and opened it the children began to cry to see their fathers' Me-shaum profaned in such a manner. When the Indians returned and found out what had been done, they pursued after the man and he was obliged to leave the country in order to save his life.

Names of their gods.

We-sah-kah — god of the earth.

Nah-pat-tay—Brother of W. who being slain by the gods of the sea, W. sent him to the land of shades or Che-pah-munk, where he still exists as chief of the shades.

Mah-she-ken-a-peck and Nah-me-pa-she—Gods who inhabit both land and water; and the

Ai-yam-woy—Men of terrible size or giants.

Besides these inferior deities they recognize a Supreme Being whom they call Kâ-mah-nu-too—Great Spirit.

The Ai-yam-woy were a race of supernatural beings, descendants of the gods of the sea and inhabited the ancient world.

Traditions of the Me-shaum.

In process of time the Great Spirit addressed the spirits on earth in the following manner: "Spirits of my breath I have created you all to enjoy the earth and wide-spreading waters, and with you I shall now make a division of them. We-sah-kah shall possess the dry land and Nah-mepa-she and Mah-she-ken-a-peck the waters. But We-sah-kah shall be chief and you shall obey him in all things, for to him I have given my terrestrial sphere to make war and peace with whomsoever he will. At length he will become elated and say within himself, I am the Great Spirit. Moreover in memory of this eventful day I shall create a

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race of beings after his own likeness." Accordingly mankind were created in the image of We-sah-kah. After this 131 the legions of spirits flew from the presence of the Great Spirit and inhabited their destined places. To mankind was given knowledge and fire as a compensation for their nakedness. To the beasts of the forest hair and fur and to the birds of the air, feathers.

Such were the times of old when mankind were under the protection of We-sah-kah.

At length the Ai-yam-woy became very numerous and over-ran both elements at their pleasure, so that the children of We-sah-kah were in danger of being totally destroyed by those terrible demi-gods.

We-sah-kah seeing this sent his brother to the gods of the sea to remonstrate against the depredations committed by their children amongst the race of the chief god of the earth. But instead of listening they slew Nah-pat-tay; his blood however ran out of the gulf and reached the dry land. Immediately a drop formed itself into a body and the shade of Nah-pat-tay being present entered it and he became as before.

He then sought safety by flight, but was met by the Ai-yam-woy who devoured him leaving only one drop of blood. We-sah-kah upon hearing of the death of his brother fasted ten days¹ and vowed destruction to the gods of the sea. At the end of the tenth day We-sah-kah heard the voice of his brother's shade at the Door of Life crying for entrance. But he answered "go to the land of shades and there be chief of men that shall die like yourself." (Nah-pat-tay they suppose was the first who died and so was constituted chief of the shades of mortals.)

¹ This it is said is the reason why the Indians fast ten days, in order that, as We-sah-kah did, they may obtain signal revenge upon their enemies.

The Flood.

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After the departure of Nah-pat-tays' shade, We-sah-kah prepared himself with the great spear, and went with the speed of an eagle to fight the Ai-yam-woy, the murderers of his brother. He met and slew them; this occasioned a war with the gods which lasted for a long time. The gods 132 of the sea having the great deep at their disposal resolved upon destroying We-sah-kah and his race even at the loss of their own lives. A great council was therefore called for the purpose, and all the chiefs were assembled and agreed upon the destruction of the world by flood. We-sah-kah hearing of this fasted again for ten days. At the end of the tenth day his voice reached the Great Spirit, his prayer was heard and answered and mankind, the beasts and birds &c. were preserved. Then the waters began to overflow the plains and We-sah-kah fled before them with his family &c., until he reached a high mountain. But the water soon overtook them and he built a great raft upon which he put all kinds of creatures and then let it loose, so it floated upon the surface of the great waters. After a long time We-sah-kah began to be sorry and fasted ten days. At the end of the tenth day he dreamed he saw the dry land. Awaking out of sleep he sent down the tortoise, but he returned without any clay; he then sent down the muskrat, and he brought up clay between his claws, out of which W. formed the dry land. Then mankind and all the creatures which had been preserved were spread abroad upon the face of it. They now lived in peace and happiness because there were no Ai-yam-woy or any spirits of destruction to trouble them having all been exterminated by the flood.

The end of We-sah-kah.

We-sah-kah was now sole chief of earth and mankind were his children. At length the people became very numerous and unable to remain together. They then separated under their fathers San-ke, Mash-qua-ke (Red Fox) and Ash-e-kan. There was also one other but his name was blotted out from amongst men on account of his offending We-sah-kah, because not contented with long life, he asked not to suffer him to die but live forever on the earth. This so incensed W. that he immediately transformed him and his children into

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stones and they remain so until the present, and their names are forgotten by all the tribes of the earth.

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The place was called Mixed Water, the dwelling of We-sah-kah, from which these three fathers commenced their journey towards the South, each tribe under his particular father.¹

¹ They can give no account where the place of the Mixed Water is.

Before the division took place We-sah-kah gave to each father a Me-shaum in which this narration is recorded by songs.

Afterwards the Great Spirit met W. and forgetting that he was a creature of the Great Spirit, told him that he had destroyed the infernal spirits from off the earth and rebuilt this new world by his own power. But the Great Spirit opened his Me-shaum and showed W. the beginning of his existence; at this he was ashamed and sorry and humbled himself for ten days. Notwithstanding the Great Spirit disregarded his invocations, and took him by the heel and east him to the ends of the earth, and put Po-po-na-te-se, god of winter, betwixt him and the world to prevent his ever coming amongst mankind again.

Belief respecting the future state.

If an Indian fulfils during his life-time the requirements of the Me-shaum, he believes that at death he shall go to Che-pah-munk or the happy land; but if bad he will not be able to cross the bridge which is no wider than a man's foot, and leads over the Mah-na-sa-no-ah or river of death. This a bottomless river and if the man has been wicked he is attracted by it and plunges in, but if good it has no power over him, and he passes in safety and joins the legion of Nah-pat-tay where he enjoys everlasting happiness. (Note. But let it ever be remembered that holiness or purity of heart never enters into the Indian's idea of

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goodness; the same is the case with regard to badness—it is not impurity in the sight of Him who cannot look upon sin with allowance.)

Che-pah-munk or the happy land is situated far at the west and abounds in game of all kinds and whatsoever is pleasing to the sight or taste.

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Manner of treating the dead.

When a person dies, his face is painted red, his best clothes are put on, and all is prepared the same as for a journey. With the corpse is buried the implements of hunting &c., as they suppose that all of these things are needed in that world from “whose bourne no traveller returns.”

About two years ago Ke-o-kuck the head chief lost his nephew. A paling of stakes was made around the place where the remains were to be deposited. The corpse was then placed in a sitting posture after having been dressed in the usual style, (but was not buried) with his rifle, knife &c. &c., all by his side. Ke-o-kuck then led up one of his best horses, put the reins into the hands of the dead, and shot the horse. A white man being present asked him why he did that? “Because,” says he, “I do not want to have him go on foot;” meaning to the west.

They have no idea of the judgment after death or of a future resurrection. Their dead are buried with the head towards the west.

Sacred Feasts or Invocations.

These are numerous whilst they remain at their villages and have anything with which to make them.

When a man makes a feast for the Great Spirit, he partakes of no part of it himself, although he may have fasted for two days previous, but leaves his place or portion for

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the Great Spirit and is engaged whilst it lasts in chanting the sacred songs. If a dog gets so much as a bone of the meat which has been eaten it pollutes the feast, everything therefore which is left is either burnt or buried.

These feasts they call invocations (Mah-neh-tah-moan) or worship of the Great Spirit.

When a man wishes to make a feast or have an invocation he sends for the Mam-e-she-mau-kah (Cooks) belonging to the Me-shaum of which he is a member and they are told to make the necessary preparations. If it is a dogfeast (which is the most sacred) they kill the dog &c. or if he has not sufficient with which to make a feast they go 135 round and beg until enough is obtained. As soon as the kettles are put over the fire an appointed number commence singing, keeping time by shaking a gourd-shell which has something in it which rattles. The place is previously enclosed with curtains if the lodge is large and no one is permitted to enter it except such as belong to the Me-shaum or have a special invitation.

These sacred songs consist of only a few words which are repeated in a very devout manner, over and over, for a considerable length of time; which forcibly reminds one of the Savior's injunction, "use not vain repetitions," &c.

A few of the aged women generally attend, and sometimes respond to the sacred songs emitting the sound through the nose which sounds more like persons in distress or deranged than like devotion.

Returning one morning from a season of retirement to Ap-pen-oore's lodge where I staid I found a party engaged in a sacred feast, and singing the sacred songs.

Ap-pen-oore then mentioned the design of them &c.—"Only a few words" says he, "of the songs are mentioned which bring to mind the traditions delivered to our ancestors by the gods and a speech is made at the close (of the feast) which shows the meaning of them." The following is a translation of one which they were then singing, as given to me by my interpreter. "Go and you shall have two horns upon your forehead; and when you

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return your horns shall be blue like the sky.” The meaning of which seemed to be, go and be masters of the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, &c. “At first,” says A., “the Great Spirit made eight persons and promised them *two* horns, but sometime after he saw them and they had only one. Our Me-shaum is the same to us when we open it as the Book [the Bible] is to the white people, for by it we learn what the gods delivered to our ancestors to be handed down from generation to generation.”

Attendance upon a feast or invocation, Aug. 11 th .

This morn. an invitation was sent to me by Ap-pen-oore to attend; considering it as a mere matter of civility and 136 not as giving countenance to their superstitions I accepted of the invitation. Considerable of preparation had been previously made, the apartment carefully enclosed and was one of the most sacred and ceremonious which I witnessed. At the appointed time I went in. The sacred songs had all been sung and all was silence for a few minutes. A. then made a speech occupying some fifteen or twenty minutes, repeating as I was informed the requisitions of the Me-shaum. All listened very attentively and occasionally responded by a loud grunt. At the close he ordered the Cooks to serve the company which they did, dealing out to each individual his portion in a dish or wooden bowl. When they took the kettles from the fire a ladle full of the broth contained in them was taken out and one went round the fire pouring a little of it into the fire very carefully as he went round. And each portion was also carried once round the fire before it was given to the individual. No one began to eat until all were served, but each was engaged in taking off the things with which the pieces of venison were tied together, or else in stripping them to pieces as no knives or forks were permitted to be used. These, as well as the use of salt are strictly forbidden by the rules of the Me-shaum, and nothing except a spoon may be used. When all were in readiness to eat, the kettles having been with much care turned over at each end of the fire, each one, beginning at the head, uttered a few words, which were thanks to the Mam-e-she-mah-kah, and then began to eat. The same expression of thanks was given at the close. Some, I observed, were unable to eat their portion, such sent out and invited a friend to come to their assistance as nothing

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must be left which could be eaten, and the remainder viz:—the strings and bones were all collected and burnt in the fire, together with some stuff taken from the Me-shaum, which was considered as a kind of incense. Then followed a long speech or prayer by the chief speaker and he was followed by the Chief with another. These speeches were said over in a solemn but hurried manner and are used at every sacred 137 feast. After all these and other ceremonies also were performed it was announced that the feast was closed and as each went out he went once round the fire; the whole occupying an hour and a half or two hours.

These feasts are attended with great formality and seriousness and are considered as religious worship offered to the Great Spirit, still they exert no moral influence whatever that I could observe, either to restrain from doing wrong, or as leading to that which is right in the sight of God.

One Indian who attended this feast was remarkably scrupulous in observing every ceremony and in requiring others also to do the same, and exceedingly troubled because my interpreter carried in a little salt for his own use. He told him that he was a very bad man because he did it, worse than white man, &c. This Indian only the day before I saw intoxicated, but now he enters and partakes of the sacred feast as welcome a guest as any ether. However base their conduct or vile their character may be it does not disqualify for the enjoyment of their most sacred privileges. So soon as an Indian rises to the rank of a *brave* and this he does whenever he has killed or wounded an enemy in battle, he then can belong to the Me-shaum and partake of the sacred feasts.

The religion of the Me-shaum is therefore peculiarly adapted to their habits and manner of life. It lays no restraint upon their unbridled appetites and passions, nor requires any of those things which the law of God does in order to be a good Indian. Skepticism or entire disbelief in the Me-shaum does not disqualify for the enjoyment of its most sacred privileges, nor is unbelief threatened with any penalty. He may be a drunkard, a debauchee or a glutton and still perform all of its requisitions and at last go to Che-pah-

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munk or the happy land. In their prayers there is no confession of sin nor do they suppose that sorrow for it is necessary in order to obtain the favor of the Great Spirit. Indeed I could not find that they had any *words* in their language for sin and especially repentance 138 in the evangelical sense. As they have no idea of the holy character of God, so they do not know that any atonement. is necessary for sin, or renovation of heart or spiritual cleansing in order to render them acceptable in his sight. Total darkness in respect to all of these things which it is of most importance for them to know, rests upon their minds and when I spoke to them concerning them some would laugh and treat them as idle tales whilst others would say “they did not believe them” or had “never heard anything about them before.”

Virtues and Vices.

Kind and generous to strangers and friends, always dividing with them if it is only the last fowl when they come to visit them. The more temperate and steady regard lying as very bad, and many of them very honest and trusty especially when anything is committed to their charge. Generally addicted to intemperance both old and young. But a few years ago and it was seldom that one was seen drunk excepting some of the old people and hardly any of the young people or women got intoxicated; but at the present time there is little difference in respect to either men or women. This vice is evidently gaining ground amongst them. Many are addicted to lying, stealing and dishonesty. They are licentious, and the men extremely indolent excepting when they make their fall hunts, which commence about the first of Sept. and continue until the last of Dec. or the first of Jan. During this time they rise early in the morning and go out and continue to hunt until dark. In the meantime the women are employed in drying the meat and taking care of the skins, &c. They are also extremely proud and haughty, particularly the braves who are highly esteemed—vain and extravagantly fond of amusement of all kinds, such as card-playing, gambling, frolicking and dancing, &c.

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The women are generally quite industrious and employ their time in making mats, sacks, moccasins, dressing skins 139 &c., whilst in the lodges; and abroad perform all of the drudgery, such as procuring wood for the fire, preparing the ground and planting and hoeing in harvesting, whilst their husbands are loitering about or engaged in amusements, taking apparently no interest and having no concern about the employment of their wives.

Nothing scarcely can be more fantastic, or ludicrous than the dress and ornaments of a young brave. All of the fore part of the head is often shaved leaving only a small ring of hair on the crown of it about an inch long, which is stuck up with the greatest care with a preparation of vermilion and tallow. On the back of it is generally worn the Wah-we-yeh pen-nu-wen which is an ornament made of Elks' hair, round at the bottom and branching out each way towards the top and is painted red. Around the neck he wears strings of wampum or fine beads, and sometimes a necklace of bears' claws, consisting perhaps of thirty or forty. From his ears are suspended some kind of jewels or ornaments hanging down six or eight inches. The face is sometimes painted all over red but more generally streaked in the nicest manner with red, blue and yellow, or some other color. When preparing for a dance most of the body is in a state of nudity, excepting the girdle about the loins and then those parts are painted in the same manner. Around the calves of the legs and perhaps on other parts he wears the Shau-no-e-hun (little bells) and tales of the Polecat are nicely suspended. From the calf of the leg also is often suspended a piece of scarlet cloth having cut out of ribbon in miniature, with the head cut off, as many enemies as he has killed in battle or else the number of hands in the same manner. With all of these and oftentimes many other ornaments, having a spear perhaps decorated with feathers, ribbons, &c. tied to it, or else a snake's skin which is considered a fine ornament he makes his appearance abroad, dandy-like, the envy of his less favored companions and the admiration of all the young squaws.

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Time of continuing at their villages.

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About the first of April they return to their villages, repair their lodges and prepare for planting. Here they remain until they have done working the corn, when a part leave to make the summer hunt, which is the last of June or the first of July, and it lasts about forty days or until corn is fit for roasting. A part of the old men, women and children are left to take care of the corn-fields and villages. After this hunt is made in which they take principally the deer, elk and buffalow they remain at their villages until corn is harvested, which is about the first of Sept. Their time is now spent in feasting, dancing and other kinds of amusement. As soon as the corn is harvested, shelled, dried and put up in sacks, a part is buried for future use, and the remainder is carried with them; they then abandon their villages and go to their hunting grounds where they remain until about the first of Jan., when they collect at some place of rendez-vous and pass the remainder of the winter as before-mentioned after the summer hunt.

A Sabbath at Ap-pen-oore's Village.

Aug. 10 th .— This morn we invited Ap-pen-oore to breakfast with us. It had been previously intimated to me that he was skeptical in respect to the religion of his people, but I had never heard him before intimate anything of the kind. Possessing naturally a quick, penetrating mind, and disposed to inquire into the reason and consistency of things he has been led to see the emptiness and inconsistency of their Me-shaum; and having received no proper instruction in the Christian religion he is an infidel in respect to all religion and a future state also.

Soon after we commenced eating he began of his own accord relating to the interpreter his belief. "From respect," says he, "and civility to my people I follow the Me-shaum, but I do not believe in it, nor that there is any truth in the traditions said to be handed down by it from our ancestors." "My body," continued he, is a substance animated in some way by the air, and at death the breath will go out of it 141 and that will be the end of me and I shall be the same as before." As it would not have been considered according to the rules of Indian etiquette to tell him he was mistaken, I took the opportunity immediately after breakfast to

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speaking to him of Jesus Christ, and by means of a picture explained also the scenes of the final judgment—the rising of the dead and the separation of the righteous &c. He listened very attentively and examined the picture with much apparent interest. After I got through he inquired “If there was anybody now living who had seen this God who came down from heaven and heard him speak all of these things.” I replied that those who did see and hear him speak all of these things wrote them down just as he spoke them, and they were the very words which I had been speaking to him. At this he made no reply but turned to something else. I explained also the scenes connected with the giving of the law at Mt. Sinai and how it was given; but finding a disposition to cavil I broke off the conversation by reminding him that he would soon see and feel the reality of all that I had said. He replied that he thought it was best to enjoy ourselves in this life and not trouble ourselves with gloomy thoughts &c.

After a season of retirement I returned in order to converse with my interpreter and the clerk of a trader who was now keeping there and such other individuals as I might meet with, I saw a canoe coming up the river which had been sent down with an order from the clerk for whiskey, a distance of one hundred miles. I soon ascertained that they had only ten bottles instead of 50, the quantity ordered, as a present after the summer hunt and paying their credits. This small quantity instead of the 50 bottles was in consequence of some interference on my part which brought upon me the no small displeasure of the clerk. I immediately went to Appenoore and earnestly entreated him to have it destroyed as it had been sent for without his order. He called his head men and after a short consultation ordered them to go and destroy it. But the order was not obeyed as there were some of them who wanted the liquor and they had already begun to drink. Still neither A. nor his four counsellors drank any, doubtless in consequence of what I had said.

Now all was confusion and uproar in the village where one hour before there was the utmost peace and quietness. Having been frustrated in my design of conversing with individuals I again retired to the woods about a quarter of a mile distant in order that I

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might enjoy the day alone, but the air was rent with their savage yells and whooping which could have been heard at a much greater distance.

At eve I was obliged to return, it was then more quiet as the liquor was drank up, but I ascertained that there had been fighting &c. as is usual on such occasions and two or three who lost friends in the war of 1832 threatened to take the life of the clerk and interpreter by way of revenge. One of them was accordingly bound until he should become sober. To all this the clerk replied "Hoh, it is nothing to what I witnessed the winter before amongst Black Hawks' band on the Mississippi!"

At supper we again invited A. After the blessing was asked, he remarked that "formerly his people had a custom of the same kind of giving thanks to the Great Spirit whenever they ate, but now it was laid aside excepting at feasts." On a former occasion we invited him to sup with us, and after the blessing was asked he inquired of the interpreter what it meant. He told him that I was thanking the Great Spirit for food &c. "Why," says he, "that is just like the Indians, I thought the white people never did it, but were just like the hogs because they thought themselves God."

A Night Scene.

At evening as I sat in A's lodge noting down the occurrences of the day and waiting for his return, having appointed that time for me to lay the object of my visit before him; the sound of revelry was struck up in an adjoining one used for a council-house. Although there had been much noise during the day in consequence of feasting and dancing still it did not disturb the peace of the village; 143 and all were now retiring in quietness. I feared what was the case and soon one came in and said that a canoe had arrived bringing whiskey. At a late hour I retired having given up all hopes of seeing A., as I expected that he was drinking.

About 12 o'clock I was awaked suddenly by a most tremendous yelling like drunken Indians fighting. I immediately arose and put on my clothes so as to be ready in case any

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personal violence should be attempted to make my escape. Soon all of the fires in the lodge (which was about 100 ft. long) were lighted up and all were called out in great haste for some purpose I knew not what. The women however returned very soon and went up and down in the lodge laying aside every kind of weapon with which any injury could be done, and all seemed to be upon the look out.

A partial cessation then took place, but soon again it commenced loud and terrible as ever, —some ran out of the lodge in great haste and others to examine the guns to see if any were loaded and to secure them, whilst abroad there was a dreadful yelling and confusion. Drunken scenes are exceedingly unpleasant and revolting to the feelings when witnessed in the daytime; but the darkness of the night adds a gloom and terror which cannot be described when one is in the midst of them, and cannot easily get away; because he does not know when he is safe, or what deeds of horror the drunken savage, who seems rather like a fiend let loose from the bottomless pit, may be plotting. Thus I felt, far removed from any white settlement and having only one white man, the clerk, and the interpreter, a half-breed, with me.

I ascertained very soon that they were fighting and that one had a knife; numbers ran to the door of the lodge to guard it lest he should enter. The clerk afterwards went out and brought in the chief who although partially intoxicated came where I was and told me to lay down to sleep for he had set a guard to keep all out of the lodge, which was indeed the case after he came in. And there was little disturbance during the remainder of the night. With feelings of great joy I hailed the light of the next morning, giving thanks to God for the gracious protection of the night from all harm.

It appeared that all of that disturbance and fighting in which one Indian had his ear bitten off, was occasioned by three bottles of whiskey, which cost as they usually sell to Indians 75 cts., and afforded a profit to the venders of about 50 cts. How awful, thought I, must the day of judgment be to such as for a little, paltry gain can be accessory to so much evil and wretchedness as well as place the lives of their fellow creatures in jeopardy!

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The day after this¹ was the time in which I was obliged to lay the object of my visit before him. It was very unfavorable, as he still felt the effects of the drunken frolic the eve. previous, and was so ill that he could hardly listen, but I could not defer it any longer both on my own account as well as the Indians' for I had been then a number of days waiting for A. to return from his summer hunt and they also as soon as I had laid my business before them had national business which would occupy some days. Before this frolic I felt quite confident of being able to accomplish something there as he and some of his head men appeared favorably disposed. After this he appeared quite different and little inclined to do anything towards having schools &c. established amongst his people. I could attribute the change to nothing but the effects of liquor. In his answer to me he stated they did not wish to change their religion as a nation, but as every man was free if any individuals were disposed to they had no objections. That they wanted no missionaries, but in respect to teachers they had nothing to say; as he did not consider his land independent of the rest of the nation he could not act alone; still if the other chiefs wanted teachers he would also give his consent. This is the substance of his reply. The sketch of it which I took down at the time is mislaid and I cannot now find it.

¹ This was previous to the Sabbath described above.

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Speech of Appenoore.

Aug. 11 th . Expecting to leave tomorrow, I requested the chief to call his head men together in the eve. for I had a few words to say to them. I then made a short speech upon the subject of temperance, setting forth the evils of intemperance, &c. This was listened to very attentively and as each sentence was interpreted it was responded to by a loud grunt, which is the Indian mode of giving assent.

To this A. responded in a very polite and energetic manner, which was for substance as follows:—"We have listened," says he, "to what you have said and believe it to be all true.

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I have myself thought strong drink to be some evil spirit which had taken upon himself this form and was going round destroying mankind. You have described this vice so that we have seemed to see it, but we are so weak, that we are afraid when we go abroad again we shall be attracted by it. We had formerly some wise men amongst us, and as they got acquainted with the white people, and found out what a destroyer it was among Indians, they told their people that an enemy would be nothing to it and we see how true their words are. It was for this reason we left the Mississippi in order that we might get away from strong drink and we are hoping by making some laws and by the restraints of morals to do it away. You saw, yesterday, (referring to the Sabbath) what work it makes in our settlement and how we had to run away in order to get away from it. (referring probably to myself) And as you have said that you hoped we should become a happy people we ourselves hope that by some means it may be the case."

The next morn. when I left he gave me venison for my journey and I parted with him with every expression of cordiality on his part. I afterwards met with him on board a steam-boat but he had had a drunken frolic. So soon, however, as he became sober he came and invited me to go and sit by him on his mat: but after he had been at *Rock Island* a short time he appeared quite different. 11

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Feelings of a young man after having killed the child of an enemy and customs of war.

A young man having heard much about the satisfaction of being a brave, he thought as soon as he should kill an enemy he should be very happy. Accordingly when engaged with a war party he attacked a little child who ran into the bushes to get away from the enemy. He pursued after it; the child earnestly entreated him to spare his life, but disregarding its entreaties he struck him with a spear in the breast which the little creature endeavored in vain to remove as long as he could. But instead of feeling very happy as he anticipated after killing the child he was exceedingly wretched, and could not free his mind from the

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dreadful impression, because the image of the child seemed constantly before him—his pleas for life and trying to extract the spear constantly haunted his imagination. He went and told the chief his feelings and he replied that he well knew how he felt and that it was the shade of the child that troubled him. That on his return home he must run round the town three times, wash himself and then the shade would leave him and he would feel better.

This it is said is the custom of war when they return to camp without the town, go round it three times and then they suppose that the shades of their enemies whom they have killed will leave them.

Without Natural Affection.

“In the fall of 1831,” said my informant who was an eye-witness, a few lodges of Sacs, &c. were encamped upon the Des Moines about 10 miles from its mouth. At this place there was an Indian who had an aged, infirm and blind mother. He said that she was of no use to him and he had been troubled long enough with her. It was now late in the fall and the weather had become cold. Just before leaving he went out upon the bank of the river, stuck some sticks down in the ground and put up a mat against them so as to break the wind off. Here he put his poor old mother without food or fire and then put off in his canoe 147 up the river. Whilst in that sad, forlorn condition she was continually crying for bread being helpless. But the hearts of the Indians as hard and unfeeling as the undutiful sons' were unmoved by her entreaties and they talked about knocking her in the head because her cries annoyed them so much; and in this condition she remained until she actually starved to death within a few rods of 4 or 5 lodges!!

Plurality of Wives.

Any Indian can have as many wives as he can *purchase* or maintain; as taking a wife is in most cases a mere matter of traffic. Sometimes five or six horses are given for a wife, but there is no fixed price and it is generally just as the parties can agree. The match or

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contract is made by the parents, the young woman not being one of the party or even consulted. In Appenoore's village there were six men having *fifteen* wives, still these men had but few children. Appenoore had four wives and the winter previous six and he has only three children living and has lost five. His brother has two wives and no children living. Old Ke-o-kuck had five wives and seven children I believe living, but said he had lost more than ten; he has also had a good many women whom he has put away. This can be done at pleasure, or when either party becomes disaffected. The woman takes the children and she can then return to her father's or get married the same as before; although a woman who has had a number of husbands depreciates and can be obtained for a less amount. They have no idea of the sacredness of the marriage relation, it being merely a matter of convenience or interest without any kind of moral obligation attached to it.

Having a number of wives does not appear to add in the least to the favored Indian's happiness (if the expression is admissible) and they seem to have no kind of community of interest or affection for each other, more than they have for any other individual. I observed that at Appenoore's lodge each one had her own things separately cooked and ate separately and had a separate place in the lodge to sit and sleep.

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Bitter envies and jealousies are often springing up and quarreling and fighting amongst themselves. Although the husband may be an eye-witness of this still he does not interfere but lets them fight it out and if one is driven off he makes no ado about it, but either lets her go or else perhaps he may go to the lodge where she keeps and keep company with her there. Indeed the man takes little or no interest apparently in the affairs of his wife or wives and but very few converse with their wives familiarly or treat them as equals.

The condition of their females is similar to that amongst all other wild Indians; the woman having to perform all of the drudgery whilst her lordly husband looks on with indifference or is fixing his ornaments, engaged in some kind of amusement or idling or sleeping away his time. The Sacs particularly seem to have much better ideas of civilization than most of the

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natives which I have seen. They have many cooking utensils and some of the women can cook very well and make tolerably good bread. Their lodges are generally kept cleanly, being swept every day; and their places for sitting, sleeping &c. are about 3 feet from the ground and covered with clean mats and sometimes with buffalo robes. I have seen no mats manufactured by Indians so nice as well as durable as those made by the Sac women. These are made of a kind of grass or rush which grows in the water, and is dyed with flowers which grow in the Prairies and are woven or put together with a kind of coarse yarn made of the bark of a tree.

Whilst I was at Appenoore's village in particular the women were up by sun-rise and engaged in their daily labors; these they pursued with a kind of cheerful silence until evening, submitting to their hard lot without a murmur and with a truly laudable dilligence.

Belief in Witch-craft.

This they strongly believe and use charms to keep them off. They even suppose that a witch may kill a person at a great distance. This they think he does by making an image of the person whom he wishes to kill, and then dipping a quill in some medicine and then touching it to the image.

Language.

The language of the Sacs and Foxes very nearly resembles the O-jib-wa and doubtless originated from it. Some words are entirely different, as for example the O-jib-wa says Kuk-ka-nah, the Sac chauk [all.] O. Ke-wain-se, S. push-e-to. [old man.] O. moak-a-mon, S. mah-tiss. [knife.] O. O-nish-e-shin, S. wach-e-ton. [good.] Other words have only a slight difference in pronunciation, as O. Sag-a-nash, S. Sak-a-lash. [an Englishmand] O. ke-kaindon, S. ke-ken-it. [to know.]

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The Sacs can generally understand the O-jib-wa although many of them told me they could not speak it, but there are some who are able to do it. The Gottalwottamy, Kicka-poo and Cree language are also similar to the O-jib-wa.

Their Hunt growing poorer.

Four years ago a trader upon the Des Moines informed me that the Sacs and Foxes made four hundred packs of fur but in the winter of 1833 only between 140 and 150. At the present time they have to ascend the Des Moines about 200 miles before they find deer plenty and 250 miles in order to find buffalo, and here they are often hunted by the Sioux which keeps them in a continual state of hostility.

The Soul.

Unlike the Ottawas they believe that the soul leaves the body immediately after death, but that it cannot pass the narrow bridge until the friends have thrown goods for the dead as it is called, that is, made a feast and given away goods to the poor; but that it wanders round in a state of unhappiness, or comes back and troubles the friends, perhaps is the occasion of the death of other friends or else of misfortunes. After this is done it passes the bridge in safety, if good during life, and enters the happy land. The land of shades, Che-pah-munk, where Nah-pat-tay is chief, is not the dwelling of the Great Spirit, nor do they suppose that they shall ever dwell in his immediate presence, but in a terrestrial paradise.

They are taught also from childhood that the soul of a departed relative who has been murdered cannot rest until the friends have revenged his death; this therefore is constantly present to their minds, and regard for that friend and desire for the rest of his soul keeps them in a constant state of disquietude until revenge is taken. To forgive an injury done by an enemy is no part of their religion.

The Sabbath.

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They have no knowledge or tradition respecting the Sabbath, or that one part of the time is to be regarded as any more sacred than the rest. But twice a year in the month of Feb. and also in the fall the precise time being ascertained by inspecting the entrails of the deer, they have sacred feasts for which the most choice things are reserved or sought for to eat, and the most sacred songs are sung such as are not made use of on other occasions. There is also a feast of thanksgiving when the corn becomes fit for roasting: so scrupulous are they in respect to it that a child will not touch either corn or beans although he may be hungry, until after the feast is held.

I received many contradictory statements from different individuals and where I felt any doubt respecting the truth of any statement I have carefully omitted it or else have given what appeared to be the most probable. Still in some things future investigation may show that I am either mistaken or was misinformed. From the time I went amongst them until the present I have felt an earnest, longing desire to have a mission established amongst them. Nothing but the gospel exerting over them its purifying and benign effects can arrest even the dreadful work of destruction which is now going on so rapidly amongst them, as well as save a single soul from death. Often when looking at their condition I felt somewhat of that stirring of spirit which Paul felt at Athens but I could not speak O-jib-wa well enough to converse with them intelligibly nor obtain interpreters that I could confide in or do their duty faithfully. Could I have spoken the O-jib-wa well I might have got along tolerably well without an interpreter; still one would be necessary in giving religious instruction who could speak the language well. Although superstition, self-interest and infidelity may for the present shut the door of entrance in unto them, yet I shall not and cannot cease to pray that "He who openeth and no *man* shutteth" will soon prepare the way for the gospel to be preached to this interesting but fast degenerating tribe.

April 21 st .—Since the most of the above was written I have received your kind favor of March 2 nd acknowledging the receipt of my communications. You mentioned respecting my communications last summer as having been received &c. In the one which I now

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forward you considerable contained in them is repeated, but as I am greatly pressed with business and as it would take considerable of time to rewrite it I have concluded to send it in its present form. I regret that I have not time to copy it and make some alterations, as I have had to make it principally in fragments of time when not obliged to be attending to something else. I hope that this may be a sufficient apology for the many deficiencies which may appear in it.

The decision in respect to the course which was pursued towards Mr. S. &c. was perfectly satisfactory and I am gratified to learn that the Board entertain the same views respecting mission property &c. that I do.

With regard to Mr. Barber¹ you mentioned as having written

¹ Rev. Abel Lester Barber was "the first resident minister in Wisconsin to labor under commission from the American Home Missionary Society." Born at Otis, Mass., November 23, 1803, he graduated from Amherst in 1831; entering the ministry, he arrived at Mackinac November 11, 1833, and in July, 1834, went to the Stockbridge mission, afterwards serving at Fort Winnebago and Milwaukee. Later, he became a newspaper editor at Prairieville (Waukesha) and Milwaukee. Davidson, in *Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 209, *note*, says "he had certain infirmities of temper that made it almost impossible for others to get on with him." He died at Wallingford, Conn., October 7, 1876.— Ed.

¹⁵² me previously respecting him but that letter has not come to hand as yet. I would remark that it has been my intention and that of Mr. and Mrs. H.¹ also to treat Mr. and Mrs. B. in the manner you mentioned. Still he is a man of that kind of temperament that it is not easy at all times to treat him as one would desire. I also wrote you a few weeks since respecting him, and I have since thought you might be led from the spirit of that letter to conclude that I have treated him with severity or unkindness. it is possible it may appear so to him still I cannot feel that he has any cause for complaint, for I have endeavored at all times to act a kind and condescending part towards both.

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1 Chauncey Hall, a colporteur, who was an assistant to Marsh.— Ed.

I enclose with this communication a hieroglyphical figure by which the Sacs &c. are in the habit of representing human life.² The picture of a spear at the right hand of the E[Ik] as is stated below on that paper, represents a man's life and those other marks across it represent what he calls his war roads. The figure was originally drawn by one of the Sacs at my request and copied exactly by my interpreter,

² Upon p. 104, *note* 1, *ante*, Mr. Wright states that the “hieroglyphical figure” mentioned by Mr. Marsh is missing from the original report in the archives of the American Board, in Boston. Since that page went to press, however, we have discovered in the archives of our Society what is undoubtedly the original of this figure, apparently drawn either by the Indian or the interpreter, along with other MS. data upon the me-shaum, upon which Mr. Marsh based his report thereon. See also, Marsh's reference to hieroglyphics, on p. 129, *ante*. The following is a reduced facsimile of the figure, with the original lettering improved.— Ed.

153 and below he added the explanation. But I have made some corrections of spelling &c. so as to make it more intelligible as he could write the English language but indifferently. In that drawing the Indian represented his own life. The tribe is divided into clans, as for example, there is the clan of the Elk, of the Bear and of Thunder; and it is a curious fact that each person has a name given him expressive of the creature or thing after which the clan is called.

When they see a figure of any kind painted on a post where a man has been buried they are able not only to recognize the clan to which he belongs, but can even tell his name, although they may never have known him personally. As for example an Indian sees the fork of a tree painted on the post at another's grave. He at once recollects that there is no clan in his tribe called after any creature which climbs a tree excepting the *Bear*, this then

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is the clan to which he belongs, and the name of the person buried there would be Nah-sow-wah-quet. (Fork of a tree.)

I intend also to forward a map of the Des Moines so soon as I can get one drawn. A person by examining the common maps has a poor idea of the streams west of the Mississippi.

My connexion with Dr. Williamson was short. After we met upon the Mississippi we concluded to descend the River about 60 miles to the mouth of the Des Moines and go up and visit Appenoore's village, 125 miles from the mouth of it. We did so and procuring a guide and horses went up by land, hoping to find Appenoore at his village as it was thought he might be there. This occupied some days and the tour on account of the warm weather and some rain also was quite severe. On my return I was attacked with the dysentery just after Dr. W. had left to return to his friends in Ohio. I should have remained at the village when there until A. returned, but there was no interpreter and it was doubtful whether the one who had been there, but was then absent, would return. In addition we had a scanty supply of provision for our journey back 154 and none could be obtained of any kind at the village. I therefore concluded to return to the trader's house (who had at this time a small establishment at the village and a clerk there) about one hundred miles down the river and there remain until A. should return, as I had heard that he was somewhat disposed or desirous to have his people instructed. In addition, whilst I was at the trader's A's head men sent down a request for me to come up when their chief should return and lay the subject before him. The particular object of my visit had not been made known to them at this time as those head men were not at the village when we were there; but they had heard that I had some subject which I wished to lay before their chief. At the trader's house (A Mr. William Phelps)¹ I was sick one week. It was here also that Dr. W. and myself agreed to separate as he wished to return to his friends and thought that it would not be of much use for him to remain. In this opinion we were unanimous and parted bidding each other God speed.

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1 In *History of Wapello County, Iowa* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1878), pp. 343 et seq., Maj. John Beach, formerly Indian agent, contributes an early history of Indians and the fur trade on the Des Moines River. He makes frequent references to Keokuk, "Appanoose," and "Capt. Billy Phelps, of jovial memory;" on pp. 361–363 is related a typical frontier anecdote, in which Phelps plays a trick on Governor Lucas.— Ed.

Mr. Phelps, although a professed infidel in sentiment, still was friendly to my object, treated me with great hospitality and would take no pay for my board whilst I staid. He and a brother of his also are trading in opposition to the Am[erican] F[ur] Co. and it rather operated to our advantage than otherwise. And Mr. P. declared that if something was not done soon for the Sacs &c. they would all be swept off.

And now I have embodied the most interesting facts and occurrences which I was able to obtain and which occurred during my tour. It is but duty to remark that in every place I received every mark of kindness which I could desire, particularly from Christians; and God's watchful care over me in preserving my life and health upon a tour by 155 land and water of over thirteen hundred miles, and in permitting me to return to my beloved station after an absence of three months and some days, demands of me gratitude and praise and thanksgiving. Bless the Lord, O, my soul, and forget not all his benefits, bless and praise the Lord.

Yours very truly, Cutting Marsh .

THE SOCIETY'S APPRECIATION.

Society Hall Edinburgh 3 March 1836

Dear Sir —I have received your very interesting Journal dated Green Bay 15 July last. The parcel from D r . Codman which contained the journal, reached my hands late in December, and I have now had an opportunity of laying it before the Directors of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. They beg me to express to you, how much

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they were interested in the minute details which you have given, no less than by that truly missionary spirit By which the whole seems to be dictated. The Directors trust that the knowledge which in your excursions to the districts of the Sac and Fox tribes you have acquired of the customs manners and conditions of those tribes, will prove valuable in enabling you more effectually to promote the great object of your being placed in your present situation, and which from the tone of your journal the Directors are assured you have so deeply at heart. The earnest prayer of the Directors is, that your labours and exertions may be accompanied by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and be blessed in turning many from darkness to marvellous light—from the ways of idolatry, to serve the loving and true God.—from the ignorance of Superstition, to the knowledge of the everlasting truth as it is in Christ Jesus. Among the many discouragements which you must have met with, you have much reason to bless God for the evidences He has already afforded of the riches of His Grace; and how rich and abundant would your reward be even if 156 you had no other seals of your missionary labours than the closing days of those two young Indians, of whom you seem to have no reason to doubt that they died in the Lord, and of whose death you have given so interesting an account. These circumstances we would hold as a token for good, and sincerely trust that when the Stockbridge tribe, get more settled in their new place of habitation, you will have more abundant cause of rejoicing in seeing the work of the Lord prosper in your hands.—

I intend to publish some parts of your last interesting Journal in the appendix to the Society next anniversary sermon. This was done in regard to one of your former journals, and was read with much interest—If I can get an opportunity I shall send a copy of some of the late Society sermons to Dr. Codman to be forwarded to you.

I regret much that I could find no good map so as to be able to trace out exactly your present settlement or to follow you in your late route: if you could accompany your next journal with a chart of the places and distances it would make it much more interesting.

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With every good wish for the continuance of your health, and for abunda[n]t success in your labors—I remain

Yours faithfully Jno. Tawse Secy Society for Prop. X tian Knowledge.

The rev d . Cutting Marsh Stockbridge, Green Bay America.

Indorsed: "John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Scot Soc. Prop. Chr. Kn. March 1836"

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1838.

Stockbridge Near Green Bay W. T. Jan. 15 1838

To John Tawse Esqr. Secry of the Venerable Soc. for Prop. Christ. Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scot.

Dear Sir .—Your very kind and affectionate letter of March 6th 1836 was duly received; and I will briefly mention 157 the reasons for not continuing the correspondence regularly since I last wrote you: It has not been owing to any unwillingness &c on my own part, but I was informed by one of the Secretaries of the Am. Board that there was some dissatisfaction on the part of the Soc. respecting my absence in 1834 when I visited the Sacs & Foxes and which might lead to a dissolution of my connexion with your Soc. Still I received no intimation of the kind from your Secry in this country, The Rev d Dr. Codman. I however wrote him in 1835 at the same time I forwarded my last journal explaining the reason of my absence and supposed if they were satisfactory and that if I might still forward my bills of Exchange &c. that he would write me, but I have never received any answer to that communication consequently I did not forward any bills of Exchange at that time and no journals since and concluded that the connexion was to cease. Still I have continued to labor amongst the Stockbridge Indians as before and have received my support from the A B &c. By the recommendation of one of the Sec ries of the A B &c I have concluded to renew the correspondence, and forward my bills of Exchange

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leaving it for your Venerable Society to act their pleasure about receiving them; but with this understanding, provided they are received I shall forward my journal &c semi-annually, but if I hear nothing from the Society I shall conclude that it is their pleasure to have the correspondence &c discontinued.

I will now proceed to give you a brief history of the state of this people since I last write.

Notwithstanding the great embarrassments under which they have & do still labor in consequence of removal for a few years past, there has appeared to be a gradual improvement in the morals and habits of this Nation; and generally they appear to appreciate more & more the blessings of civilisation, as well as of the gospel. They have long felt the need of a more efficient code of laws amongst themselves, for the punishment of evil doers & the encouragement of those who would do well, and last winter (1837) 158 a Committee from among their number was appointed to draft a constitution & code of laws modeled according to the constitution &c. of civilised nations. This business was ably executed, and they met with the approbation of the best & most enlightened part of the nation. But were strongly and violently opposed by a few, who formed a party and rebelled against them and chose leaders or officers for themselves of their own numbers. Proposing the above mentioned laws &c. seemed at once to be drawing the dividing line betwixt light & darkness, paganism and civilisation. But the former were fixed in their purposes respecting an alteration in their civil code & have steadfastly persevered in their object.

A horrid murder was committed by two young men belonging to this nation a year ago last July (1836) upon the body of a Brothertown Indian in a drunken frolic. They were afterwards tried by a joint council of the two nations convicted and sentenced to be executed upon the gallows. But by the assistance of their friends succeeded soon after in making their escape. This affair gave rise to very serious difficulties both amongst the people & in the church as some of the friends of the murderers were members. Still I am fully persuaded from all I perceive, that the cause of Temperance is gradually making

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progress amongst them. I have not known a drunken frolic in the Town since that awful event, altho' individuals have drank and do still whenever opportunity offers.

The Temperance Society, based upon the principal of *total abstinence* numbers about 90 members of both sexes, and quite as lively an interest is taken in the prosperity of the Soc. as at any previous time. Some progress has also been made in discouraging the use of Tobacco for which poisonous drug and no doubt after much inquiry on my own part and observation, is a fruitful source of intemperance, Indians universally manifest an excessive fondness. Whilst it is to be classed with alcohol in its various forms & opium and leads to many of the same results as the use of the former on the system as well as to the use 159 of strong drink itself it is far more difficult to convince them of their error than it is of the use of ardent spirits, and whilst many will readily abandon the use of the latter they appear exceedingly reluctant to give up their tobacco.

Since making my last communication there have been four deaths among the members of the church. These gave not only at their death but also in life very satisfactory evidence of having passed from death unto life, that death was their gain and that they had gone to that blessed world where they are secure from the power of Temptation & Sin.

I have baptised during this time 18 children and six adults by a profession of faith. Five have been excommunicated and one of them restored to full communion & fellowship with the church.

The Sabbath School embraces a greater part of the congregation who assemble voluntarily with the Children at the interval of public-worship on the Sabbath to receive instruction from the holy Scriptures. The day-school has continued with some interruptions and the cause of education is making progress.

The latter part of last winter (1837) a season of protracted-worship was held, which continued eight days. The trials which the church experienced in consequence of the murder abovementioned and some other cases of discipline rendered the preparation

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very difficult. But by the blessing of the Great Head of the church upon this little branch to purge itself from such as brought a scandal upon His cause they succeeded and the result was very salutary and issued in the hopeful recovery of one in particular who had greatly offended. The meeting was thus preceded by faithful and thorough discipline in the church, by individuals settling many little differences which they had amongst themselves, and then by an open confession of faults one to another and praying for one another and all humbling ourselves before God on account of our sins and departures from Him. I was aided in the meeting by a brother who was at that time laboring at Green Bay among the white 160 people; where sometime previous he had also held a protracted meeting which was blessed. Having prepared the way in the manner now specified, we began to preach the great doctrines of repentance towards God & faith in Jesus Christ. There were three meetings held each day & prayer-meetings at the intervals. After there began to be anxious inquirers a part of the forenoon was spent in giving them personal instruction & praying with them. At first, as a protracted-meeting was a new thing with them, some for a time kept back and looked on with distrust, but soon these apprehensions all vanished and in two or three days from the commencement of the meeting there was quite as general an attendance as on the Sabbath. All except necessary business was suspended for the time, and the concerns of the soul became the great subject of tho[ugh]t and conversation. Altho' deep feeling was manifested still no pains was taken to excite their sympathies, yet the solemn and sometimes awful silence which pervaded the congregation, and the fixed attention to the preached word, all seemed to say God is in very deed here. The effect was strongly felt thro' t[he] whole settlement, and not a family which attended regularly but what was more or less benefitted either in quickening such as were already professors of religion, or in the hopeful conversion of some one in the family.

At first there appeared to be quite a large number who turned unto the Lord, but soon trials came and many showed that they were not building upon the *Rock*, for they were carried away by them. And numbers also of the members of the church fell, but as I would fain hope to try and purify them, for some have returned again confessing their sins, but of

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others I stand in great doubt. Of those however who during the meeting indulged the hope of having experienced a change of heart sixteen have united with the church and three young men all hopefully pious, and two of them expressed a hope during the meeting, have gone to a Seminary in the state of N. York in order 161 to prepare themselves for more extensive usefulness among their brethren & kindred according to the flesh.

Most of this number were young people or heads of families, and since in five families, family worship has been established. Notwithstanding the numerous defections; in view of Gods dealings with this church we are led devoutly to exclaim “behold what hath God wrought!” “The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly.” The church now numbers sixty two members in regular standing. Four are under censure and two of them will doubtless be excommunicated, having been for the most part the cause and leaders in all the difficulties and disturbance which the nation has had of late. These difficulties however have not originated altogether in opposition to the new constitution & laws, but also in the murder a year ago last Summer, and in dissatisfaction to a Treaty which the head men made with a U.S. Commissioner for a sale of part of their lands.¹ These two men at the head of a very small party amongst the Stockbridges are still persevering in their opposition &c. and where or when the troubles of the nation with them will end I know not.

¹ This culminated in the treaty of September 3, 1839, between the United States government and the Stockbridge and Munsee tribes, by which the Indians ceded to the United States “the east half of the tract of forty-six thousand and eighty acres of land, which was laid off for their use, on the East side of Lake Winnebago, in pursuance of the treaty” of October 27, 1832. For this land the United States agreed to pay one dollar per acre, which amounted to \$8,767.75; besides this, \$3,879.30 was paid for improvements already made thereon. It was further stipulated that in the event of the Indians desiring to move farther westward, the government should pay the expenses of an exploring party of three of their number, also the cost of removal of the tribes.— Ed.

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They have again been strongly solicited to sell and remove West of the Mississippi and South of the Missouri river. A delegation was accordingly sent the latter part of the Summer accompanied by a U.S. Comm r . but after exploring the country faithfully they could find no place [with] which they were pleased. Unhealthiness of the climate scarcity of wood, it being mostly prairie, and badness of 12 162 the water were their principal objections. Their report was accepted, and as [a] nation they unanimously resolved not to sell & remove.

Indorsements: "Related the Anecdote of the old man and woman left on an Island at Leach Lake.

"Forwarded at the same time bill of Exchange for 50£ Stg: Dated Jan 1st 1838 for one year previous viz. for my salary for 1837.

"Report to the Soc. Scotland Jan. 1838."

NOTE FROM THE SOCIETY.

Dorchester , 16 Oct. 1838

My Dear Sir .—Your journals were received last Spring & one of them forwarded to the Parent Society in Scotland. I have recently received a letter from the Secretary containing the following

"Mr. Cutting Marsh in his letter says he would have written sooner, but he has been informed that there was some probability of his not being continued in that station on the pay of this Society. Where he received that information on the banks of the Fox River I do not know, but I will thank you, when writing him, to say that no such decision has been come to by this Society, & no such resolution will be adopted or acted upon, with out giving him & you due notice. I therefore beg he will continue his communications without regard to any reports which he may hear, until he receives direct instructions from the Society.

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The receipts of his Salary shall continue to be paid as usual.

The Society has not at present any thought of making any change in regard to Mr Marsh's appointment I would have written him myself but have not time at present & therefore, I will thank you to take the earliest opportunity of informing him that I have received his letter & beg he will continue his communications as regularly as he can."

I am happy, my dear Sir, to forward the above & to assure you that I shall always be happy to receive & forward 163 your journals & to certify the bills of exchange you may draw for your salary.

With sincere prayers for your success in your missionary labors I am my dear Sir, your friend & brother

John Codman Secy of the Boston Board &c &c

Rev Cutting Marsh, Greek Bay.

Indorsed: "Dr. Codman, Dorchester, Mass. Nov. 1838."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1839.

Stockbridge Near Green Bay W. T . May 8th 1839.

*To John Tawse Esqr. Secy of the Venerable Soc. for Propagating Christian Knowledge
Edinburgh, Scot.*

Dear Sir —I have heard from you by your Secy in this country the Revd. Dr. Codman, and learnt with much satisfaction, that my report was received and accepted by your venerable Society. In my last I intimated that I should report semi-annually again if my reports were accepted; but such has been the state of things amongst this people during this time and so little to communicate that could interest, that I have deferred making this some months

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over a year, hoping by the means either to have something more interesting to state, or to see how difficulties to which I referred in my last might terminate. In this I have not been wholly disappointed, altho' the state of things at present is far from what could be desired.

Their national troubles are not at an end; last year they were greater than they ever have been before, occasioned by the opposition of a small, hostile party, but inasmuch as it has not succeeded in carrying measures into effect as it anticipated, there has been a more calm state of things for a number of months past.

We have had severe trials also in the church and numbers have fallen into temptation and others shown as we have fearful reason for believing that they had "neither part nor lot" with Christ. A state of national peace and 164 harmony, and when all seemed to be going along together we have found not to be the most suitable to try religious character for then almost any one could appear like a christian but when old customs some of which were mere relics of paganism were to be laid aside, and regulations substituted in accordance with civilisation and the gospel, and when efforts were made to have righteousness and justice succeed to unrighteousness &c. on that lax state of things which characterized their former state. One very manifest effect of these trials has been to establish such as we have reason to believe are the children of God more firmly in the truth, so that more dependence can be placed upon them, and they act also more in consistence with the character of christianity. So that I rather rejoice than otherwise for all the trials which we have hitherto been called to pass thro. As might be infered from such a state of things in the nation religious feeling was at a very low ebb. Most of last year so much were the minds of the people generally occupied with their National affairs, that it seemed difficult to turn them off upon any other subject.

Since my last three have been excommunicated and eight are now under censure; some of these however appear to give evidence of penitence. Two have left the place and gone to a distant part of the Territory without permission, leaving now in regular standing forty

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members. Ten children have been baptised and one adult on profession of faith; and there have been four deaths in the church.

* * * * *

Nov. 6 th A Munsee Indian who came to this place over a year previous from Canada called upon me with an interpreter in order to give up a family idol. This man whose name is Big-Deer is upwards of 50 years of age, and since removing to this place, thro' the influence of this family above mentioned has attended meetings constantly and gives some evidence of a change of heart.

The history of this idol was very interesting. He said that his mother gave it to him before her death which occurred 165 about 29 years ago, and that he had worshipped it until within a few years when he heard about Jesus Christ, but had never given it up before. "Now he says I wish to give it up and follow the Lord Jesus Christ, and I give this idol to you and you may do what you are a mind to with it." It was indeed not only a "shameful thing," but a horribly looking object about the size of a common doll; fantastically arrayed in Indian costume and nearly covered with silver broaches and trinkets; and whilst retained as an object of worship was kept wrapped up in some 20 envelopments of broad-cloth trimmed with scarlet ribbon. They called it their "Mother" it is more than a hundred years old, and its late possessor was the fourth generation which had worshipped it. The season for worshipping it was in the fall after a hunt when they made a feast to it and danced around it. "If they did not do this every fall they said, that is, make the feast &c. it would be angry and destroy them by some dreadful sickness." It was therefore an object of fear or dread with them, but not one of love and compassion.

When the present year commenced a part of the church at least felt that they must awake to duty and fidelity in the cause of Christ. Being prevented on New Years day on account of some national business from assembling for a religious purpose, a meeting was appointed in the eve. It was a solemn season, the Spirit of the Lord seemed to be there

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operating upon the hearts of the children of God, leading them to a sense of sin for past unfaithfulness &c. & to the importance of beginning the year with God.

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The Sabbath and day school went on successfully during the year, and at the commencement of the present year another was commenced in a distant part of the Settlement with encouraging prospects.

A greater amount of bread-stuff was raised in the nation last year than has been in any previous year since removing to this place and provided they are permitted to remain here unmolested in a few years they will be able to 166 supply themselves with all of the necessaries and many of the comforts of life.

The proposition which was made about two years ago, to sell and remove West of the Mississippi was rejected on account of their not being pleased with the region after it had been explored to which it was proposed to remove them. Still it is by no means certain that they will remain here in quiet for any length of time. But in the grave the poor Indian race will soon find a permanent resting place, and ere then my hope and ardent desire is that a precious remnant may experience the new birth that then they may be gathered to the Rest which remains for the people of God.

I will conclude this by respectfully soliciting an interest in your prayers, and those of your venerable Society, that God would pour His Spirit from on high upon both Missionaries and people here, so long the object of their kind & christian beneficence and that very many precious souls may be gathered from amongst this people into the garner of heaven.

Yours very truly, Cutting Marsh &c.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society made May 8th 1839."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1840.

Stockbridge near Green Bay W. T . June 1840.

*To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Soc. for Propagating Christian Knowledge
Edinburgh, Scot.*

Dear Sir —Since my last annual communication important changes have taken place in this Nation of Indns. which seem to promise a better state of things than has existed for three or four years previously. In Sept. last a treaty was concluded with the tribe in wh[ich] it ceded to the United States one half of their Reservation consisting of upwards of 23 thous d acres of land.¹ This enabled the Nation to

¹ See *ante*, p. 161, *note*.— Ed.

167 make provision for extinguishing the claims of a disaffected and troublesome party to their lands and improvements, and thus enable it to remove to the State of Missouri. In a few weeks afterwards it left, consisting in all of about 70 souls and this has restored in a measure peace and tranquility to those who remain. I now cherish the fond hope that these will be permitted to remain [in] undisturbed quiet for a length of years, and enjoy the blessings of civilisation & t[he] gospel of wh[ich] as a general thing they appear anxious to avail themselves. There has been much less drinking and carousing the year past than there has been in any previous year since they removed to this place; and habits of sobriety and industry appear to be gaining strength. Their crops came in well last year and a sufficient quantity of breadstuff for their consumption was raised in the tribe.

During the past year death has been summoning to the Judgment-seat both the prepared & unprepared. Of the latter there have been two striking instances. The first was a female who united with the church about 12 years ago, appeared to run well for a number of years but afterwards fell away was excommunicated and lived a profligate life until arrested by sickness last Summer which in a few months terminated her wretched life here on earth.

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Her aged father died a few days ago in the triumphs of faith, of whom I will give some account.

The other was a man who was excommunicated about 3 years ago for intemperance and other sins. He lived in this manner becoming worse and worse until about the middle of February when one evening he entered the dwelling of a member of the church who lived alone and murdered him in cold blood for the sake of robbing him which he did and then made his escape, but was pursued and brought back, tried by the Nation, condemned and executed in March. This was the first execution which ever took place in the Nation, and the whole transaction was conducted in a most deliberate and decided manner, and the 168 effect will unquestionably be highly salutary upon the people.

Four female members of the church who were connected with the party which left last fall went with it. One of them has died since she reached their place of destination. She was the widow of the former Sachem Capt. Hendrick and was the oldest member of the church and had been a professor of religion upwards of 50 years probably longer than any one now living alive in it and during all of this time gave decided evidence of being indeed a follower of Jesus Christ.

Four also have been excommunicated for various offences, and five are now under censure.

Four of the members which remain have, during the past year, been called away we hope from the church militant to the church triumphant. The first was an aged man James Hunt the father of the family which I mentioned in my last communication, and of whose grandson Cosen Scott I gave a short account. He had been ill only a short time but had the presentiment that he should not recover. The night in which he died he attended family prayers with the family before they retired and conversed with them. Before morning he

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was taken suddenly vomiting blood which soon terminated his life. About half an hour before his death, conscious that his end had come he looked up at his daughter and said, with a smile, "Now I am going home."

The second was murdered, the third was a young married man, and the fourth Bartholomew S. Calvin whom I mentioned in my journal forwarded to your Venerable Society May 1831. It is perhaps sufficient to say that he held out firm to the last, and gave most satisfactory evidence of being a child of God. He devoted much time so long as he was able to reading, but his Bible and Hymn Book were his most constant companions, and in conversation shoed that he was familiar with them. He possessed naturally a strong mind and a retentive memory, and so long as strength held out was a constant attendant upon public worship and other religious meetings; and in the house of 169 God seemed to receive with great "meekness the ingrafted word."

* * * * *

Three have been added to the church the year past by "profession of faith, eight children baptised and two adults on profession. The number of forty-two now in regular standing. Two or three indulge the hope of having experienced religion the past winter, and one of them is a daughter of the venerable old man whose decease I last mentioned.

Religious meetings have usually during the year past been well attended, especially on the Sabbath, and often a deep and solemn feeling has pervaded the whole congregation. The Sab. School has been regularly attended, at which many of the adults are present and taught also. There have been two day-schools taught for the greater part of the time and during the winter they were taught by two of their young men who had been attending a Seminary in a distant state. One is still instructing and the other has returned with the view of qualifying himself to, preach the gospel. The cause of education appears to be slowly yet gradually gaining ground.

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Whilst many of our fond hopes of individuals like vernal blossoms are blighted, and our hearts pained at seeing some make ship-wreck of faith and others unable to stand when temptation or trials come, yet blessed be God this is not the case with all. We are permitted to witness some precious fruits of our labors.

* * * * *

May the best of heavens' blessings rest upon your venerable and beloved Society which has so long and faithfully labored for the salvation of the heathen, and those that are perishing for lack of vision.

Assure it, Dear Sir, of the gratitude which is felt for the kind support which it affords to such in a foreign field whom they will never see in the flesh; and altho' it is not permitted to hear of all that good accomplished by our labors which it might fondly anticipate, yet some of these sons 170 of the forest from year to year are, as we trust, gathered into the garner of heaven and a goodly number of others still give pleasing evidence in their lives that they are followers of those who "thro' faith and patience have inherited the promises."

Yours very truly, Cutting Marsh Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society June 1, 1840."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1841.

Stockbridge near Green Bay Wis. Ter . June 1841.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Soc. for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scot.

Dear Sir .—Through the goodness of a gracious providence I am permitted to make another annual report to your venerable Society. I have most abundant occasion for gratitude and to bless the great Head of the Church for sparing my own life & that of my

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family and granting to us uninterrupted health during another year. It has been a time of unusual health also amongst these Indians, there having been only four deaths since I made my last report in June of last year. Two of this number were members of the Church. One an aged female and the other was one of the head men of the Nation, nearly 60 years of age. He was sick but for a few days and had a presentiment from the first that he should not recover, still he looked upon death with great composure, and when I announced to him, that his disease was of such a character as to threaten dissolution and exhorted him to set his house in order he was not at all disturbed, but received the intelligence as something which he was rather expecting.

* * * * *

During the latter part of last year we had some severe trials with members who walked disorderly, but all have 171 been reclaimed as we hope thro' the abounding grace of God with one exception. So that we have trials with our mercies to make us feel the more sensibly that "this is not our rest." Towards the close of the year while we were endeavoring to purify the church by disciplining such as did not walk according to the gospel God appeared evidently to be drawing near in mercy. Religious meetings, particularly on the Sabbath, became more interesting and solemn, and some as the year closed were evidently inquiring to know what they should do to be saved. Upon the first day of the New Year some ministering brethren arrived on their way to Green Bay about 40 miles distant to install a minister over the Presbyterian Church in that place. Their labors as they passed and returned were both opportune and profitable. One of them on his return stopped and a protracted meeting was held which continued ten days. These were days in which the most High appeared to manifest his power in saving souls in a wonderful manner.

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Frequent prayer meetings and personal conversation were interspersed from day to day. In the mean time whilst the Holy Spirit wrought powerfully upon some minds, and convictions were deep and pungent there was little noise, an occasional out-burst of sorrow, but generally the most profound silence prevailed, such as reigns when God appears in very deed to be in the midst. Some cases were peculiarly interesting. Amongst these was an aged couple near 60 years of age. The man is a Delaware by nation, and spent his life in gross sins. When I first came amongst this people he was universalist, still he only made use of that doctrine as a quietus to his conscience whilst going in sin. Both had been accustomed to do evil until they had grown grey in sin, and were rapidly descending to the grave in all of the guilt of a long life spent in sin. Eternal ruin seemed almost inevitable when God during this meeting in his sovereign mercy was pleased to awaken them. And behold the glorious change. From old and hardened sinners they now appear to have the temper and teachableness of little children, the christian company and conversation which they formerly shunned and dreaded is now solicited and most highly prized, and the Bible & Hymn Book and Baxters works take the place of all other books. Old things are passed away behold all things have become new. And to God be all the glory.

Another case of a very remarkable character was a man past middle age and who had been one of the most vicious and drunken there was in the Nation. Pie was so far gone that there appeared to be no hope to human appearance of his being reclaimed &c. But during the meeting he was powerfully wrought upon and seemed to be completely broken down. I could think of nothing but of the man out of whom the "legion" had been cast "sitting at the feet of Jesus, Clothed and in his right mind." "What hath God wrought."

There was one class however in the Nation which was wholly passed by in this outpouring of the Spirit.

There are a few of the young people who in spite of all the remonstrances and counsel of their friends continue to drink & frolic and not one of this number was hopefully converted

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which had been known to be thus engaged during the previous part of the winter altho some were in a measure awakened—God is evidently making a difference in the righteous dispensations of his grace as well as his providence betwixt those who abstain from all intoxicating drinks and those who will not. This fact forced itself upon my notice in looking over after the meeting had closed to see who had been taken in the judgment of charity and who left. Among the number hopefully converted were four heads of families, in all of which the family altar has been set up.

After the meeting closed the state of feeling still continued to be interesting and there appeared to be no falling off in attendance upon the stated means of grace. For those who indulged hopes a weekly meeting was appointed for prayer and to give them religious instruction, these meetings have been for the most part interesting and profitable. 173 How many of them will endure unto the end we know not but we hope a precious number will at last be brought unto Mount Zion as the fruits of the revival.

At the season of communion in February four were admitted to the Church upon a profession of faith and one restored who had been excommunicated. One of this number was a white man but all the rest belonged to the Nation. One of the latter, a Munsee by nation was an idolater when he came here in 1837. He was then in possession of an idol which was more than a hundred years old, and had been a family idol for four generations. Above 30 years ago his mother gave it to him before her death and he continued to worship it until a few years ago when he heard about Jesus Christ still he kept it until the fall of 1838 when he came and gave it to me and said that I might do what I had a mind to with it, but now says he “I wish to give all up and follow Jesus Christ.” They called the shameful thing “mother” and every fall at a certain time made a feast and danced around it in honor of it. It was an object of fear and dread but not of love and veneration.¹

¹ See *ante*, p. 164.— Ed.

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As yet there has been no re-action and religious meetings are well attended and peace and harmony prevails amongst the people. The whole number of the Church is 49 and six individuals are under censure.

The people appear to be prospering in their secular affairs, and industry and habits of Temperance are gaining ground. I have not known a case of intoxication during the past year except amongst the young people before alluded to.

The Sabbath School has been kept up during the year and there has been a very punctual attendance, and many of the adults also attend. The day-schools have languished for want of suitable teachers.

The Monthly Concert for prayer is regularly attended and there is also a weekly Church-Meeting, a weekly female 174 prayer-meeting; and a Maternal Association which meets once in three weeks to pray for the conversion of the children. There is a Female Cent Society, every member of which gives one cent per month for the spread of the gospel, which excites considerable interest. Something is done besides by individuals to aid the cause of benevolence.

There was an interesting revival of religion amongst the Brotherton Indians on a Reservation South of this test winter, under the labors of the Methodists and some fifty or more indulged hopes of having passed from death unto life.

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Soc. for June 1st 1841."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1842.

Stockbridge Near Green Day Wis. Ter . June 1842.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh Scotland.

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Dear Sir —Another short year has passed since I made my last annual report. Few indeed have been the changes which we have been called to experience; still thro' the goodness and mercy of our gracious and covenant keeping God, we have enjoyed very many and precious mercies.

In mercy God has spared my own life and health and that of my family to labor another year upon Missionary ground in behalf of your Venerable Society. With each succeeding year time appears to be rapidly growing shorter, whilst the knell of departed years seems to say that ere long my labors in the Masters' vineyard must close whether well & faithfully done or not.

The trials and responsibilities of a Missionary sometimes seem greater and greater, still I cannot find it in my heart to shrink from them so long as I have the blessed promise “Lo, I am with you always,” to rest upon, and so long as I can feel that the cause of Missions is His who has “the 175 Keys of hell and of death” and sways the sceptre of universal dominion.

* * * * *

Whilst it has been a time of prosperity and peace generally during the past year, still we have had trials larly towards the close of it. Some of them are unquestionably inseparable from the Indian state growing out of the frequent Treaties for the purchase of land and the oftentimes gross neglect on the part of the officers of the general government to carry into effect promptly treaty stipulations. Often these are not only neglected but violated, which perplexes the Indian, and destroys his confidence in the white man; which appears to render them less susceptible of being benefited by the instructions of Missionaries. This is and has been the case with this tribe, for a treaty made almost three years ago in which a portion of their Reservation was ceded to the United States¹ has not been carried into effect according to its provisions. This has been a great injury to them and a source of great perplexity and is so still. How long they may be kept in this state is impossible to tell.

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1 See *ante*, p. 161, note.— Ed.

Another trial and difficulty is the division of feeling which exists amongst themselves relating to becoming citizens. At present they make and execute their own laws, and are not amenable to the laws of the U.S. Their govt. is republican in form; but owing to their ignorance upon the subject of legislation, and more especially want of energy, in most cases as to the executive part, it succeeds poorly. Some see and feel this and have become weary of such a state and choose rather to become citizens; others are still tenacious of the Indian state. There is nearly an equal division in the Nation upon this subject. The Brotherton Indians living upon a Reservation South of this became citizens some two or three years since and the experiment has succeeded well. This is seen by the Stockbridges and exerts an influence in favor of citizenship. This appears to be the only alternative at least for all the remnants 176 of tribes within the limits of the United States. The rapid increase of population within them, together with foreign immigration to their shores, is yearly sending an irresistible tide of emigrants upon their frontiers. The vicinity of the whites to the red man is reciprocally injurious and unpleasant. The Indian wishes to be alone as much as possible in the earth; and by proximity to the white man whilst he (the Indian) is in a pagan state is exceedingly injurious for he readily imbibes all of the vices of the whites but none of their virtues; besides the white men covet the Indians' unoccupied land, which excites his jealousy. On the other hand the whites dislike the habits of the natives and wish them removed. This will lead to Treaties and removals until the poor natives will be eventually utterly extinguished from the face of the earth, unless they will avail themselves of the privileges and blessings of civilisation and the gospel and become a component part of the American nation. Another painful consideration relating to the Natives in their independent state, is their ignorance and want of judgement in managing pecuniary matters. An Indian has no correct idea of the value of money, and if he has it whether much or little he cannot rest until it is spent, and often as any way for that which he does not need. The annuities which many of the tribes receive do vastly more injury than good.

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The tendency is to destroy individual effort to obtain a livelihood whether by hunting or from cultivating the ground, and to depend upon them for a subsistence by credits from the Traders. This state of things is fast producing a state of dependence upon such scanty means and extreme idleness in respect to their habits.

For the Natives have no disposition to labor until (dire) necessity drives them to it. Besides in the distribution of monies so received there is often great partiality which gives rise to endless difficulties and jealousies. In giving you this account of Indian relations I have two objects in view, viz. to let you see something of the existing state of the Indian tribes in this country, and that they 177 cannot long exist thus without becoming extinct; and the other is to let you see some of the obstacles the Missionary to the Indians has to surmount, and which are constantly thrown in his way whenever he attempts to ameliorate their condition and put them in possession of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ. To some extent all of the obstacles herein enumerated exist amongst in this tribe though not half as great here as amongst most others.

My hope and ardent prayer is, that a remnant of the poor natives may be saved thro' the abounding grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amongst this Tribe there are a goodly number who appear to give satisfactory evidence that the gospel has exerted a saving effect upon their hearts and are bound Zion-ward, whilst others turn a deaf ear and are rushing down to perdition. There are fifty five members in regular standing in the Church, and seven under censure. There have been no cases of excommunication during the past year, whilst some who when my last report was made were under censure have been restored. One member only, an aged female, has died during this time.

Since last June (1841) there have been twenty-three baptisms, six of them were adults, and were baptised on profession of faith and thirteen added to the Church. The old Delaware and his wife mentioned at that time continue to give increasing, as well as most pleasing evidence of being new creatures in Christ Jesus.

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The cause of Temperance still holds on its way and exerts a salutary influence upon the health, morals and habits of the Nation. There are few in it but what are brought under its healthful influence, and these few still persist in the use of ardent spirits whenever they can be obtained.

All of the children and many of the adults are from Sabbath to Sabbath gathered into the Sabbath School. Meetings on the Sabbath are well attended, & solemn and serious attention paid to the preaching of the word. Something is done to aid benevolent objects. About two months 13 178 ago an auxiliary Bible Society was formed and a liberal subscription made to aid the Am. Bible Society.

Early in the Spring there was a revival of religion amongst the Brotherton Indians under the Methodists and many indulged hopes of having passed from death unto life. There were also an awakening amongst a portion of the Oneida Tribe residing in the vicinity of Green Bay about the same time, belonging to the same denomination.

* * * * *

Soliciting remembrance in your prayers and the prayers also [of] your Venerable Society I suscribe

Myself yours in the bonds of Christian Affection

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Society Prop. Chris. Knowl. June 1st 1842."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1843.

Stockbridge Near Green Bay Wis. Ter . June 1843.

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To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh. Scotland.

Dear Sir —Through the goodness and mercy of God in preserving my life and health during another year I am again permitted to address you. The past year has been one remarkable for health amongst this people, though not of spiritual health and prosperity. Scarcely any year since my residence amongst them has been so uninteresting as it regards religion. Political strifes and contentions amongst them, and to which I alluded in my last report has had a most disastrous effect upon the members of the Church generally, and produced very great distraction of mind and alienation of feeling. The subject of citizen-ship has been pushed by those in favor of it, and the leaders in this business are generally persons destitute of moral principle, and their acts have consequently been characterised by a spirit of recklessness and injustice which has disgusted and served to drive still farther off such as are in 179 favor of remaining in the Indian state; and at present it seems likely to break up the Nation.

The Citizen party succeeded in getting an act passed by Congress at its last session, for the division of their land and permission to become citizens, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Indian party. The latter appears by a census lately made out to be the most numerous. Such has been the course pursued by their opponents and the treatment which they (that is the Indian party) have received from them, that they have unanimously resolved to sell out and remove to the state of Missouri West of the Mississippi river. Application has already been made to the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Territory to this effect and they are expecting an answer soon. The whole number of the Nation is only a little over two hundred, so that if the Indian Party leaves as they now intend to there will be but between eighty and ninety left. There is a majority of the best and most intelligent portion of the Nation as well as a majority in numbers belonging to the Indian party. Of those belonging to the citizen party fifteen are members of the Church, and some of them are its most substantial and useful members

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too. The division therefore is the more to be regretted, because amongst brethren of the household of faith as I had fondly hoped & do still. The consequences of this step to become citizens I can even now perceive will prove the ruin of at least some if not of many for both worlds. Hitherto the Nation has strictly prohibited by its laws the introduction of ardent spirits amongst them, and have succeeded to a great extent; but since the Act of Congress has passed, they begin to be introduced again, and some of the leaders in the citizen party, as well as others are returning to their old courses, "like the Sow that was washed to Ret[urn] wallowing in the mire." Such is the propensity of Indians for strong drink that when exposed to the Temptation, few have the moral courage to resist it. Much of this is to be attributed to the strength of previous habit, but still more I imagine to the extreme indolence of the native character, 180 which is one of the last things he overcomes after [being] brought under the influence of the gospel, and to the weakness or rather want of principle which makes them an easy prey to any vice.

Provided the Indian party succeed in selling and remove to the State of Missouri it will be quite as much exposed to temptation of this kind as those who remain behind; in addition to this in that state they will be far more exposed than they are here to pagan influence which will exert a deliterious effect. So that it is difficult to determine, under existing circumstances which will finally prove the most injurious citizen-ship or removal and remaining in the Indian state. Were all united in becoming citizens; and provided they were determined to cast off as speedily as possible every relic of paganism and avail themselves of the gospel, this measure would unquestionably be the best and wisest which could be adopted. Because difficulties, divisions and jealousies, growing out of their land and annuities, being a common stock are inseparable from the Indian state. In addition to all of these things there is oftentimes a faithlessness, and want of a spirit of strict Justice on the part of government officers in fulfilling Treaty-stipulations which destroys the confidence of Indians in white men and is a source of a vast amount of disquietude and difficulty amongst themselves. As for example the treaty which this Nation made in 1839 with the general govt. and which was duly ratified by congress, was grossly

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violated by Govt. officers and the Money was paid over in such a way after a tedious delay of between 2 & 3 years, that with the exception of what was appropriated for a school-fund, it is questionable whether more evil or good will result from any payment ever being made. These things have a most important bearing upon the influence of the Missionaries amongst them, for it keeps their minds in a state of turmoil and suspense most unfavorable to any improvement.

This, Sir, has been my painful situation during the whole of the last year. Still I believe that the Great Head of 181 the Church has those here whom he loves, and is thus purifying and preparing by his grace for “an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled & that fadeth not away.”

There have been no additions to nor deaths in the Church, since my last report. One has been excommunicated from it, and six are under censure. Two have been restored who were under censure last year, and one has been dismissed to united with another Church, which leaves fifty three in regular standing.

Meetings on the Sabbath have generally been well attended, at times a deep and solemn feeling has appeared to pervade the audience, and some of our social meetings have been very interesting.

The Sabbath School has been kept up during the year, and a considerable of a portion of the adults and young people are present to listen & gain instruction from the lesson. This is one of the most interesting and I trust profitable exercises which I have as it affords an opportunity of explaining divine truth more familiarly, and consequently more intelligibly, than I can possibly in any other way. Whilst the inquiries which the lessons often elicit awakens and fixes the attention and impressions are thereby made which could not be by any formal explanation. Much interest is also manifested on the part of the children in reading the Books belonging to the S.S. Library.

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A greater part of the members of the Temperance Society have remained stedfast, and this has a very manifest influence upon the health as well as the morals of the people. Since the Temperance Society was formed which was at the commencement of my labors amongst them it has, by the blessing of God upon its efforts, been the means of diminishing the amount of sickness & the number of deaths more than one half. In reviewing the past history of the cause of Temperance in this Nation it is most manifest to all that the positive evils which it has been the means of preventing have been very great, whilst the good which it has done in promoting order, sobriety, and peace in families and amongst the people generally has been rather like 182 the Summers' dew and showers upon the face of the earth. But more than this some who at the commencement of these efforts were apparently confirmed drunkards are now in the Judgement of charity the humble followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. To His adorable name be all the glory.

An interest is manifested in the cause of benevolence. There is a Female Cent Society which has been in existence between two and three years, and numbers 25 members. Each member contributes one cent a week, and the avails are devoted to the cause of Foreign Missions. A Bible Society was formed last year aux[iiliary] to the Am[erican] Bib[le] Society, a large number joined it, and subscribed liberally. Some have paid but others owing to their pecuniary enbarrassments occasioned by the difficulties to which I have refered in this communication have been prevented. But it is highly gratifying to witness the interest which many have manifested in the circulation of the holy Scriptures; and the cheerfulness with which they contributed out of their deep poverty.

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The payment under the treaty of 1839 and to which I refeted in my last report, has at length been made. The Treaty was grossly violated by govt officers, and the payment was delayed so long and made in such a way, that with the exception of a school-fund which was reserved, it is questionable whether more evil or good will result from any payment ever having been made. And the Nation have not as yet realised any benefit from their

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school-fund which has occasioned an almost entire suspension of their schools for the want of means to carry them on, as another consequence of not carrying the treaty into effect according to its stipulations. And all of these together have had an exceedingly injurious effect upon their temporal & spiritual interests.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for June 1st 1843."

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SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1844.

To John Tawse Esqr Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh Scotland .

Dear Sir —At the close of another brief year since making my last Report to your Venerable Society I am once more permitted to address you. I have abundant occasion to make mention of the loving-kindness & tender mercy of God towards me during this time, in that He has spared my life and health to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ to these poor, distracted Indians.

The state of things both as it regards their civil & religious affairs seem of the two to grow more & more deplorable, and another separation is apparently inevitable. The causes of these troubles I mentioned in my last Report, and need not be repeated.

It is now fourteen years since I first arrived amongst this people to labor as a Missionary. Few & short in the retrospect do these years appear, & yet they constitute much of the best portion of the vigor of my life. In reviewing these past years I see very much on account of which I desire to be deeply humbled before God in the deficiencies of my public as well as private labors as an ambassador of Jesus Christ, as well as duties neglected to my own soul, which leads me to exclaim as did Paul I am less than the least of all saints in point of faithfulness in the Makers' cause.

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At the time of my arrival the Church consisted of thirty nine members. Since then (1830) 68 have been added to the church. 25 have died in regular standing in the Church — 7 excommunicated & lapsed members have died without being restored. 2 excommunicated members have been restored. 12 have been excommunicated. 8 have left the place and gone to a distant part of the country without being dismissed. 5 are now under censure and 50 now remain in regular standing. One aged member of the church, a female has died since I made my last Report; and she was one of the most exemplary members in the Church.

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82 children have been baptised, and a considerable larger number than this belonging to the tribe of the young & old have died; altho' the baptised children have not corn. posed near all of the births during this period. The whole number of souls belonging to the nation is about 200. A Temperance Society was formed in a few days after my arrival which has held on its way until the present and since 1834 has been upon the tee-total plan. Perhaps upon few communities has the cause of Temperance had a more salutary and manifest effect than upon this. Altho' many have violated their pledge still a large majority of those who took the pledge have kept it sacredly, and these have reaped the precious fruits of Temperance, and have been a great check upon those who would use intoxicating drinks. During this time habits of Temperance have been formed wh[ich] t[he] greater part without doubt will preserve thro' life.

From the length of time I have been permitted to reside amongst the Natives it is natural to suppose that I should have learnt many things respecting their character.

During part of my residence amongst these Indians I have been called to pass thro' many & sore trials in consequence of their political strifes &c. in which I have learned many things which never could have been had it been otherwise. I now remark no person can fully understand the native character without long & painful experience.

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My first impressions were erroneous. I feel it to be my duty now to say to your venerable Society, that at first and for years I formed an estimate of their character far too favorable, and consequently I fear that my reports have made a too favorable impression upon the minds of it. These wrong impressions have not been made intentionally; but it was my want of experience, & the absence of events which would bring out their hearts. I fear that this impression has been made, that almost every vestige of paganism has been eradicated by the gospel inasmuch as this tribe has had it about 110 years and some three generations have passed and the fourth is now on the stage. Fidelity 185 leads me now to say, altho' many perhaps may be sadly disappointed, that many traces of paganism still remain in those who have united with the Church. Previously I had supposed many of my trials peculiar, and had attributed them to other causes until of late. I was surprised to find so many of my own trials with church members here, enumerated by the Missionaries of the American Board &c upon the Island of Ceylon as contained in their general letter which was published in the Missionary Herald for April of the present year (1844). The events which have transpired within a very few of the last years I have been here, particularly the two past, have led me to the conclusion that heathenism and paganism are essentially the same—There are to be sure modifications owing to different circumstances, but the blighting, hardening and contaminating effects of the former appear to me to be no greater than the latter.

These brethren upon the Island of Ceylon appear to expect that a great part of their trials with Church Members will be confined to this generation, and that the next will be a very different one, but I hesitate not to say that unquestionably for generations the taint of the heathen stock from whence they originated will appear for thus it is with this Church.

Even now in the third and fourth generation which has risen up since the first introduction of the gospel amongst these Indians, fickleness, want of integrity of character, want of principle, want of love of truth, aversion to mental effort, and an unconquerable one to restraint are amongst my severest trials. Often cases will occur which lead me almost to

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exclaim as did the Psalmist when in his haste he said, “all men are liars.” Another trials is the impossibility of keeping unworthy members out of the church. The practice of admitting all that offer themselves as is the case with some around me (not presbyterians) is fraught with most disastrous consequences. I have made credible evidence of repentance and faith in Jesus Christ an indispensable requisite of admission to Church membership 186 Besides putting such upon trial as offered themselves for 3 or 6 months during which time they were more thoroughly instructed in the doctrines & duties of our holy religion. Still cases often occur which show that the real character was mistaken besides as trials increase my fears increase that I may have been mistaken with regard to more.

After the most solemn professions have been made, & all possible pains taken to instruct individuals as to the nature & importance of Christian duties &c. and after they have given apparently a hearty assent to them all, it is most painful to witness their total disregard of them all if not contempt when a time of trial comes. All of these restraints and vows which they have voluntarily taken upon themselves then appear as powerless as cords of sand. The Missionary who will “sew pillows to all arm-holes” and never reprove is sure to please—It is exceedingly painful to see what a repellent effect fidelity often has upon some of whom on the whole better things are hoped, when they have been out of the way.

Insincerity or self-deception is a striking trait in t[he] native character—So that at length it becomes difficult to avoid a feeling of suspicion towards any who may appear serious or express a determination to seek the salvation of the soul. After the Missionary may have taken great pains to instruct an individual in religion & indulged high hopes of his future usefulness, some untoward event may at length show how utterly destitute of Christian principle he is thus all of his fond anticipations are at once blasted. Even where it must be charitably hoped there is a change of heart gross inconsistencies often appear under trials or temptations, which clearly show that the old man of sin has still a fearful grasp upon them. The remarks of the Missionaries upon the Island of Ceylon when they say, “were we to give the Chapter of our sorest trials with the Native Church the caption should be, *Peter and Judas acting out of Character*—Peter, even Simon Bar Jonas, acting the part of an

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adversary and a traitor in denying his Lord, & Judas Iscariot, who had a devil, acting for years the part 187 of a disciple and apostle of the Lord Jesus," are strikingly appropriate to this Church.

Difficulty of presenting correct views of divine truth.

When "The terror of the Lord" is presented and the necessity of repentance and faith in Jesus Christ urged, perhaps one and another somewhat impressed with the truth will rise in a religious meeting confess that he has been a great sinner &c and then conclude by saying "Now I have made up my mind to *try* ." From time to time he will continue to speak sometimes with much apparent feeling in the same strain, and by and by if he does not meet with anything which will bring out the real state of his heart he will indulge the hope that he is a christian. But when temptation or tribulation comes on account of the word alas! it appears in almost every such case that the seed fell upon stony places where it had not earth; and so withered under the scorching influence of temptation in other cases the result will be different inducing a state of complete Phariseeism.

Want of moral courage is another thing which at times is exceedingly trying. The natives in an uncivilised state are proverbially cowards. This leads them to attack their enemies in the dark or in an ambush. They dare not face an enemy in the open field. This trait of character adheres to the Indian even after he has hopefully embraced the christian religion. This has ever rendered discipline in the Church extremely difficult. The Indian will speak of a brothers' faults behind his back but to go to him, and in the spirit of meekness seek to convince him of his sin and bring him to repentance is a most difficult task to get him to perform. And during the past year I have found it impossible to prevail upon the members to do it.

Indolence.

To a civilised man the idea of a hardy, robust appearing race of people capable of enduring hardships and privations of some kinds which would break down a white man,

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amidst almost every natural advantage for obtaining a livelihood, 188 and upon a soil highly luxuriant capable with cultivation of producing every necessary of life as well as its comforts in great abundance, being pinched with extreme poverty, and both themselves and children not half clad, & perhaps such as they have on is all in rags, this I say appears strange in the extreme; but such is the fact with all uncivilised Indians. The sole cause of all this poverty & suffering is their vices and indolence. And when they have been in a measure brought under the influence of the gospel the latter seems to adhere to them like the leprosy.

The importance of industry is constantly kept before the mind both as to the virtue & necessity of it, but when this chord is touched it is so slack it seems impossible to produce a vibration—The same indolent disposition which rules in a great majority of cases with regard to manual, rules with regard to mental labor. And hence the instruction of their children is sadly neglected. And it seems impossible to make them feel the importance of education. It is not difficult to get them to acknowledge it but the energy necessary to obtain it is wanting. There is a want of providence and common sense in the management of their civil & domestic affairs which is the cause of most of their troubles & distresses. The trials which the Revd David Brainerd experienced amongst the Indians one hundred years ago are trials of the Missionary at the present day. In his Memoirs¹ I can testify after fourteen years of experience is to be found a most just delineation of the Indian character. At one time he says “while they retain their Pagan tempers they discover little gratitude amid all the kindnesses which they receive,” (p. 259) I should rejoice if this remark was applicable to those only who are in “Pagan” darkness, it is I regret to say of too general application even after the gospel has shone upon them for a century and they have professed it. I would mention here not for the sake of bringing myself into notice but for the sake of delineating what I conceive to be the native character; that two of the bitterest enemies I have had

¹ See *ante*, p. 69, *note*.— Ed.

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189 amongst this people, and the hatred of one was of a deadly kind, were two individuals whose lives under God I had been instrumental in saving; the one had a fractured skull and the other a dangerous disease. By night and by day I watched over both, until out of danger, but the only reward I ever obtained of the latter was deadly hatred, and he refused to make any compensation. Not long after he became so hostile he committed a crime the forfeit of which he paid with his life upon the gallows. Still in justice I do add it is not so with all. All are not thus ungrateful, nor are all equally indolent and improvident. Some feel the force of argument and divine truth and labor to shake off these relics of paganism and of the old man of sin. Let me not be understood as saying that all the members of this Church are the source of as many trials as some. Not so. For some appear to live truly exemplary lives, and aim to be such as the Word of God requires in the business of life and to maintain a conscience void of offence toward God and men.

Past events teach me that I must rejoice with trembling over all until they bid earth adieu, having in life and till its latest hour given comfortable evidence of a saving change and then when death comes (they) appear to be supported and comforted with the Christian hope. In this manner I have had the joy to see some of the little flock, over which the Holy Spirit has made me overseer, end their days. To Him be all the glory who loved & died for their redemption.

I will here give the reasons why I have written in this strain to your venerable Society after making so little mention of such things heretofore.—The peculiar trials which this Church has been called in the providence of God to pass thro' of late has more clearly developed the native character than I had ever seen it before—I write under the apprehension that this Nation as such will soon be finally broken up. “Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation” And perhaps something of what I write may meet the eye of some future Missionary after 190 I have slept as long as David Brainerd has beneath the clods of the valley—And it may be of some use to him to know what in my days were the trials of the Missionary to the Aborigines.

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I hope none will be discouraged by such unpleasant details from efforts to save lost men. The faith of the friends of Missions needs trying as well as the faith of the Missionary.

* * * * *

With regard to the difficulties of this tribe it is probable that some arrangement will be made this Summer with the Indian Party. It has sent a delegation to Washington to see if Congress will afford them aid or purchase their proportion of the Reservation and provide them with the means to remove to the State of Missouri. Most ardently it is to be desired that something may be fixed upon soon for whilst in this state of suspense everything so far as doing good is concerned is stationary.

Customs.

This people still remember some of the traditions handed down from their fathers although most of them have been forgotten.

Marriage.

When a young man wanted to take a wife, his parents, usually his mother, would go round to all of his friends, and each in favor of the match would make some present. When this was done the whole was collected & carried to the intended bride; if she accepted of the presents the match was considered as made, but if not that was the end of it. But if the presents were accepted which was usually the case, her friends took, and disposed of them and with the avails made a wedding feast, then all who had made any present was considered as invited guests without further ceremony. These were seasons of great mirth and festivity and often lasted many days. It was not until after I came that the custom was totally abandoned of parents making the match for their sons and daughters and then compelling the latter to comply with their wishes whether it was agreeable or not.

The place from whence they originally came.

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The old people used to tell us say they that we came from a great distance to the Northwest, where there was Islands and it was only a little ways betwixt them, and so they made a bridge across with oyster-shells—That it was a place where the tide flowed and they kept journeying to the South East until they came to Hudsons River below Albany in the state of New-York. Here they found a tide again and were glad because they thought they had got home. From this place they removed to Massachusetts.

They say that once they were a powerful and warlike nation and carried on a war with the Cherokee Nation. A small band would go out at a time, and be gone many months, take a few scalps and then set out to return, and perhaps on their way would meet another band going out for the same purpose. The reason why they carried on this war was the Cherokees used to be very war-like and strike all of the Nations around.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for June 1841."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1845.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Dear Sir —Through the goodness and mercy of God I am spared to address your Venerable Society again. Few have been the changes of the past year. It has been characterised by no great or striking events but the agitated state of feeling, which had existed for two or three years previous has been gradually subsiding, and a more peaceful, contented state succeeding. In my last Report I 192 mentioned that some arrangement or adjustment of their affairs was anticipated during last Summer (1844) but it passed away & none was made. Another Delegation was sent last winter to the seat of government but with no better success than before. It is now confidently believed by those best calculated situated to judge correctly, that the American Congress will not interfere but suffer the laws to be extended over the whole Tribe without distinction. Hard as this course may

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seem to be I think it preferable to exempting them as heretofore from the influence of the Un. States laws, because they will then need some form of govt. & they are too few & feeble to maintain a govt. of their own, and besides, situated as they would be it would be impossible to carry their laws into effect. To sell out and remove does not appear to me a measure which could at all better their condition. To make up their minds to settle down where they are & be subject to the laws is unquestionably the most judicious course they could pursue. But there is so much alienation of feeling betwixt the two parties that this is little expected, and I am as much at a loss to determine with certainty what course will eventually be pursued as heretofore.

The state of religious feeling in the Church has been somewhat better during the year past than it was the year previous. Religious meetings have generally been well attended and sometimes there has been solemn attention paid to the preaching of the word. Still there has been no special interest manifested in the subject of religion. The Sabbath School in two departments has been kept up regularly during the whole year. In the department for the older children many of the adults attend and often appear much interested. The other department is for the small children who are not old enough to commit regular lessons in the Bible, and they are taught the Ten Commandments and other instruction suited to their age and capacity is imparted.

193

The Church.

There are at the present time 51 members in regular standing Five have been restored who were under censure one year ago, having given satisfactory evidence to the Church of penitence for their sins. Three are now under censure. Eight children have been baptised, and two have been admitted to the Church on profession of faith, both heads of families. Two aged members have died. Both in early life and even to old age were very intemperate, having drank until the vital energies were well nigh consumed. But a few brief years before the vital spark was extinguished they were awakened and hopefully

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converted. After that there was a very manifest change in both. One was a Delaware by nation born in the state of New-Jersey and before the [Stockbridge] tribe removed from the state of New-York, he was adopted [by them]. After he came to Green Bay he still drank ardent spirits. Altho' he had little education still he possessed good natural talents & was quick and shrewd to discern the faults of such as professed religion. * * * this state he continued until a series of meetings were held in the winter of 1840. During those meetings he was awakened and came forward to be prayed for with those who were anxious; but did not indulge a hope until some time after the meetings had closed. From the time however that he did indulge a hope he appeared to be a new creature indeed in Christ Jesus—Immediately he commenced family prayers which he kept up as long as he was able to pray with an audible voice. His aged wife was converted about the same time and both altho' decrepit with age appeared like little children.

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The word of God, Pike's Guide to Young Disciples, Life of David Brainerd & Baxters Saints Rest were Books peculiarly dear to him and which he read much as long as he was able to read. As long as he was able he was a constant and apparently a very devout worshiper in the house of 14 194 God. For the last 6 months of his life he was for the most part confined to his bed his disease being consumption, but in such a condition he manifested great patience & submission to the will of God.

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During the excitement which prevailed upon the subject of citizenship and disorders which grew out of them I found it impossible to exercise discipline, and therefore suspended seasons of Communion; but during the last winter after a series of meetings upon the subject the Church was again brought together. Although one who had been an officer in it for some years, and of whom we had hoped better things, went off without a dismissal, and took his wife to another Church. Since we had regular seasons of Communion, there

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has appeared to be a much better state of feeling betwixt the members, tho' now not what is ardently to be wished. The Day-Schools, which for the same cause have long been interrupted we expect to resume soon. This Nation is now brought to that state in which they must exert themselves, instruct and train up their children in the way in which they should go or else they will be swept away by the temptations with which they will be surrounded as with the besom of destruction. The charity of Christians and the goodness and forbearance of God has sustained this remnant of a once powerful and warlike tribe whilst many other tribes have wasted all away and are now know only in recollection. That they owe their preservation thus far to the conservative influence of the gospel the most intelligent are free and ready to acknowledge. To preserve the Muh-hee-kun-ne-ew (The Indian name of the Nation and means skilled in going over the waves) Church from becoming extinct or mixed with white people and others is doubtless one reason some of the Indian Party so called wish to remain in the former state, and not become citizens. This idea has repeatedly been expressed to me; but to resolve to avail themselves of all of the privileges and blessings of civilisation & the gospel is a far more efficacious means of preservation they are told 195 than removing or trying to keep away from the white people or from adopting their laws and customs. No one acquainted with their circumstances can blame them for wishing to keep distinct from that class of white people and mixture of African blood which usually follow them, for it is a class which but deteriorates the race and is rather a nuisance than otherwise. Those who usually intermarry with them are the lowest and most debased and hardened of the white people, who cannot endure the restraints of good society and so go off and connect themselves with the Natives. The Indians themselves understand this and one very intelligent Stockbridge remarked to me, "That a white man who would marry an Indian Squaw must be a mean fellow." In nine cases out of ten where there is an intermarriage this is literally the case-Hence arises one of the greatest obstacles to be surmounted in elevating and christianising the Natives. Such, base as they are, have great influence; and such is human nature that the man who will drink and smoke Tobacco with them finds an easy access to the great mass and often has a surprising degree of influence. The Stockbridges have from time to time enacted

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severe laws against intermarriages with the whites and Mulattoes, but to no purpose, for many they will in despite of law or remonstrance. A circumstance occurred only a few days since which develops the character of the whites &c. who usually connect themselves with the Indians. Four (or) 5 of them who all had Indian women for wives went to a political caucus in a neighboring Town, and on their return became partially intoxicated, got into a quarrel fell upon, beat and knocked out all of the front teeth of the only sober one there was in the company. Such degrading scenes do but make even the natives who have any self respect despise a white man. It is a great stumbling block to the Indians, and a thing which is frequently mentioned by them, "Why say they is it, if the Bible and the Christian religion is true, that so many of the white people who can read and understand the Bible &c. are so bad, even worse than Indians?" Surrounded 196 by such influences and in the very midst of them, our Native Churches have a terrible ordeal to pass through; and when the fickleness of the native character is taken into consideration it is not to be wondered at that many are snared and led away into forbidden paths, and broken and lost.

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Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Soc. for June 1, 1845."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1846.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scotland .

Dear Sir .—There has been little change in the political prospects of this nation since I made my last report. The Indian party as it styles itself is still determined not to come under the laws of the United States, and are at the present time pressing their petitions before congress for relief, but it is still uncertain whether anything will be done. This state of suspense is highly injurious as it prevents them from attempting to make any improvement where they now are, and they have incurred great expense which they are unable to meet. Whilst it is not to be concealed that the citizen party are not doing any

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better than the other. So that the measure of citizenship however desirable in itself will ultimately have a very disastrous effect upon the interests of the tribe.

There is a deficiency, amongst all of the aborigines in managing their temporal affairs. It consists in a want of judgement or common sense so to direct them as to secure prosperity and save damage and loss from neglect or mismanagement. Whether this deficiency is the result of want of capacity or habit and neglect of early instruction I am [at] a loss to determine.

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As I become more and more acquainted with the native character I am more deeply convinced that my first impressions were erroneous, and that any individual upon 197 a slight acquaintance will form erroneous conclusions. I mean that a person by tong acquaintance sees and feels more deeply the hidden, withering effects of paganism long after its outward forms have seemingly passed away—An intelligent Oneida chief who was also a member of the church said to a Methodist Missionary after he had resided three years in the nation, “I suppose now you think you know something about Indians?” He replied in the affirmative. “No, you dont” said he. “But after you have been amongst them five years you will then begin to know something about them.” (I should extend the time to ten years). A remark wh[ich] every one laboring amongst the Natives finds painfully true.

Every year brings its trials and withal some precious fruits also. So that in the midst of many discouragements we have the satisfaction of knowing that our labor is not in vain in the Lord.

As it respects the state of feeling in the Church it is quite as harmoniously as could be expected from what has been mentioned above. Meetings on the Sabbath and other stated meetings have generally been well attended, and sometimes great seriousness and solemnity has appeared upon the Minds of the audience.

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There are now fifty one members in regular standing in the Church, 23 males and 28 females, and three are under censure. One has been restored who had been suspended for some time. Six children have been baptised, and two aged females have died. It has been a season of much affliction amongst this people for the past 6 or 7 months owing to severe sickness in many cases and an unusual number of deaths, particularly amongst children. The Scarlet fever made its appearance in the fall and forepart of winter, and after that subsided the Whooping Cough commenced, and owing to the changeable, damp and stormy weather was unusually severe.

During the winter at one time whilst Gods hand appeared to be stretched out over the place to smite it there was considerable seriousness, but a difficulty arose relating to 198 the subject of Taxes, and dissipated at once all of the seriousness. One white man however who had married into the Nation was awakened and hopefully converted, & has since united with the Church. A woman belonging to the tribe indulged a hope about the same time. One little girl about 11 years old, who died suddenly with the Scarlet fever, appeared quite changed some weeks previous to her death and before she was taken sick. She referred the change in her feelings to impressions made upon her mind in the Sab. School—had the presentiment that she should not live, and when sick conversed with her mother and urged upon her the necessity of loving the Savior.

The Day School was resumed last sum[mer] (1845) & was taught by a pious young lady and was well attended—In the winter another was taught 3 months by a young man belonging to the tribe and who had recently finished a course of study preparatory to preaching the gospel. Some of the time he had 60 in attendance. It was broken up in the Spring by the prevalence of whoop ling] cough. He gave universal satisfaction. At the same time he assisted me in the labors of the Sabbath, preaching one part of the day and took charge of the Sabbath School. His name is Jeremiah Slingerland.¹ His talents are good and he now affords much promise of usefulness amongst his people should he remain as is probable he will.

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1 See *ante*, p. 31, *note*.— Ed.

I had previously resolved upon having a series of religious meetings during the winter and the way at one time appeared prepared, but severe sickness in my family prevented during a great part of the winter and which, situated as I was, confined me at home almost all of the time night and day—Mrs. M[arsh] was taken very suddenly in the latter part of December and was confined to her bed for a number of weeks and at times her life was despaired of. Her disease at first was pronounced to be pericarditis, and afterwards appeared to be neuralgic. But God had mercy on her, and not only upon her, but upon me also and my 199 children and has raised her up again, altho' her health is poor and she is unable to endure much labor or fatigue either mental or physical. After she began to recover my children were taken with the whooping cough and had it very severely. These providences prevented me from laboring amongst this people as well as in the vicinity as I had purposed after Mr. Slingerland returned. But the Lords' ways are not as ours, and it has been my prayer that these afflictions might work for us the peacable fruits of righteousness—Mrs. M. often remarked that she needed the affliction to humble her on account of her sins, and to lead her to live more for God and the promotion of his glory on the earth. In health she is accustomed to dwell much upon the love of Christ in dying for sinners, but when she had the prospect of soon exchanging worlds before her she would often exclaim, "He is my All," &c. "I am nothing but the righteousness of Christ is all my hope and comfort"—During this time it was pleasing to see how deep an interest the people took particularly the members of the Church in her welfare and recovery. From time to time they held meetings for prayer to ask the Lord to restore her to health if consistent with his will. Thus we found that the Missionaries had a stronger hold upon their affections than we were aware of previously which served to increase our attachment to them.

Whilst we do not witness great things amongst this people from year to year, we are permitted to see precious fruits of Missionary labor amongst them. The Church is kept together, most of the children receive instruction from Sab. to Sab. in the Sab. School,

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and there are those in the church, probably as many as in most churches amongst white people, who give evidence in their lives that they have been born of the Spirit. Every year bears some one or more to the grave and to the judgement who give evidence of having passed from death unto life.

Whilst there are those belonging to the Temp. Society who break their pledge the majority keep it conscientiously, and the Society exerts a very salutary influence over the 200 Nation. There is also a Maternal Association which meets once in 3 weeks and is doing good amongst the Mothers.

The Brothertown Indians are making progress in enlarging their farms which are cleared up from the thick forest. They number about 4 hundred. Schools are regularly taught in the Town during Summer and Winter and habits of sobriety appear to be gradually gaining ground. They have a Methodist Missionary residing amongst them, and a (Methodist) Church has been gathered as the fruit of Missionary labor amongst them, numbering 100 members. The Oneida tribe lives between 30 & 40 miles distant, and there are about 730 in the settlement. They are making progress in clearing up their farms, and in building comfortable houses &c but make little progress if any in moral and intellectual improvement.

The Menominee tribe is still in pagan darkness. This tribe is scattered in bands over quite a large extent of the Ter[ritory].* * * It numbers about 2 thousand.

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Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for 1845–6. May 1, 1846."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1847.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh. Scotland.

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Dear Sir —As the season has returned for making my annual report to your venerable Society, I remark that few years pass with less changes than have taken place the past year amongst this tribe. It has been a year remarkable for health in it although it has been sickly in the Territory.

The political difficulties of which I have made mention in years past are not yet settled and it is impossible to tell how soon they will be. These prove a severe test to the character of some, and perhaps may be the means of their making shipwreck of faith & of a good conscience, still the 201 word of God teaches us to expect that “offences” and trials will come to try and purify and purge the Church for to make manifest such as are approved, whilst such as have only “a name to live” stumble and fall.

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But faith almost fails at times, and I feel well nigh sinking down into despondency in view of the many and to human view insurmountable obstacles which at present appear to lie in the way of the future welfare and prosperity of this people. One consequence has been an increase of intemperance, idleness and wrecklessness in some instances though not to a great extent. There is little brotherly love, and little unity of the spirit amongst the professed followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. Still “the Lord of hosts is with us the God of Jacob is our refuge.”

The Church numbers about the same that it did last year there having been no additions or deaths during this time.

Meetings on the Sabbath have been well attended and there is serious and solemn attention paid to preaching. Notwithstanding the troubles and animosities existing amongst them, it does not appear to affect their attendance upon public worship. In the house of God the two hostile parties meet on the Sabbath and mingle in the devotions of the sanctuary as though all was as it should be—peace and harmony, and the passing

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stranger would not discover anything by the appearance to the contrary. The sum and substance of their difficulties now are, that the Indian party, so called, is unwilling to become citizens of the United States. This they say would extinguish the Indian state which they wish to preserve. It is indeed remarkable with what tenacity Indians for the most part adhere to this state. Few have sufficient penetration to see that it is an injury and if adhered to will in time extinguish utterly the Aboriginal race as tribes or nations. The work of diminution is going on at the present time amongst all the tribes on the frontiers in the United States.

The only thing which can arrest this work of extinction is the gospel. But this owing to the obstacles which it 202 constantly meets with makes very slow progress. Intemperance, * * * and the influence of unprincipled white[s] living amongst them—or near and intermarrying are the greatest hindrances which the Missionary meets with in doing good to the natives.

The Sabbath School has been fuller the past year particularly during the winter than usual; most of the children take Books from the Library and read them so that moral and religious intelligence is evidently increasing, and as in former years the old people attend the S. School as well as the children.

Last winter there were three day-schools taught in the nation by men and the same number by pious young ladies this Summer, and most of the children attend school punctually. These are daily sowing the good seed in these young minds, as well as instructing them in those branches which improve the mind so that we hope better things of the rising generation, than of those who have preceded them.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for 1847. June 1st."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1848.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scotland.

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Dear Sir .—Through the tender mercy of God I am once more permitted to make my annual report to your Venerable Society.

The year past has wrought but little change in the religious or political prospects of these Indians. The Indian Party so called still maintains a fixed determination not to become citizens of the United States, and to adhere to the Indian state; and on the other hand the Citizen party are as determined not to return to their former state. This keeps alive that spirit of hostility and bitterness towards each other which has existed for years, and is likely to continue so long as they remain together. All attempts hitherto made to reconcile these parties with each other have proved abortive, and I fear that God in his righteous providence has left them to be divided in this manner against themselves for the purpose of bringing the nation to desolation. So far therefore as their National prospects are concerned all is dark and cheerless.

This state of things has, as might be expected, deeply affected the Church, as its members belong to each of the Conflicting parties, and some are the leaders in them.

It is difficult to conceive how hard it is to influence such minds as these, which have little foresight cannot feel the force of an argument and are led by the present impulse and prejudice.

In different ways quite a number have violated their covenant obligations, and I have found it impossible to exercise discipline in the Church, as some of the offenders are leaders in party measures and they have led others astray.

Notwithstanding these lamentable evils I hope that some good has been done.

The Day-Schools have been kept up during the Summer & Winter season, and generally have been well attended.

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Meetings on the Sabbath are well attended also, & serious attention paid to the preaching of the gospel. The Sabbath School has been kept up during the year and both young and old have attended as in former years. The Books belonging to the S.S. Library have been anxiously sought for by all who have attended, so that general as well [as] religious intelligence is gradually increasing. Among other means of doing good there is a Maternal Association which has been in existence for a number of years. These meetings have been held once in about 3 weeks, and generally well attended. The object of the Association is the same as others of the kind, and this has been a channel through which much valuable instruction has been communicated upon a subject very much neglected amongst this tribe and altogether so amongst pagans besides the 204 time which has been spent in prayer. Four female members of the Church have died during the past year, and one of them was one of the most active and influential members in the Maternal Association as well as in the Church. She united with the Church under the ministry of my predecessor in 1828.

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Two of the others who died were aged and lived in sin until old age. One of them lived in pagan darkness until she was with the rest of the family consisting of eight souls removed to Green Bay in 1825. Subsequently the whole became hopefully pious one after another and united with the Church. All are now dead but two and all have died giving evidence in life and in death of being Christians. This old lady was a Munsee by nation and the mother and grand mother of this family and died in the 78th year of her age in peace in the Lord.

Whenever I see native converts leaving the world as either of the abovementioned did giving evidence in life and until death of being Christians I not only rejoice but feel that both the Missionaries & the friends of Missions find an ample reward for all their trials and sacrifices.

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Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for June 1, 1848."